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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

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ST. MARY'S OF THE QUAPAWS

1894—1927

*By Velma Nieberding**

On August 14, in the year 1893, the Quapaw Tribal Council of the Quapaw Reserve, Indian Territory, respectfully petitioned the Honorable Commission of Indian Affairs to ''establish or cause to be established in our Reserve, a Catholic School or school to be placed under the direction of Catholic Religious teachers.''[1] They added that ''Nearly all those who are members of our tribe by blood are Catholics and we believe our children would improve faster in learning and morals under the supervision of Sisters or other Catholic teachers than under the present system of instruction.''[2]

Thus began the establishment of St. Mary's of the Quapaws. On that same date, John Medicine, Principal Chief, Charley Quapaw Black Hawk, Chief, Buffalo Calf, Councilor, Peter Clabber, Councilor, and Frank Valliere, Interpreter of Quapaws, signed an enactment that forty acres of Quapaw land be ''set apart for Church and school purposes to be used by the Holy Roman Catholic Church so long as they shall use the same for the purposes above named.''[3]

Historians have consistently referred to the Quapaws as a *Catholic* tribe. As early as 1673, Father Marquette, a Jesuits, had visited the Quapaw, or Arkansea tribe, then living near the mouth of what is now the Arkansas River.[4] Missionaries stationed at the Arkansas Post began to serve these Indians as early as 1678 when Henri de Tonti, founder of the Post, gave a grant of land to the Jesuits to establish a house and chapel and offered to pay for the support of the priests for the first few years.[5] Father Gravier visited the Quapaws in 1700 and they are mentioned by Father Pierre Francoix Xavier de Charlevoix writing of his travels in 1721.

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* Velma Nieberding (Mrs. J. F.), of Miami, Oklahoma has contributed this history of the only Catholic school ever established on the old Quapaw reservation in Oklahoma, the text of which is based on the original records of the Roman Catholic Church in this region. She has done extensive research in these records at the instance and encouragement of the Very Reverend Urban de Hasque, Diocesan Historian of Oklahoma and a Life Member of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Acknowledgments and thanks are due Father de Hasque for his fine attention to the details of history in the presentation of the manuscript on "St. Mary's of the Quapaws." Mrs. Nieberding is a Life Member of the Historical Society, and is well known as an Oklahoma writer of published books for teen-age boys and girls and for her historical feature stories on Catholic education in the state.—Ed.

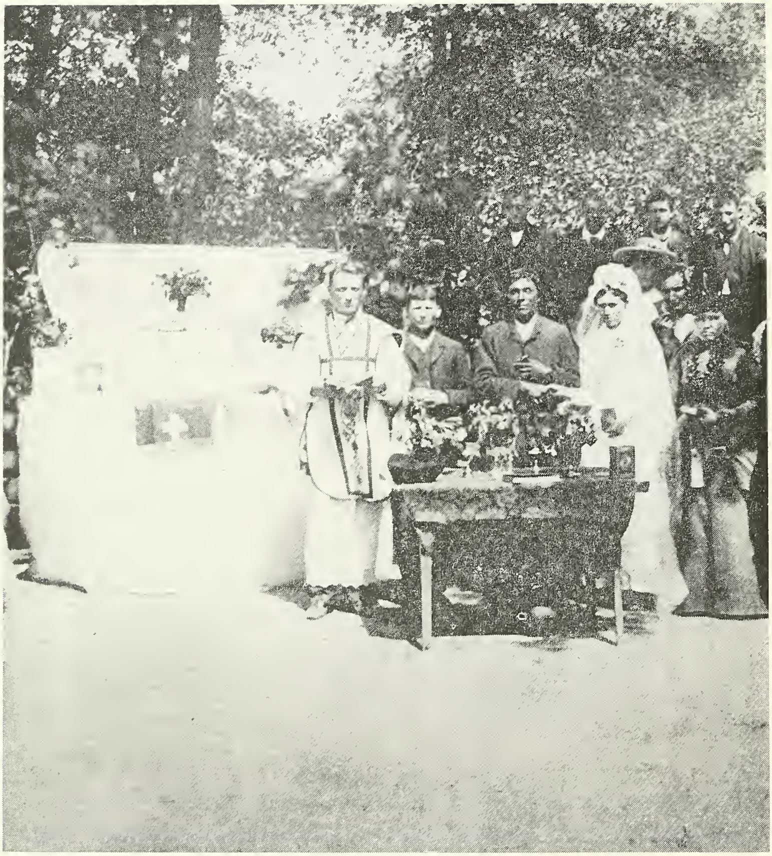
[1] Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. 1893. Education 33312.

[2] A school taught by a lay person was begun in 1891, but discontinued due to discontent of the Indians.

[3] Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. 1893.

[4] Anna Lewis, *Along the Arkansas* (The Southwest Press, 1932).

[5] *Ibid.*



Wedding of Frank Vallier and Alice Dardene 1890, Rev. Father Richard Rouquier officiating. Altar under tree at Dardene home, Quapaw.

The Jesuit, du Poisson was at the Arkansas Post in 1727 and labored among the Arkansea (Quapaw) until 1729.[6]

After the Arkansas Territory had passed from French control the Quapaws were visited by priests working under the Spanish regime.[7] Quapaws are referred to in *Noble Lives of a Noble Race*[8] as "baptized Catholics but not instructed." Father John Bax, Jesuit, a co-worker at the Osage Mission until his death in 1852, wrote:[9] "The Missionaries also visit the neighboring tribes such as the Quapaws, who number only three hundred and fifty and of whom one hundred and thirty adults and children have been baptized in the course of two years."

In another source we read: "In the summer of 1888, Father Hilary and Father Germanus (Benedictines) visited among the Miami Indians, the Wyandots and the Quapaws. They baptized twenty-four adults among the Quapaws."[10] Father William Ketcham, reporting to George S. Doane, United States Indian Agent, Muskogee, I. T. on July 25, 1894, wrote: "Under the supervision of the Quapaw Agency were the Wyandotte, Miami, Peoria and Quapaw. Most of these lived within the limits of the agency and were, for the most part, Catholic."[11]

The request for a school was not the first time the Quapaws had called upon the "Black Robes" to educate their children. In 1851 the Quapaw Chiefs had asked permission of Father John Schoenmakers, S. J., to send some of their children to the Osage Manual Labor School in Kansas.[12] The Quapaw children attended the Osage Mission School from 1853 to 1870, after which "No more Quapaw children seem to have been boarding at Osage Mission. The last two boys were in Jan., Feb., March 1870. Alexander Thomason, old then eight years and Cornelius Miathuco, old then thirteen years."[13]

Fifty-three Quapaws are noted to have been baptized at Osage Mission in 1853 among them many whose descendants are living near Miami today. Noted in this record also: Francis Borgia Vallier, third chief of the Quapaw Nation, baptized by Fr. Schoenmakers, Oct. 10, 1854, "then 65 years old"; Samuel Vallier, born in Arkansas, and

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[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Pupils of St. Mary's *Noble Lives of a Noble Race.*

[9] *Early Jesuits at Osage Mission*, W. W. Graves.

[10] Annals of Sacred Heart Mission, Sept. 1889. Mss.

[11] *The Catholic Church on the Oklahoma Frontier*, 1824-1907. An unpublished Dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Saint Louis University by Sister M. Ursula Thomas, O.S.B. A.B. A.M.

[12] W. W. Graves, *Life and Letters of Rev. John Schoenmakers, S. J. Apostle to the Osages.* See, also, Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Education Among the Quapaws," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV, No. 1 (Spring, 1947).

[13] *Register of Baptisms*, Archives of Sacred Heart Church, Miami.

Hugo Wach-konta-Numpa, "a pupil of Osage Mission School, then 19 years old."[14]

It should be remembered that these were the days of President Grant's "Indian Peace Policy" which planned to give the agencies over to "such religious denominations as had previously established themselves among the Indians". In 1870 there were seventy-two Indian agencies and in thirty-eight of these Catholic Missionaries had been the first to establish themselves. Despite this fact only *eight* were assigned to the Catholic Church. Under the "Peace Policy" thousands of Indians passed from Catholic influence to Protestant control. This included the Osages (with whom the Quapaws were so closely associated that they were called the "Osage Band of Quapaws")[15] who, after their removal to Indian Territory, were for years denied their constant and piteous appeals for a Catholic Church and School on their reservation.[16]

The Quapaws and near-by tribes had suffered terribly during the winter of 1868-69 and many of them died from exposure, starvation and the effects of liquor. As early as 1865 Agent Elder wrote concerning inquiries made by Congressman Doolittle of Wisconsin, that he had resigned as Indian Agent of the Neosho Agency because of "disgust of the management of the Indian affairs—the Osages, Senecas, Quapaws and Senecas and Shawnees."[17] It was his opinion that these tribes were mostly passing away because of whiskey, want of vegetable living, scrofula, exposure to the malarias incident to timber and water localities, but he thought that schools had had a most decided influence for the better among all the tribes under his observation. He eulogized the Catholic religion as it "more readily commends itself to their benighted minds, embracing as it does, a definite idea of morality and a Supreme Being, and when connected with schools has a most controlling influence. I believe in turning the education and religious teachings of the Indian tribes over to the devotedness and tender mercies of the Catholics."[18]

During the Civil War the Quapaws had gone to live on the Ottawa Reservation near Ohio City, Kansas. Their condition was one of naked poverty and starvation. It was the autumn of 1865 before they returned to find their Reservation reduced to 56,000 acres.[19] Their lands were mostly adapted to hay growing which brought only a few cents an acre. The tribe was demoralized by the flood of whiskey introduced by white peddlers on the Kansas line. When they tried to farm (and only some 300 acres of their land was under cultivation) cattlemen from Kansas turned stock loose upon the land and the crops were destroyed before they could be harvested. The Quapaws began to leave their land again. By 1878 all but 35 were living with the Osages.[20]

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[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Sister M. Ursula, "Thesis," *op. cit.*

[16] *Ibid.* See, also, Garraghan (Gilbert J., S. J.) *Jesuits of the Middle U. S.* Vol. II.

[17] *Life and Letters of Rev. John Schoenmakers, op. cit.*

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *Quapaw Agency Indians,* a book edited by Charles Banks Wilson, 1947.

In 1875 the Indian Territory had received its first resident priest, the Rt. Rev. Isidore Robot of the Benedictine Order. Father Robot had been given jurisdiction over the whole of the Territory by Bishop Fitzgerald of the diocese of Little Rock. He arrived at Atoka on October 12, 1875, and began his duties as missionary to the Indians.[21]

Nine months later the Indian Territory was erected into a Prefecture Apostolic[22] (separated from the diocese of Little Rock) by Pope Pius IX, who, by another decree, appointed Father Robot the First Prefect Apostolic, under date of July 9, 1876.[23]

The Jesuits continued their work among the Quapaws. The new Prefect Apostolic was thankful for the help of the Jesuit missionaries[24] for due to the vastness of the territory (69,000 sq. miles) and the lack of priests, visits could not be made often into the extreme northeastern part where the Quapaw Reserve was located.

The Register of Baptisms shows the following Benedictine Priests attending the Quapaw nation between the dates of 1887 to 1890: Fathers Germanus Guillaume, Hippolite Topet, Hilary Cassal, Ignatius Jean, and Father Richard Rouquier, a secular priest. As early as 1869 however, we find a note in Church records that Mass was often said at Charlie Beaver Black Hawk's home on Spring River by Jesuit missionaries. Reference is made also to the ''little Church of St. Mary's of the Quapaws'' the location of which has not been definitely established. It is believed by old residents that it was located in the very heart of the Quapaw Reserve near what is now Douthitt, Oklahoma, on the Leander (Jack) Fish allotment. This was a ''station'' established by the Benedictines. When the Quapaw lands were allotted in 1893, Jack Fish moved into the little Church, which was merely a house with a chapel attached. Consequently, the forty-acre tract where St. Mary's school was located, was set apart for the Catholics.[25]

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[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Vy. Rev. Urban de Hasque, Historian of Diocese of Oklahoma.

[22] Sister M. Ursula, "Thesis," *op. cit.*

[23] A Prefecture Apostolic is the first stage through which a mission country passes before it is confided to a bishop with a designated local see. The Prefect is appointed by the Holy Father and is immediately subject to the Holy See. He may administer Confirmation, confer minor orders, consecrate chalices, etc. When the Prefecture Apostolic has reached a fuller state of development, that is when the number of Catholics have increased, more priests have begun work, churches and charitable institutions erected, then the Prefecture becomes a Vicariate Apostolic, which in turn becomes in time a Diocese under the direction of a Bishop appointed by the Holy See.—*Catholic Encyclopedic Dictionary.*

[24] W. W. Graves, *Autobiography of Rev. E. Bononcini, D.D.*

[25] Personal interview, Mrs. Clara Martin, Picher, Oklahoma, Jan. 10, 1953.

In 1891 the territory became a Vicariate Apostolic under the Rt. Rev. Theophile Meerschaert.[26] The energetic young Bishop began to tour his vast vicariate, to build missions and to dream of schools for the Indians. On March 13, 1892, Father William Ketcham was ordained at Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory. He was the first to receive Holy Orders for the Vicariate Apostolic of the Indian Territory at the hands of Bishop Meerschaert himself.[27] For this reason he is called the proto—(or first priest) of Oklahoma.

Father Ketcham was stationed at Muskogee soon thereafter and began to visit the Indian Tribes under his jurisdiction. These included the Quapaws.

''Big John'' Powers, living northeast of Miami now, remembers the first time he saw Father Ketcham:[28]

> "It was in the summer of 1892. I was just a lad playing about the yard. I looked up and saw Father walking up the hill towards our house. I called to my mother, 'here comes a Catholic priest!' but she could not believe it. When she got over her surprise she invited Father to come in. It was about two o'clock in the afternoon and he had not yet broken his fast. He had said Mass at Antone Greenback's under a big tree, but the Indians had neglected to offer him food. He had walked down to Spring river and got a Mr. Schuch to row him across. Mother was very upset that Father had not been offered food. When he told her a glass of milk would be sufficient she bustled indignantly into the kitchen and fixed a good meal."

With the coming of Father Ketcham we note immediately increased religious activity among the Quapaws. From a diary kept by Bishop Meerschaert and from notes in the Register of Baptisms at Miami, we read of plans for a Church. The Bishop had visited the Quapaws on November 25, 1893, administering Confirmation, at which time he wrote in his diary, ''The Quapaws are proud of the little Church called *St. Mary's of the Quapaws''*[29]

In December 1893, Father Ketcham drew up the contract for the construction of the new Church. It was to be built on the forty acres of Quapaw land previously ''set apart for Church and school purposes'' and previously referred to in this study. This land allotted by the Quapaws is in the northeastern part of their Reservation, in what is now Ottawa County. It is two miles from the present town of Quapaw and one and one-half miles from the old Lincolnville station.

Marginal notes kept in the ''Register of Baptisms'' reveal that Father Ketcham visited the Quapaws ''in the beginning of January 1894'' and that the celebrated Mass in the ''little chapel.'' In the

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[26] The Very Reverend Urban de Hasque, Historian of Diocese.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] The Register of Baptisms records Father Ketcham's first visit to the Quapaws as May 1892.

[29] On this date Mathias Splitlog "of the Senecas, their great Chief, drove forty miles (from Cayuga) through all that bad weather to be Confirmed."

Spring of 1894, John Schubert had hauled the Altars from Baxter Springs, to go in the new Church. In the month of March, 1894, the new Church of St. Mary's was completed.

In the *Annual Report* of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1894, it is stated[30] that "The Catholics are making great strides in Christianizing the Indians; they have built a very neat little Church and have almost completed a large two-story school building on the Quapaw Reserve".

In July, 1894 (in the same source) Father Ketcham reported: "We are just ready to build near the Quapaw Church a small schoolhouse and dwelling for Sisters, who will conduct a school for such children as shall wish to attend." The cost of the school building was $1500.00 and a house, costing $235.00, was built for the priest.[31]

At last the Quapaws had a Catholic school on their own Reservation. Funds for the school had been furnished by Mother Katharine Drexel.[32] Father Ketcham's immediate problem was to secure teachers for the new school. Many communities were unwilling to subject Sisters to the dangers and uncertainty of life among the Indians:[33] "About the same time the Sisters of Concordia (Kansas) were in correspondence with Father William Ketcham, Muskogee, Indian Territory, concerning the possibility of working among the Quapaws on a reservation there. These missions were also financed by Mother Katharine Drexel. Nothing came of the correspondence as far as the establishment of missions there was concerned."

From the Diocesan Sisters of St. Joseph of Long Island, New York, came Mother Virginia Joyce[34] who, with a companion opened a school at Muskogee. They were joined by some Sisters of St. Joseph of Concordia. On September 15, 1894, Father Ketcham wrote to Mother Katharine Drexel:

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[30] *Report* of Agent Geo. S. Doane of the Quapaw Agency Aug. 27, 1894.

[31] "Development of Education in Ottawa County, Oklahoma," unpublished thesis by Alva Gerald Sweezy, Okla. A. & M. College, 1937.

[32] Mother Katharine, now 94 and in moderately good health has given $1,000 a day for 60 years for Indian and Negro Missions according to a recent article which appeared in many of the newspapers of the nation. The article by Walter Monfried, was headlined "Richest Nun in the World". Although raised in apparent luxury, Katharine and her sister, Elizabeth lived in a strict convent regime. Her father, who died in 1885, had willed her the income from a $7,500,000 trust fund which amounted to $1,000 a day. Schools, health centers and charity missions are now operated for the Indians and Negroes of 50 communities in 20 states. Mother Katharine is the founder of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, whose Motherhouse is at Cornwall Heights, Pennsylvania.

[33] *Footprints on the Frontier*, a history of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Concordia, Kansas. Sister M. Evangeline Thomas (The Newman Press, 1948).

[34] The files of St. Joseph's Convent, Long Island, N. Y. show that Mary Louisa Joyce entered the Congregation at 18 years of age, birthplace, Philadelphia. That she received the Holy Habit on Dec. 27, 1867, taking the name of Sister M. Virginia, that she was professed on Oct. 15, 1870.

> "Two Sisters of St. Joseph have gone to the Quapaws and opened a day school. They have commenced with 15 pupils which is good, considering their miserable circumstances. They expect a greater number shortly. The lonely life of sacrifice of these two Sisters should be an inspiration to anyone. More than one night in the week they are kept awake by the indescribable noise of the Indian Ghost Dancers[35] just below them in the valley which skirts the convent grounds."

Mrs. Harriet Simmons, now living in Baxter Springs, Kansas, was teaching in the United States Boarding School for Indians and studying music under Sister Margaret Mary. In 1894-95 there were three Sisters teaching at St. Mary's. She names them as Sister Margaret, Sister Christina and Sister Evangelist. Sister Margaret was Italian, friendly and vivacious and ''full of fun''. Sister Christina was from Sweden. All three Sisters are remembered with great affection by their students, some of whom still live in the Quapaw area.

Mother Virginia, the general Superior, was a convert and a niece of the celebrated Ward Beecher. She, with four other Sisters of St. Joseph, were at the Convent in Muskogee in November, 1893.[36] She, with two of the Sisters opened in 1898, a new mission school at Antlers in the Choctaw Nation.

There is no extant record describing the hardships, the insecurity and loneliness of these first Sisters at St. Mary's. While they were never in any danger from the friendly Indians, the poverty they experienced, the strange, primitive setting of the school, the lack of congenial associates, all contributed to a constant, uneasy feeling of fear. Mrs. J. J. Osborne, mother of Mrs. Alice Eversole, Miami, used to drive to the school every week-end and take the Sisters to Baxter Springs in order to buy the necessary supplies for the school. At that time the main road ended at the state line a mile south of Baxter Springs. The traveler then angled across the prairie. In muddy weather the narrow trails which served for roads were practically impassable.[37]

The Sisters went among the Indians, instructing the children and visiting the sick. They were sometimes scandalized by some of the tribal rituals practiced by the Quapaws, particularly the sweat baths and the prevailing custom of running about afterwards in the closest possible approach to nudity.

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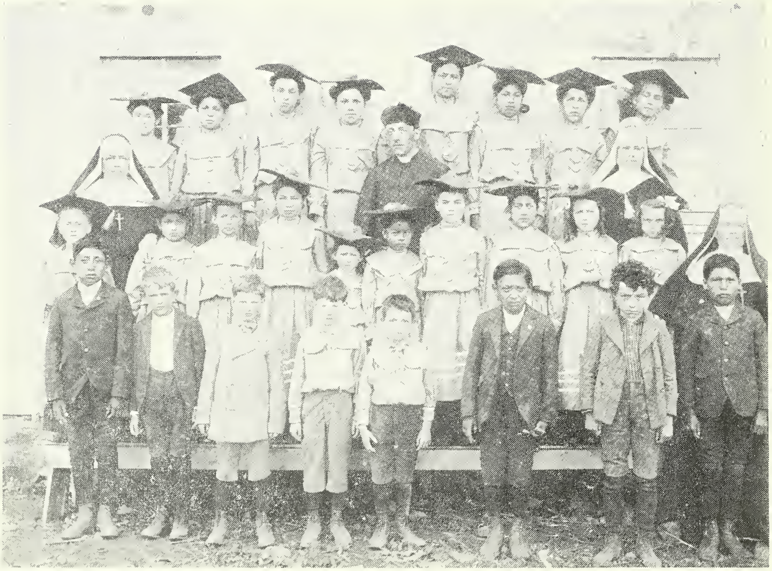
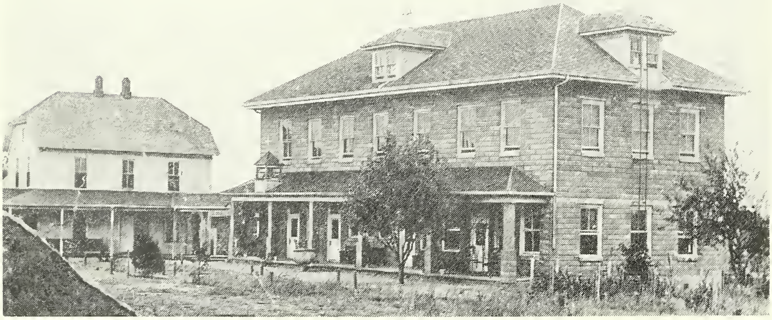
[35] The Ghost Dance was a religious ceremony founded upon the Indians' belief that their messiah or deliverer was coming. (Widespread publicity was given this "Ghost Dance Religion" throughout the press of the country, and people generally thought all Indian tribes were touched by the craze. As a matter of fact, it was only the tribes of the Great Plains region and those of the Great Basin region that seriously instituted the ceremonial dance of the new religion.—See Donald N. Brown, "The Ghost Dance Religion," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 4 [Winter, 1952-3]—Ed.)

[36] Private Diary of Bishop Meerschaert.

[37] Personal Interview, Mrs. Alice Eversole, Miami, Oklahoma.



Father Maurice Dannis and students, St. Mary's of the Quapaws, 1905.



St. Mary's of the Quapaws. Stone dormitory erected 1915.
First building of frame erected 1894.

The school was in charge of the St. Joseph Sisters for three years, after which time it was closed. Sweezy gives as the reason[38] that the attendance did not justify the operation. Father Ketcham, the devoted missionary, had been transferred from Muskogee to Antlers to work among the Choctaws. For five years he had traveled among the scattered Indian tribes of what is now northeastern Oklahoma, administering to the spiritual needs of his scattered flock. So great was his interest and love for the charges of his first station that for years he could not revisit the scenes of his labors among them without a feeling of grief.[39]

Another reason for closing the school is that tribal funds had been withdrawn by the Government. Since 1870 the Government had been making formal contracts with religious bodies conducting schools, for the board and tuition of Indian students. A few years before 1895 opposition had arisen in various quarters to this aid for the education of Indians and Congress in 1895 began to curtail the appropriations. In consequence the enrollment fell off and schools could not be maintained.

In 1902, a school was begun by Father M. O. D'Haenens, (Dannis) the resident pastor at Quapaw. The school was taught by Miss Halping. The housekeeper, known as "Miss Mary," was Mary Irving. This school was in operation during the period until 1904 when the Sisters of Divine Providence were assigned to Quapaw. It was financed by Mother Katharine Drexel.

Even though the school closed temporarily the Quapaws were not left without a Church. Various priests served as pastors during those early days. The Baptismal Register states that in the month of July 1894 the first Pastor of St. Mary's was Father Denis Van Huffel. A list of priests serving the mission shows Father Edward V. Reynolds in charge from February 1894 to June 1894. Father Reynolds, a native of Kentucky, was the second priest ordained for the Indian Territory.

The first baptism of a Quapaw child recorded at St. Mary's is Bridgett Redeagle on March 4, 1894. The first marriage was that of Frederick Gilmore, a Quapaw to Agnes Dardene in 1894, Father Ketcham officiating. The first Confirmation in the new Church was Tom Osborne, in 1896.

Father Edward Van Waesberghe was the third pastor of St. Mary's of the Quapaws. He was usually called "Father Edward" because the Indians could not pronounce his difficult last name. In 1898 he was promoted to the pastorate at Pawhuska. His successor was Father Alphonse Herenthals, who, in 1900, was to build the Sacred Heart Church in Miami. In 1902, Father Maurice D'haenens (commonly called "Dannis') was appointed to serve as pastor.

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[38] *Development of Education in Ottawa County, op. cit.*

[39] Pupils of St. Mary's *Noble Lives of a Noble Race.*

The amended Treaty of May 13, 1833 between the Government and the Quapaws, had provided that if the Osage Mission school should be closed so that the school fund of the Quapaws could not be used for them to advantage at that institution, then the fund should remain in the Treasury of the United States until it could, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, and with the consent of the chiefs, be used to advantage in establishing a school upon their reservation. In 1904 a petition was sent to the Indian Bureau asking that certain sums be taken from the educational fund.[40] Based on this petition a contract prepared by the Indian office and approved by the Tribal Council, granted five hundred dollars for the education of ten Quapaw children.

In September, 1904, the school was reopened by the Sisters of Divine Providence, whose Motherhouse is located in San Antonio, Texas. The school was accepted at the request of Bishop Meerschaert, Vicar Apostolic of the Indian Territory. The first Sisters assigned to teach in the school were, Sister Aurelia, Sister Cordula and Sister Columbkille. Seventy children attended during the first term, 1904-05.[41]

The Vicariate of the Indian Territory had been changed into the Diocese of Oklahoma on August 23, 1905. The President of the United States had said in a communication of Feb. 3, 1905, that the practice of making contracts with certain sectarian mission schools would be continued by the Department unless Congress should decree to the contrary.[42]

The Department of Justice decided that the law did not extend to moneys belonging to the Indians themselves, and might be applied to the school to which they were sending their children.[43] The President held that besides the legal right existing they were entitled, as a matter of moral right, to have the moneys coming to them used for the education of their children at the school of their choice. Consequently the following year St. Mary's was again given a contract for five hundred dollars to be taken from the Quapaw Education Fund.

Sister Rodriquez succeeded Sister Aurelia as Superior in September 1905, and remained in charge of the school for the next eight years. It was during those years that the school experienced its most flourishing growth. On January 15, 1906, the Superintendent in charge of the Quapaw Reservation submitted to the National Council the application for the care, maintenance, and education of ten Quapaws in St. Mary's Mission school. This year, again, the contract was given as requested and the full amount paid.

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[40] Sister M. Ursula, "Thesis," *op. cit.*

[41] Records of Sisters of Divine Providence. San Antonio, Texas.

[42] *Annual Report* of the Department of the Interior (1905).

[43] *Ibid.*

A similar application was made in 1906 for the fiscal year ending June 1907. This time the application requested funds for twenty Quapaw children as the school had during the previous year supported at its expense, or the expense of the parents, a number of Indian children.[44]

On August 20, 1906, the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions was informed that although the President in his message of Dec. 23, 1905, had directed the use of treaty funds for contracts during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906, he also had said "no new contracts are to be entered into for such payments from these funds (treaty funds) after the close of the present fiscal year unless by authorization of Congress or determination by the Courts.[45]

In 1907-1908 there were 165 day and 43 resident pupils in St. Mary's of the Quapaws. The resident pastor was Father John Feyen (Feijen) who had been ordained in the St. Mary's Pro-Cathedral in Guthrie on Oct. 31, 1905.

In 1908 the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions applied for a contract for the education of nine Indian children at St. Mary's school for a fee of $108.00 per pupil. The Quapaw Council meeting November 20, 1908, declared it "to be the wishes and desires of the Council that the said application be granted". The one dissenting vote was that of Francis Q. Goodeagle. The Council also added that "the said St. Mary's Mission School is on our Reserve and near at hand to our homes and many of the old people visit the children and attend Church at this place." The petition was signed by Peter Clabber, Principal Chief, John Quapaw, John Beaver, Antione Greenback and Benjamin Quapaw.

In 1908, the 40-acre tract that had been given in 1893 by the Quapaws was patented to the Board of Catholic Indian Missions. The Patent was signed by President Theodore Roosevelt on June 15, 1908.

On October 29, 1915, the *Miami Record-Herald* announced that a new dormitory had been built at St. Mary's School. It was a three-story concrete building (32 feet by 72 feet), modern in every detail. "This new modern building which is used as a chapel, classroom and dormitory was built from an endowment by Mother Catherine (*sic*) Drexel of Philadelphia who is devoting her vast fortune to educational and philanthropic purposes".

The main school building at St. Mary's before 1915 was originally the government commissary that stood north of the Abrams home almost to the Kansas line. After the removal of troops from among the Quapaws in 1897, the building had been moved to the Quapaw Industrial School and converted into a school building. When that school was discontinued in 1900 it was donated to the Catholics and moved to the St. Mary's property. It was a two-story frame structure.

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[44] *Ibid.*
[45] *Ibid.*

The *Miami Record-Herald* stated that "under the present control the institution is under the direction of Sister Mary Henrietta and five associate Sisters and is maintained by funds from the Quapaw Council and the Catholic Indian Bureau of Washington." The attendance averaged about sixty pupils.

The pupils were principally children of the Quapaw, Miami, Peoria, Osage and Ottawa Indian tribes, although there were several pupils of no Indian ancestry.

Recalling the new school built in 1915, a former pupil[46] stated that the school and chapel were on the first floor, the dormitories on the second and third floors. The school was operated on the principle established by the Jesuits in their schools, *i.e.* the students learned to work. It was as much a part of the curriculum as the three R's. The girls washed, ironed, cooked and cleaned, under the supervision of the Sisters. They learned to sew and to embroider. The snowy linens used in the dormitories were all embroidered with the name, "St. Mary's" in red. At least one pupil of the school traces her early instruction in the art of sewing as the inspiration for her present career of dressmaker and tailor.[47]

The boys, superintended by an overseer or gardener, milked the cows, took care of the hogs and chickens, carried wood for heating the buildings and carried water. A daily chore was cleaning and filling the kerosene lamps suspended from the ceilings. Work was apportioned and changed to keep the tasks from becoming tiresome. This type of training was particularly necessary for the education of Indians, who had been taught that nobody but a woman worked and that it was degrading for a man to do any kind of labor other than hunting, fishing and going to war.

The Music Department, for many years under the supervision of Sister Utropia was outstanding. From the school came several musicians of note, including Fred Cardin, a composer and authority on tribal themes, who won a European scholarship in 1926, was instructor of music at the University of Nebraska and later was Music Director at the Curtis School of Music in Philadelphia.

Mrs. Hattie Rendel Parker, who taught in the county for a number of years, is an accomplished violinist. Miss Mary Gilchrist, a former student, was for a number of years the organist at Sacred Heart Church, Miami.

So great was the attendance at any program put on by the music students of the school that it was necessary to have it on two nights in order that all patrons of the school might attend. The same was true of the Christmas programs.

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[46] Mrs. Alice Eversole. Personal Interview.
[47] Miss Lena Schubert, Miami, Oklahoma.

The Sisters made an occasion of every feast day in the Church liturgy. On Epiphany, for instance, three cakes were baked in honor of the three Kings. This was called ''Three King's Day'' by the students. Three beans were baked in the cakes and the lucky student who got a piece of cake with a bean in it got to make a wish which the Sisters would try to make come true if possible. It was a custom that the one getting the first bean always wished for a half-day vacation in school, and it was always granted.

An acre of ground had been consecrated for a cemetery in 1898. Frank Buck was the first Indian to be buried in the cemetery, and the child of John and Emma Schubert, an infant, buried in 1900, was the first white child. A Mr. Harvey of Baxter Springs conducted most of the funerals and he is remembered as driving a hearse pulled by a team of black horses.

In 1912 Father Feyen left for a vacation in his native land, Dalfsen, Netherlands. He was taken ill on the steamer and died on September 9, 1912. Father James Wagner thereafter served the Mission of St. Mary's until 1927. In 1922, Father Wagner went to Europe for a vacation of several weeks. During this time Rev. Thomas R. Gorman, pastor of Galena (Kansas) with charge of Baxter Springs and Columbus as missions, was in charge of the Church at Quapaw. Another missionary was Father William Huffer, who visited the mission and held services in 1909 and again in 1912.

The use of the one thousand dollar annual appropriation had to be approved each year by the Quapaw Council. In 1927, for the first time since 1908, the Council failed to approve the use of the money for a contract with the Board of Catholic Missions. On June 20, 1927, the Superintendent of the Quapaw Indian Agency submitted a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in which he stated that:

> "The matter of renewing this contract was considered by a *part* of the Tribal Council.[48] The Council would not give their consent to the use of this money for the School, but went on record to the effect that they wished this office to inquire if it would not be possible to divert the use of this money for the benefit of the Seneca Indian School at Wyandotte, Oklahoma. Delay in making the report was due to the thought that the Council might reconsider their actions and finally consent to the use of this money for the St. Mary's mission as heretofore. Since that time I have heard several of them express themselves and I believe it would be futile to ask that this matter be considered again by the Council as they seem to be determined on the action taken. I would also report that the St. Mary's Mission is now closed and the property vacated. . . ."

The closing of St. Mary's of the Quapaws finished a period of devoted Catholic service to this Indian nation, a service that had begun with the first missionaries who came to the new world. St. Mary's Church was closed also, Father Wagner having been transferred to Sterling, Oklahoma. The parishes of both St. Mary's and Sacred Heart in Miami (which had been attended from the Indian Mission) reeled back from this blow. As one person put it, "when we were left without a priest we felt bewildered and forsaken."

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[48] Records of Bureau of Indian Affairs (RG 75). Letter from J. L. Suffecool, Superintendent, Quapaw Agency.

The little group of the Faithful closed ranks against the wave of anti-Catholic hostility that at the time was sweeping throughout Oklahoma. The Ku Klux Klan was evidenced by the burning of fiery crosses on chat piles in the neighborhood of the Catholic Mission.[49]

In the latter part of 1927, mass was held in Miami once a week. In the latter part of 1927, Father George Grievenkamp, a priest of the Order of the Most Precious Blood was stationed at Miami. The Church of the Quapaws was never reopened. On May 6, 1929, the Quapaw Council petitioned the Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs to permit them to remove the old school building that formerly had been moved from the United States Boarding School to the tract of land occupied by St. Mary's: "It is proper to state that the building is quite old and not very valuable . . . . and can be used by us for tribal and council meetings to good advantage."[50] The request was granted. Other buildings were removed or torn down. Today only one building is standing on the property, a silent tribute to the work and sacrifice of the missionaries and Sisters who labored among the Quapaws.

The Sisters who were teaching in St. Mary's at the time it was closed were, Sisters M. Dolorosa, M. Cornelia, M. Catherine, M. Columbkille, M. Sylvester, M. Claudia, and M. Stephanie. All of these Sisters are now deceased except Sister Cornelia.[51]

At the time there were forty-five non-resident pupils and forty boarders.

Records of the Diocese place the average attendance of Indian pupils throughout the last years the school operated, as forty-seven.

The existence of St. Mary's of the Quapaws was but a whisper in the vastness of eternity. But those whose lives came under its benediction have never forgotten the unselfish devotion of the Sisters. They still recall the flower-bordered walks leading up to the little chapel; they remember playing on the park-like grounds of the school set on the rolling tree-dotted prairie of the Indian land. In retrospect it seems, as one pupils expressed it, "The most beautiful place I ever knew."

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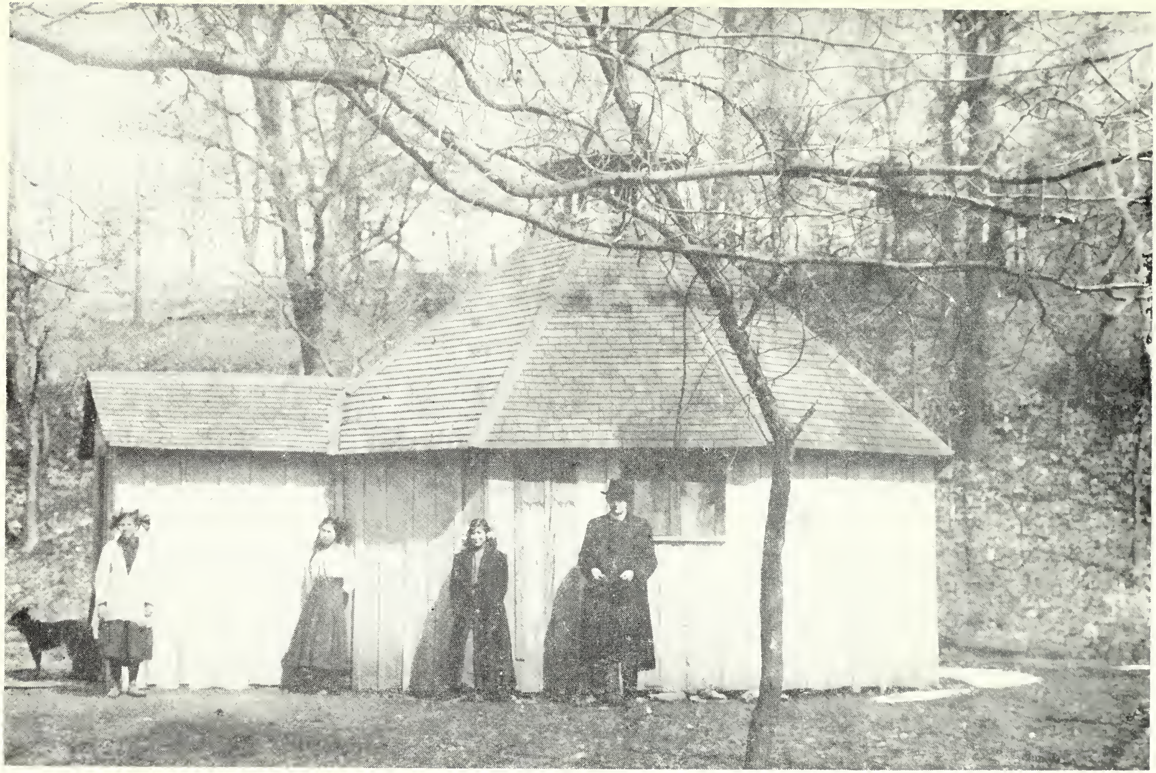
[49] *Miami Daily News-Record*, May 8, 1927.
[50] Records of Bureau of Indian Affairs (*R. G.* 75).
[51] Records of Sisters of Divine Providence. San Antonio, Texas.



Rev. William Huffer on pastoral visitation to old Indian meeting house, Quapaw, Oklahoma, 1909.

THE REMOVAL OF THE STATE CAPITAL

*By Fred P. Branson**

The subject of this article is the removal of the capital of the State of Oklahoma from the city of Guthrie to Oklahoma City. In order to be intelligible to new citizens of Oklahoma and to younger persons who are not familiar with this part of the history of the state, it is deemed advisable to recite certain preliminary matters for clarity.

On June 16, 1906, the Congress of the United States passed what is generally referred to as the Enabling Act. This act is set out in full in the federal statutes (34 Stat. at Large, Chap. 3335, page 267). This Enabling Act was passed by Congress in pursuance of its constitutional tuahority embraced in Sec. 3, Art. 4 of the Federal Constitution, which section authorizes the Congress of the United States to admit new territory into the Union of States on the same footing as the original states. At that time, and long prior thereto, Oklahoma Territory and the Indian Territory had existed as separate political entities, the former having a territorial form of government under the Organic Act passed by Congress in 1889; the latter, to-wit, the Indian Territory, being composed of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians, each tribe having its tribal form of government which existed subject to the plenary power of the national Congress over Indians and their properties and tribal governments. The Indian Territory was a court governed area from 1889 until 1898, and thereafter until it became a part of the new State of Oklahoma (the power of the tribal governments having been abolished by Congress in 1898).

The terms and provisions of the Enabling Act of June 16, 1906, supra, made certain requirements of the proposed new state, which should be incorporated by ordnance irrevocable into the constitution of the proposed state, and the terms of the Enabling Act were so incorporated as found by a resolution of the Constitutional Convention and in the schedule to the state constitution. It is wholly unnecessary to go into details as to how the delegates to the constitutional convention were elected in pursuance of the terms of the said Enabling Act, but it met in the city of Guthrie and its work was completed in the Spring of 1907, and a resolution passed called for a primary election to nominate national, state and county officers. The primary election was held on the 8th day of June 1907, and under said resolution the general election was held on the 17th day of September 1907, at which time Charles N. Haskell was elected as governor of the proposed new state, his taking office, of course, depending upon whether or not the statehood proclamation was issued admitting the two territories into the Union as the State of Oklahoma. This Proclamation was issued by Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States, on November 16, 1907, and to be exact, at 9:16 o'clock a.m. Charles N. Haskell immediately took the oath of office in the city of Guthrie before Leslie G. Niblack, a notary public of Logan County, Oklahoma Territory, and this qualified him as Governor of the then infant state.

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* Judge Fred P. Branson wrote this story on "The Removal of the State Capital" for *The Chronicles* at the special request of Dr. Charles Evans who has long known of Judge Branson's first hand knowledge on this incident in Oklahoma history, an incident that has had many versions published in the press of the state since it occurred. The text of the story is presented here in *The Chronicles* as it appears in manuscript with the idea that its original style will be interesting to our readers. Judge Branson is a former Justice of the State Supreme Court (elected 1922), and now has law offices in Muskogee.—Ed.

The said Enabling Act to which reference in more detail will be hereafter made, among other things, provided in effect that the capital of the new state of Oklahoma should remain at the city of Guthrie until the year 1913 and thereafter until the people of the State should by vote change its location, and this provision brought about controversial questions to which references will be hereafter made.

Though reluctant to use the pronoun I, the writer will so designate himself hereafter.

I was elected Chairman of the State Democratic Committee of Oklahoma on the 19th day of March 1910, at a meeting held on the mezzanine floor of the Huckins Hotel in Oklahoma City, the said committee composed of one man from each county in the State. At said meeting, J. B. Thompson of Pauls Valley, who was elected chairman before statehood, tendered his resignation and I, therefore, became the first elected chairman of the state committee after the state was admitted into the Union. Reviewing the political situation from the standpoint of the Democratic organization of Oklahoma, I reached the conclusion that the Haskell administration, its work and efforts, was not thoroughly understood by the people of the State and much criticism levelled at it was due to the fact that the public did not have a direct statement from him in regard to the policy he had pursued and the legislative enactments to carry out his said policies. Realizing that, Democratic headquarters were established in the Huckins Hotel in April 1910 for preliminary organization purposes. Being made conscious that an effective organization of the Democratic party in the State, looking to the forthcoming election, depended largely upon his clarifying the first state administration's policies and legislative enactments before the people throughout the State, I visited the Governor in his executive offices in the Logan County court house at Guthrie, the latter part of April 1910, and the burden of my visit was that he go before the people throughout the State in meetings which I would cause to be advertised and discuss his administration. He agreed to go and

I arranged an extensive itinerary and advertised speaking dates that ran continuously from the 7th day of May 1910, until the evening of the 11th day of June 1910. The first speaking date was at Alva, in Woods County, May 7, 1910.

He and I and a large number of other persons connected with his administration left the city of Guthrie on the afternoon of the 6th day of May 1910, by train, to Kiowa, Kansas, where we made connection with the Southern Pacific train that went from Kiowa to Alva, Oklahoma, and on southwest and west. We arrived at Alva in the evening of the 6th day of May 1910 and he spoke to a large crowd of people who assembled there not only from Woods but from Alfalfa, Grant and Garfield counties, as well as many other counties. I billed him and advertised him for speeches in the following places: Woodward, Arnett, Cheyenne, Elk City, Cordell, Mangum, Hollis, Altus, Frederick, Duncan, Chickasha, Ardmore, Madill, Durant, Hugo, Atoka, McAlester, Muskogee and Tulsa. The last date of his said itinerary was at the Grand Opera House on Second Street in the City of Tulsa, the evening of the 11th day of June 1910.

Thus it will be seen that the Governor was on a continuous speaking itinerary from the afternoon of the 6th day of May 1910, to the evening of the 11th day of June 1910 (it must be noted that travel in those days was by train, sometimes with poor connections, and much longer time was taken than would now be taken by automobile).

This fact shows the fallacy of many articles that have been written about Governor Haskell leaving Guthrie for Oklahoma City, after the capital election, in the nighttime. In truth and in fact he had not been in Guthrie since the evening of the 6th day of May 1910, and he never did return in his official capacity as governor.

It will be hereinafter pointed out more in detail, but essentially at this point, that the capital election was held on Saturday, the 11th day of June 1910. The question was whether the permanent capital should be located at Guthrie, Oklahoma City or Shawnee. So when the governor completed his speech at the Opera House in Tulsa on the evening of the 11th day of June, 1910, the capital election was over but the returns were not known.

As it was the custom of Governor Haskell when in Tulsa he made the Tate Brady Hotel his headquarters. After his speech at the Opera House on the night of the 11th of June, I went to the Robinson Hotel (now an office building at the corner of Third and Main Streets in Tulsa). About two o'clock in the morning of the 12th day of June I was awakened by the ringing of the telephone in my room. I answered the phone and the Governor was on the other end of the line and he stated, "Fred I have been phoning over the State and find that Oklahoma City has won the capital election. Come over to the Tate Brady Hotel as a special train on the Frisco is being made up for us to go to Oklahoma City.'' This special train was being financed by Tate Brady, Robert Galbraith (now living in Tulsa), John O. Mitchell who was then mayor of Tulsa and others. This train pulled out of Tulsa between 2:30 and 3:00 o'clock a.m., June 12, 1910, which was Sunday morning. On that train was the Governor, Mrs. Haskell, Tate Brady, Mrs. Brady, John O. Mitchell, Mrs. Mitchell, Robert Galbraith, myself, and others I do not now recall. The train arrived in Oklahoma City about 7:30 o'clock on Sunday morning, the 12th day of June 1910. Governor Haskell and the party, including myself, registered at the Huckins Hotel. The Governor and Mrs. Haskell were assigned to the mezzanine floor in the northwest corner two rooms. The word having gone ahead that this party was on its way from Tulsa to Oklahoma City a large number of prominent business men were at the hotel awaiting the arrival of the governor. Among them was Charles Colcord, C. G. Jones, former mayor of Oklahoma City, W. A. Ledbetter, Charles West, then Attorney General of Oklahoma, Judge Hainer, former Territorial Judge, Ed Vaught, now United States District Judge, and Dennis Flynn, formerly Territorial Representative in Congress, and a large number of other business and professional men of Oklahoma City. When Governor Haskell was located in his hotel suite surrounded as he was by these men, his first exclamation was, ''Get me a stenographer!'' The Honorable Dennis Flynn, who was never known to fail to meet an emergency, in double quick time secured a stenographer and the Governor then and there and in the presence of those assembled dictated a proclamation declaring Oklahoma City to be the capital of the State of Oklahoma. This created considerable comment among those present as none had anticipated that the capital would be moved immediately upon the heels of the election. This proclamation of Governor Haskell appeared on the streets of Oklahoma City and on the front page of the Daily Oklahoman ''Extra'' on Sunday about noon, the 12th day of June 1910.

Following this a furor arose throughout the State as to whether or not this was legal action or whether it was prudent action.

Many stories have appeared in various periodicals as to the seal of state being brought to Oklahoma City. Some have recited their individual version, either without knowledge of the actual facts or with an intended purpose of drawing on their imagination or undertaking to give someone a modest degree of glamor on the stage then set for an important historical act in the history of the new State of Oklahoma.

Adverting to the reference that Governor Haskell called me from the Brady Hotel by telephone at my room in the Robinson Hotel at 3rd and Main streets in Tulsa, and that a special train was going from Tulsa to Oklahoma City, when I got in the lobby of the Tate Brady Hotel I walked up the stairway to the mezzanine floor. Governor Haskell was standing inside his room on the mezzanine floor at a wall telephone and was awaiting connection with his private secretary, W. B. Anthony. As I reached the top of the stair, the connection was completed and I heard Governor Haskell say to his secretary, W. B. Anthony, "Bill this is Haskell. I have been 'phoning over the state and find that Oklahoma City has won the capital fight. Get hold of Bill Cross, Secretary of State, go up to the Logan County Court House. get the seal of state and bring it to Oklahoma City and meet me there in the morning by 7:30 o'clock. Don't fail to get the seal, Bill, and bring it to Oklahoma City. We are leaving here on a special train on the Frisco and will be in Oklahoma City by 7:30 A.M."

Shortly after the Governor's party and myself reached the Huckins Hotel, Bill Cross, who was then Secretary of State, appeared in the lobby at the foot of the marble stairway that led up to the mezzanine floor (but has now been removed and an additional elevator installed where the stairway then was). He walked up the stairway to the mezzanine floor and addressed me, "I have the seal of state in this pasteboard box but I have no place to put it." To which I replied, "I have a roller top desk across here in the old dining room of the Huckins Hotel and you can put it in a drawer of my roller top desk and go back there and get the seal when you need to use it. He placed it in a drawer of my roller top desk where it remained for six weeks until a more advantageous place was located for its safe keeping.

This election of June 11, 1910, on the removal of the capital was held by virtue of a petition filed with the Secretary of State under the initiative provision of the Constitution of Oklahoma and was designated Initiative Petition No. 7, State Question No. 4. Oklahoma City was voted by the people under this Initiative Petition No. 7, State Question No. 4, as the permanent capital of the State.

But this election and proclamation of the Governor, supra, did not settle the capital issue. The city of Guthrie and its citizens had, by reason of the provision of the Enabling Act, expected that the capital would remain in Guthrie until 1913 and thereafter until the people of the State by a vote removed it. This provision of the Enabling Act of June 16, 1906, among others of its numerous provisions, contained this: "The capital of said state shall temporarily be at the city of Guthrie. . . . and shall not be changed therefrom previous to Anno Domini 1913. . . . "

At the instance of the city of Guthrie, a suit was brought in the District Court of Logan County, Oklahoma, entitled "State of Oklahoma, ex rel, Hepburn, County Attorney, vs. Smith, Secretary of State" (Thomas P. Smith of Muskogee had been appointed Secretary of State by Governor Haskell after Bill Cross, the first elected Secretary of State had died on the night of the 4th day of August 1910). That suit raised the question, among other questions, that the Initiative Petition No. 7, State Question No. 4 was defectively submitted in that the ballot title of the Initiative bill did not recite, "Shall it be adopted", and the Court held that since it was not properly submitted, the election was without force and effect as to any of the provisions contained therein. In other words, that the so-called capital election of June 11, 1910, was not effective to remove the capital or for any other purpose. This case is reported on appeal to the Supreme Court of Oklahoma case of "Smith, Secretary of State, vs. State, ex rel, Hepburn, County Attorney," filed November 15, 1910, and reported in 28 Okla. 235, 113 Pacific 932.

Although not effective in creating a legislative enactment the expression of the people of the State was controllingly effective as herein immediately related. The Governor, Charles N. Haskell, immediately and on November 20, 1910, convened the Legislature in extraordinary session (Session Acts Oklahoma 1910 & 1911, page 1), and the Legislature when it was so convened in extraordinary session, among other enactments passed a bill (House Bill No. 1), being "An Act providing for the permanent location of the seat of government and Capitol of the State of Oklahoma." This bill was approved on December 29, 1910 and it fixed the permanent location of the capital of the State of Oklahoma on:

> "Fifteen acres of land surrounding a point on the half-section line running north and south between the north-east fourth and the northwest fourth of section twenty-seven (27), township twelve (12) north, range three (3) west of the Indian Meridian, otherwise known as the center of Lincoln boulevard at its intersection with the center of Twenty-second street, extending east from the right-of-way of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company; and the Executive Mansion shall be located in the vicinity of said capitol grounds on a site consisting of one-half block, the same to be selected by the Capitol Commission."

This enactment is found in the acts of the said extraordinary session of Oklahoma Legislature of 1910, Chapter 5, pages 4 to 7, inclusive.

So it will appear that though the Supreme Court of Oklahoma had by its judicial determination nullified the provisions of the capital removal act as contained in the said Initiative Petition No. 7, State Question No. 4, supra, the Legislature, in its said extraordinary session, by legislative enactment located the capital on the grounds herein designated and on which the present state capitol building was erected during the administrations of Lee Cruce and R. L. Williams as governors, and the present capitol building was occupied by the state offices in 1917.

But this act of the Legislature of December 29, 1910, did not end the capital fight. The books and records and offices of the officials, other than the governor and the secretary of state which were in Oklahoma City from the morning of the 12th day of June 1910, remained at Guthrie, by reason of another suit which was brought at the instance of the city of Guthrie and styled, "W. H. Coyle vs. Thomas P. Smith, Secretary of the State of Oklahoma." This suit sought permanent injunctive relief against the removal of the books and records of the State from the city of Guthrie to

Oklahoma City. It drew in question the proper enactment and validity of the said act of the legislature in extraordinary session approved December 29, 1910, as set out supra. This case found its way into the Supreme Court of the State entitled "Coyle vs. Smith, et al," 113 Pacific 944, in which the Supreme Court of Oklahoma held that the said legislative enactment of the said extraordinary session of the Legislature, fixing the permanent capital of the State at Oklahoma City, was not violative of any valid provision of the Enabling Act of June 16, 1906, and particularly not violative of that provision of the Enabling Act quoted supra to the effect that the capital should remain at Guthrie until 1913.

But this decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Oklahoma did not end the capital fight. But on the contrary, the said case of Coyle vs. Smith, et al, was filed in the Supreme Court of the United States by writ of error issued by that court to the Supreme Court of the State of Oklahoma to review the judgment of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma.

The Supreme Court of the United States in an exhaustive opinion written by Mr. Justice Lurton and filed in that court May 29, 1911, pivoted the decision of that court upon that part of the Enabling Act quoted hereinbefore, to-wit: "The capital of said State shall temporarily be at the City of Guthrie . . . . and shall not be changed therefrom previous to Anno Domini Nineteen Hundred and Thirteen. . . . ."

And turning the searchlight of his reasoning on that proposition Mr. Justice Lurton stated: "The only question for review by us is whether the provision of the Enabling act was a valid limitation upon the power of the State after its admission, which overrides any subsequent state legislation repugnant thereto." He reached his conclusion which was concurred in by the court based upon the language of the Federal Constitution in Section 3, Article 4, which provides that new states may be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with other sister states. After citing numerous cases and bringing to his support logic unanswerable that when a new State is admitted into the Union it is so admitted with all of the powers of sovereignty and jurisdiction which pertained to the original states and that such powers may not be constitutionally diminished, impaired or shorn away, by any conditions, compacts or stipulations embraced in the act under which the new state came into the Union, which would not be valid or effectual if the subject of congressional legislation after admission. (U. S. Supreme Court reports Vol. 221, p. 562-573, Law Ed. 55, p. 853)

This decision of the Supreme Court of the United States ended the capital fight and the capitol building was erected and now stands in Oklahoma City upon the land designated in the said act of the Oklahoma Legislature in extraordinary session assembled on December 29, 1910.

THE MARCH OF THE FIRST DRAGOONS FROM JEFFERSON BARRACKS TO FORT GIBSON IN 1833-1834

*By Hamilton Gardner, Colonel AUS (Ret)**

> *We found excellent stables at Jefferson Barracks, and everything convenient for the prosecution of our laborious undertaking; and we looked forward with pleasant ardor to the formation of a uniform system of tactics, and of the various duties connected with the new arm of the service. No one dreamed that the government would waver in this obvious policy of concentration and quiet preparation, so essential to these important objects; (the more so, that many of the new appointments were not military men.)*
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> *The result was, that, before all the companies were mounted, an order was received to march some five hundred miles, to Fort Gibson.*
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> *In what originiated this march? Was any important public end to be attained? Was it to repel an invading foe? Was it to make a sudden and important attack upon a foreign enemy? Did the good of the service in any way call for it? To these questions there is but one answer—No! There has been assigned, as the only and great motive, that the corps having been raised for the defence of the frontier, would be disbanded if it remained inactive so far in the interior as Jefferson Barracks.*[1]

So confided young Lieutenant Philip St. George Cooke[2] to his diary by way of bitter protest against the treatment of his new regiment, the United States Dragoons, late in 1833. What measure of justification existed at the time for his indignation, for it required courage for a Regular officer to make such criticisms and to publish them, even though many years later? Did the march of the recently activated Dragoons from Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, to Fort Gibson, in the Indian Territory, accomplish its ostensible objective? What were the handicaps to officers, men, horses and equipment under which this cross-country troop movement was initiated? Were the hardships suffered by personnel and mounts too high a price to pay for the alleged short-sightedness of Washington authorities? Or did it all prove to be a baptism of tribulation which started the Regiment into a military life of outstanding accomplishment and distinction?

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* Colonel Hamilton Gardner has lived in Salt Lake City, Utah, since his retirement after twenty-seven years of service in the Army of the United States, in World Wars I and II. He is a graduate of the University of Utah, and a lawyer by profession with a law degree from Harvard in 1917. He has contributed historical articles to several quarterly journals including Harvard's *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, and the *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society.*

Colonel Gardner's contribution on "The March of the First Dragoons from Jefferson Barracks to Fort Gibson in 1833-34" in this number of *The Chronicles* will interest readers who are familiar with the excellent story of the Dragoon Expedition (or Leavenworth Expedition) of 1834 in Oklahoma, told by Colonel George H. Shirk in "Peace on the Plains," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1950) pp. 2-51. Colonel Shirk's article is illustrated with a map of the Dragoon Expedition (1834) in Oklahoma and rare prints, and gives the complete text of Lieut. T. B. Wheelock's *Journal* of this Expedition annotated, with brief biographies of the officers of the command.—Ed.

[1] Philip St. George Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures in the Army; or Romance of Military Life,* 215, 220; (Philadelphia, 1857).

[2] For recent brief biographies of Cooke see my articles: *A Young West Pointer Reports for Duty at Jefferson Barracks in* 1827, *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin,* (St. Louis, January, 1953), IX, 124; *The Command and Staff of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, Utah Historical Quarterly,* (Salt Lake City, October, 1952), XX, 331.

It is the purpose of the present article to chronicle the little known details of this original overland field march of the first permanent cavalry regiment in the United States Army. Emphasis is placed on Cooke's part in it, because, even though he was then merely a subaltern, he remained the only officer concurrently writing about it.

ACTIVATION OF THE FIRST DRAGOONS

From its experience in the Black Hawk War in Illinois during 1832, the War Department convinced the Congress of the necessity for mounted troops for service on the western frontier. None then existed in the Regular Army. The first attempt was a Battalion of Mounted Rangers under Colonel Henry Dodge. But this quickly proved inexpedient and expensive. So the Congress, early in 1833, passed an Act authorizing the formation of a regiment of dragoons. The date of activation was set for March 4, 1833, at Jefferson Barracks. Eighteen officers were commissioned on that day, all of them transfers from the infantry or from civil life. Cooke was included as one of the officer-founders and he was promoted 1st Lieutenant, Dragoons, on the day he was assigned. He was then twenty-four years old.

The first monthly return for the new Regiment was made for August, 1833, and this contains a treasure of interesting information, especially about the original roster of officers.[3] Actually its initial official title was United States Dragoons and it did not employ the numerical designation of 1st Dragoons until a second regiment was authorized in 1836. It was redesignated as the 1st Cavalry in 1861, which it has since remained.

To Colonel Henry Dodge was accorded the honor of being the first Regimental Commander. The headquarters staff consisted of Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, Major Richard Barnes Mason and 1st Lieutenant Jefferson Davis as Adjutant. Colonel Dodge did not assume command until August 29, 1833, and Lieutenant Davis took over his duties the next day. In the meantime Lieutenant

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[3] General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, War Records Branch, Washington, D. C., formerly the Old Files Section, Adjutant General's Office, War Department; cited here as N. A. R. S., W. R. B. The complete August roster is found in *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin, op. cit.*, p. 133.

Colonel Kearny had been ordered March 11 to establish an office in St. Louis to superintend recruiting for the companies to be formed. From that station he sent out newly assigned company commanders and junior officers to various parts of the country to gather in the required recruit strength. It was intended to make the Regiment a truly National unit. Cooke records that these officers "were restricted in their enlistments to persons between twenty and thirty-five years of age; native citizens who, from previous habits, were well qualified for mounted service. The officers were authorized to inform candidates for enlistment that they would be well clothed, and kept in comfortable quarters in winter."[4]

First to be dispatched on such a mission, March 11, was Captain Edwin V. Sumner, of Company B.[5] He found most of his men in New York City, but did not bring them in to Jefferson Barracks in time to be included in the August return. Captain Clifton Wharton, of Company A, joined August 28; Captain Reuben Holmes, of Company C, appeared as "sick" on the monthly return; Captain Daniel Hunter, of Company D, arrived at the Post with his recruits August 3; and 1st Lieutenant David Perkins, commanding Company E, which had been enlisted in New York State, "joined 4th August with a Company." Cooke, who had transferred from the 6th Infantry, reported to Company A on August 28. He had just returned from western Tennessee on recruiting duty.[6] 2d Lieutenant John Henry K. Burgwin had been sent by Colonel Kearny to northern New York on the same mission.[7] The only other officers appearing on the August return, as belonging to the Dragoons, were 2nd Lieutenant Thomas Swords, who checked in August 1 with Company D, 1st Lieutenant Abraham Van Buren, on detached duty, and 2nd Lieutenant Lancaster P. Lupton, "on recruiting service under the orders of Lt. Col. Kearny."[8]

So came into being the oldest cavalry regiment in the Army. At the beginning of the autumn of 1833 the five companies began what in stark reality constituted the most rudimentary basic training. The start was necessarily from scratch. None of the officers had had previous experience in mounted service and it was found indispensable for them to hold special classes of instruction before attempting to drill their men. Distinctive dragoon equipment must be accumulated, including originally designed uniforms. A different type of armament must be provided for this newly created arm of the service. Horses must be secured, equipped, maintained and exercised in military formation. Altogether, the situation called for a suitable period of strenuous training in all activities before anything like a cavalry outfit would emerge.

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[4] Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

[5] Real cavalry terminology, such as squadron, troop and trooper, for battalion, company and private soldier, was not used for some years after this period.

[6] Cooke, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-204.

[7] James Hildreth, *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, pp. 13-14, (New York, 1836). (The authorship of *The Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, credited to Hildreth, has been a matter of doubt which is mentioned in "Peace on the Plains". [Shirk, *op. cit.*, p. 7] with a footnote citing Joseph B. Thoburn, "The Dragoon Campaign," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 [March, 1930], p. 34 that attributes the authorship to William L. G. Miller.—Ed.)

[8] N. A. R. S., W. R. B. All data in this paragraph, except the citations from Cooke and Hildreth, are taken from the National Archives.

The beginnings did not prove auspicious. Many of the neophytes believed they "were enlisted under the express declaration that they were to rank with the cadets in the military academy, and under the belief that they were rather to be considered as a volunteer corps." They were quickly disillusioned; "widely different from their anticipations the members of that deluded regiment found themselves placed upon their arrival at Head Quarters. Instead of enjoying any of the privileges and comforts that had been promised to them, they soon found that they were nothing above the other portions of the army." Private Hildreth, of Company D, who made these comments, described the first drill as a "ludicrous piece of work." The muskets issued were "a lot of condemned pieces that had lain in the arsenal since the last war." As for uniforms, there was "no clothing at all at the Barracks, [and] the most of the dragoons soon began to grow gradually threadbare" in their civilian clothes. Only Captain Sumner and Lieutenant Perkins had shown the foresight to obtain uniforms.[9] The men themselves built the stables for the horses, which did not begin to arrive until late in October.

Of these conditions Colonel Dodge had written earlier to the War Department. Here is his letter book copy, although the original sent forward had been polished up:[10]

> Permit Me to Call the attention of the Genl in Chief to the absolute Necessity of ordering the Cloathing & Arms intended for the use of the U S Dragoons there are four Companies at this post and Capt Sumner is daily expected with an additional Company the recruits are all here Much in Want of Cloathing and it is important We should have our Arms it is important that the Dragoons should be drilled at Target Shooting as well as to fire with precision on Horseback the season is fast advancing.

From all this neglect shown toward the Dragoons, it was natural that they should suffer a corresponding decline in morale. Instead of feeling themselves an elite corps, they were resentful. " . . . . there is much murmuring and disaffection in our regiment. . . . . Desertions are becoming every day more and more numerous. . . . . The guard house was kept continually filled to overflowing."

Some allowance should probably be made for exaggeration in Hildreth's point of view of a recruit fresh out of civil life. Yet the evidence altogether points to a serious situation. Winter was coming on; the last of the horses were not received until after the first weeks in November;[11] and the dragoon uniforms never did arrive at Jefferson Barracks. Even had all these deficiencies been remedied, many months would have been required to whip the Regiment into satisfactory shape.

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[9] Hildreth, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-45. It is to be noted that Hildreth disagrees with Cooke about the building of stables.

[10] N. A. R. S., W. R. B. The letter book copy is quoted in Louis Pelzer, *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley*, published by the State Historical Society of Iowa (Iowa City, 1917), pp. 19-20.

Then the final blow fell!

TRANSFER TO FORT GIBSON

The War Department order sending the Dragoons to Fort Gibson must have been received at Jefferson Barracks not later than the end of October. Not a word in its curt formality discloses the reasons of policy for the transfer. From this might have arisen Cooke's critical speculations, only the mildest part of which was quoted earlier. This was the fateful directive:[12]

Adjutant General's Office
Washington, October 11th 1833

Order.

1. Colonel Dodge of the Dragoons, will, as early as practicable march the 5 companies of his Regiment, now at Jefferson Barracks to Fort Gibson, and in the vicinity of that place establish the Head Quarters of his Regiment and winter the 5 companies. The Major of the Regiment will march with the 5 Companies.

2. Lieutenant Col. Kearney will continue to Superinting [*sic*] the recruiting of the Regiment, and the most efficient means to complete it to the establishment, as soon as possible.

By Order of Major General Macomb
R. Jones
Adjt. Genl

Now began a whirlwind of preparation for the march. Each day's delay meant greater danger from the approaching winter. Colonel Dodge had learned that the uniforms for the Dragoons would be shipped directly to Fort Gibson, so the soldiers wore only fatigue clothes. Special emphasis was placed on conditioning and training the mounts. Each of the five companies was issued horses of a special color—blacks, grays, sorrels, creams and bays. Major Mason held the first mounted battalion parade November 9. Mules and horses were also fitted out to haul the baggage and escort wagons. So far as possible, the elementary regulations of march and camp discipline were imparted to the men. Supplies and forage were gathered and packed. At last, on November 19, the Regimental Commander considered his organization as nearly ready as conditions permitted and he arranged to move out the next day.

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[11] Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
[12] N. A. R. S., W. R. B.

MARCH TO FORT GIBSON

On November 20, 1833, about noon, the rear element of the column of Dragoons cleared the gate at Jefferson Barracks. The march to Fort Gibson was under way with Colonel Dodge in personal command. Captain Wharton's Company A led the movement, followed by his company wagons. Captain Sumner's Company B, Captain Holmes' Company C and Lieutenant Perkins' Company E, with the same disposition of wagons, followed in order. Captain Hunter's Company D acted as advance, flank and rear guard. At the rear 18 prisoners, under sentence chiefly for desertion, marched on foot. They were "hand-cuffed and chained, some with a cannon ball to the leg."

The first day's march was limited to about four miles and camp was pitched on a small stream. Private Hildreth gives an interesting picture as the troopers cleared away the underbrush and "pitched our white canvas tents":[13]

> "Driving down our picket posts we secure our horses, and after having fed and cleaned them, began to make preparations for our own comfortable lodgings and supper. [Many log fires lighted up the scene.] The encampment extended over a considerable space of ground, each troop having pitched their tents in two rows, about twenty paces apart, facing inwards, with the horses picketed in the center of the intervening space; the tents occupied by the field-officers were in a line opposite their respective troops, six paces in rear, and the staff-officers occupying a station still six paces in rear of them."

The general direction of the march pointed southwesterly. It involved fording and crossing numerous unbridged streams and some sizeable rivers. Roads in any modern sense were nonexistent. The terrain crossed was generally rough, including part of the Ozarks. White settlements in the region were few and small. The Dragoons carried their own food, because, unlike their later famous expeditions on the prairies and plains, and into the mountains, they could not depend on wild game, especially buffalo. It had been expected that most of the forage for the horses would be found enroute. But the worst factor of all remained the inclemency of the weather.

Passing the little logging town of Manchester, the five companies marched 20 miles the second day and 23 miles on the third—very creditable performances under the circumstances, and only possible by starting before sunrise. On the third day they encountered their first heavy snowstorm. Beginning November 24, they entered into what they thought of as "mountains" and valleys, which, interspersed with level stretches of prairies, remained thereafter the principal type of ground covered. Soon they passed near the "squatters of Daniel Boone". Hardly a week had elapsed before forage for the horses became scarce and even the transported grain ration was reduced by half. December 8 witnessed extensive river

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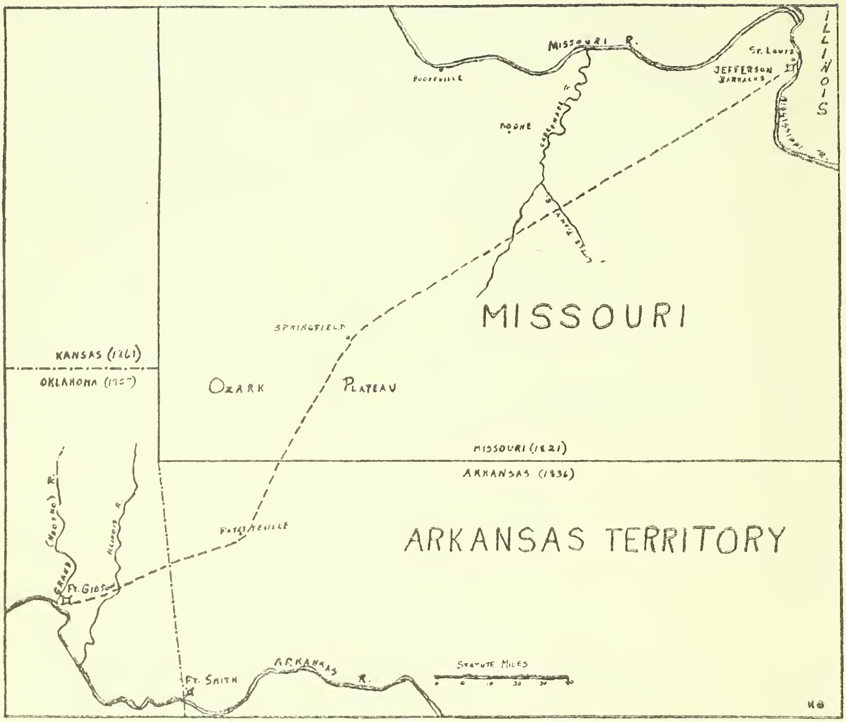
[13] Hildreth, *op. cit.*, p. 60.



MARCH OF THE 1st DRAGOONS 1833-1834

Route of March from Jefferson Barracks to Fort Gibson.

crossings over the Big and Little "Piony" and the Osage Branch of the Gasconade. Camps at night were variously named—Burbee, Delaware, (from a deserted Delaware Indian village), Illinois, (on the river of that name), Sandy, (on a sand bar in the Neosho River). It is not clear whether this column touched Springfield, although some of the later companies did so. Passing from the State of Missouri into the Territory of Arkansas, camp was pitched near Fayetteville. Then the march led to the Illinois River in the then Indian Territory and in its final stages to the Neosho, (or Grand), and past Fort Gibson.

Private Hildreth describes the condition of the men upon reaching that Post:[14]

> Truly I believe no dragoon of the command will ever forget the day of our arrival there; weariness and extreme fatigue were depicted upon every countenance; and now, indeed . . . . we would willingly have drained our pockets of the last copper for a morsel of bread. I never before saw so many half-starved men together; the greater portion of us had eaten scarce a mouthful since our departure from the Illinois river two days previous; and our rations had become so bad that it was almost impossible to swallow them.

To make matters worse, bread was then scarce at Fort Gibson.

In a terse communication to the War Department, regrettably lacking in details which would have been of outstanding interest to later students of the march, Colonel Dodge reported the arrival of the first echelon of his Regiment:[15]

> Head Qrs. Regt. Dragoons
> Camp Jackson Dec. 18th. 1833.
>
> Sir
>
> I have the honor to inform you that I left Jefferson Barracks on the 20th Ultimo and arrived at this place on the 14th Inst with Companies A, B, C, D & E of Dragoons.
>
> The Head Quarters of the Regiment have been established about one mile from Fort Gibson.
>
> Very Respy.
> Y. mo. obt. Servt.
> H. Dodge Col
> Commg U S Dragoons
>
> To
>
> Col. R. Jones
> Adjt. Genl. U. S. Army
> Washington D. C.

The monthly return of the garrison at Fort Gibson for December, 1833, showed that the roster of Dragoon officers included all those mentioned as having reported at Jefferson Barracks, with some additional names. Cooke, in the meantime, had been transferred from Company A to Company C and 1st Lieutenant James W. Hamilton[16] had replaced him. Other additions were 1st Lieutenant D. B. Moore, 2nd Lieutenants W. Bradford, J. L. Watson, and Brevet 2nd Lieutenants J. S. Vanderver, G. P. Kingsbury, S. M. Bowman and A. Ury. Two officers were on duty elsewhere—1st Lieutenant Abraham Van Buren, (whose father was soon to be elected President of the United States), was still on staff duty as aid-de-camp to Major General Alexander Macomb, General-in-Chief of the Army; and Brevet 2nd Lieutenant George W. McClure on undesignated special duty. The roster of officers of the Dragoons at Fort Gibson numbered 21. Those at Jefferson Barracks were of course not included. Altogether, a total of 680 officers and men of the 7th Infantry and the Dragoons were carried on the Post rolls, of whom 55 were sick and 30 in arrest or confinement.[17]

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[14] Hildreth, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
[15] N. A. R. S., W. R. B.

With Colonel Dodge's official formal report the first half of the march of the Dragoons terminated. Not a word of praise is found in the record for what in reality was a notable achievement. The five companies had covered a distance of approximately 500 miles over rugged terrain, with little help from roads and none from bridges. Average daily rate of march attained about 20 miles, with only one day's rest on the Illinois River. Illy equipped with clothing, lacking adequate food toward the last, with horses none too well conditioned and mostly on reduced forage rations, relying on a service experience of not to exceed three months, wholly undisciplined in marching and camping, and suffering the hardships of winter weather, the Dragoons completed their transfer assignment in 25 days. No casualties of any kind were reported. What they had thus initially accomplished, in adversity, made a fitting prelude to the distinguished record of the Regiment later.

FORT GIBSON

Fort Gibson had been started in 1824 on the Grand, or Neosho, River, about three miles above its confluence with the Arkansas. Its primary purpose was to watch the Osage Indians and prevent intertribal wars, particularly with the nations which were being sent by the Jackson administration into that country from east of the Mississippi. The original, and in 1833, the present garrison was the 7th Infantry, under command of Colonel Matthew Arbuckle, although several companies of the short-lived Mounted Rangers had been stationed there.[18] Staple supplies and Army equipment were brought to the Post by riverboats, steaming up the Arkansas, but that enterprise was always hazardous and oftimes undependable because of low water and tricky sandbars, not the least of which lay in the Grand, near its mouth.

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[16] Son of Alexander Hamilton.

[17] N. A. R. S., W. R. B.

[18] Grant Foreman, *Fort Gibson—a Brief History*, pp. 7-13 (Norman, 1936); *—Advancing the Frontier*, pp. 35-44 (Norman, 1933); William Brown Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma*, pp. 6, 28-32, (Oklahoma City, 1936).

Before the arrival of the Dragoons at Fort Gibson in the wintry December of 1833, Colonel Dodge had sent forward an advance messenger to Colonel Arbuckle. He reported back that no quarters were available on the Post for the men nor stables for their mounts. This latest evidence of lack of foresight in Army staff planning added little by way of welcome to the Fort which, for the most part, was to be their home station for the next five years. So they marched about a mile west of Fort Gibson and encamped for the first night on a sandspit in the Grand River. Then they set up winter quarters near an adjoining strip of woods on the prairie. It was named Camp Jackson in honor of the President. Across a small stream lay a large canebrake which was used to supply fodder for the horses. The winter proved unusually inclement. Cooke wrote:[19] "Here they found no comfortable quarters, but passed a severe winter for any climate in tents; the thermometer standing more than one day at 8 below zero. There were of course no stables, and but very little corn, and the horses of necessity were turned loose to sustain a miserable existence on cane in an Arkansas bottom."

Colonel Dodge reported that January had been unusually cold. He also complained that "the Arms I drew from the Arsenal is of the Most indifferent Kind and I have no supply of Ammunition to enable me to practice the Men to target firing."[20] The long promised and awaited Dragoon uniforms had not arrived at the Post, the latest information being that they formed part of the cargo of a steamer stranded downstream because of low water in the Arkansas. Aside from the actual hardships of that first winter, Hildreth resented the complete lack of any intellectual or spiritual stimulus. Later the Regiment did establish a small library for enlisted men, but at present he found nothing in the nature of worthwhile diversion, "no religion . . . . no missionary thinks of the soldier, no chaplain, no Sabbath, are there for him."[21]

Under all these circumstances it could hardly be expected that the *esprit* of the enlisted men should be high. Discipline was extremely strict, but desertions were frequent and violations of regulations of daily occurrence. Courtsmartial sat regularly. Cooke himself was thrown into the very center of this much disliked duty; he was appointed Judge Advocate of the court, under "Orders No. 1":[22]

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[19] Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[20] *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley*, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27; official version in N. A. R. S., W. R. B.

[21] Hildreth, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[22] N. A. R. S., W. R. B.

Hd. Quarters West. Department
Memphis Ten. January 4th 1834

Orders
No. 1

I. A General Court Martial to consist of thirteen members will convene at Fort Gibson. A. on the 20th Inst., or as soon thereafter as practicable for the trial of such prisoners as may properly be brought before it.

Colonel H. Dodge, U. S. Dragoons, Prest:
Lt. Col. L. Burbank 7th Inf. 'M' Maj. R. B. Mason, Dragoons
Capt. E. S. Hawkins 7th Inf. 'e' Capt. C. Wharton, Dragoons
Capt. E. V. Summer Dragoons 'm' Capt. D. Hunter, Dragoons
Capt. J. L. Dawson 7th Inf. 'b' 1st Lt. D. Perkins, Dragoons
1st Lt. J. W. Hamilton Dragoons 'e' 2d Lt. L. W. Moore, Dragoons
2d Lt. W. Bradford Dragoons 'r' 2d Lt. J. L. Watson, Dragoons
's'

1st Lt. P. St. G. Cooke, of the Dragoons Special Judge Advocate.

II. Colonel Arbuckle of the 7th Infantry is hereby authorized to fill any vacancy except that of President, that may occur in the above detail either at the meeting of the court or during its session: this detail to be made from the Dragoons and 7th Infantry at the Post, and according to their relative strength.

By order of Major General Gaines
Geo. A. McCall
Adjt. actg. Asst. Adj Genl

The punishments inflicted by the court were unduly severe; indeed, from the modern viewpoint, they almost approached the inhuman. Space limitations here preclude any detailing of this dark picture, but considerable illumination has been thrown on it by Grant Foreman in his writings about Fort Gibson.[23]

So passed the first winter in the history of the Regiment—full of disillusionment, adversity and hardship, with the men pressed down by the utter loneliness of almost complete isolation on the distant Frontier. But somehow the basic soundness of the American military system caused it to survive and enter upon a brilliant record of accomplishment. Long years later the members of the elite 1st Cavalry, stationed in commodious barracks at fully equipped posts, must have looked back with admiring sympathy upon these tribulations of the officers and men who founded their corps.[24]

FURTHER RECRUITING AT JEFFERSON BARRACKS

In the meantime, at Jefferson Barracks, Lieutenant Colonel Kearny had been active in carrying out the War Department order to recruit and activate the remaining five companies of the Dragoons.

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[23] *Fort Gibson—a Brief History*, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-19.

[24] Since this study is one of a series dealing primarily with the career of Cooke, I have not gone into the difficulties of Colonel Dodge and Major Mason with their Adjutant, Lieutenant Jefferson Davis. For some information on this topic see Pelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 28, and *Fort Gibson—a Brief History*, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24, and *Advancing the Frontier*, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

He continued the policy of drawing recruits from widespread areas in the Nation. Thus Captain Eustis Turner's Company F was formed principally of men from Boston, and Company G, under Captain Lemuel Ford, stemmed chiefly from Indiana. Captain Nathaniel Boone's[25] Company H, Captain John B. Brown's Company I and Captain John R. Bean's Company K were the last to complete the Regiment. All were assembled, equipped, mounted and trained at Jefferson Barracks, more or less successively, during the spring of 1834.[26]

The march of the last five companies to Fort Gibson was not made in one echelon, as had been the case with Companies A, B, C, D and E. Each moved out alone, in general following their alphabetical order, although H, I and K were grouped roughly in the final movement. On the whole they followed the route of the first column southwesterly. At least Company I camped near Springfield, which a trooper in that unit reported as "a village . . . . with 15 or 20 log Cabbins", where he lamented that the grog shops "sell Whiskey and other things to us soldiers at a most exorbitant price— For instance 25¢ a pt for Whisky"![27] The entire march was accomplished without unusual incident. No doubt the seasonably clement weather and better uniforms and equipment contributed to this result.

First to arrive at Fort Gibson was Company F, late in April, 1834, having been 24 days en route. Company G reported in a few days later. Companies H, I and K reached Camp Jackson on June 12 and after only three days of preparation H and I moved westward to join the Regiment which had already taken the field under Brigadier General Henry Leavenworth on the fateful expedition to the Pawnee (Tow-e-ash) villages. They checked in with Colonel Dodge June 21. Company K stayed a few days at Camp Jackson and then moved up. Company A, under Captain Wharton, had been previously dispatched to guard the annual merchants' caravan on the Santa Fe Trail.

United thus for the first time, the 1st Dragoons at once found one of its companies again separated on a special mission. This practice was to continue throughout its entire tour of duty in the West.

The initial monthly return for the complete Regiment was made out at Fort Gibson for the month of June, 1834. As the earliest roster of its kind in the history of the Dragoons, this document deserves setting forth in some detail:

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[25] Son of Daniel Boone.

[26] N. A. R. S., W. R. B.

[27] Louis Pelzer, "A Journal of Marches of the Dragoons," *The Iowa Journal of History*, Vol. VII, No. 3 (July, 1909), pp. 335-341.

Command	Rank	Name	Remarks
	Colonel	Henry Dodge	Present. Commanding Regiment
	Lt. Col.	S. W. Kearny	Present for Duty
	Major	R. B. Mason	Present for Duty
	Adjutant	Jas. W. Hamilton	Present for Duty
	Surgeon	C. A. Findlay	Present for Duty
	Asst Surg.	G. W. Hailes	Attending Sick Dragoons at Camp Canadian
	Asst "	J. B. Porter	Absent on Duty with Company "A"
A	Captain	Clifton Wharton	Absent with Company Escorting Santa Fe Traders R. O. No 93. May 10th 1834
	1st Lieut.	L. P. Lupton	Same
	2d Lieut.	John L. Watson	Same
B	Captain	E. V. Sumner	Present Commanding Company
	1st Lieut.	Thos. Swords	Present Actg Asst. Quarter Master
	2d Lieut.	J. H. K. Burgwin	Present for Duty
C	Captain	Matthew Duncan	Present Commanding Company
	1st Lieut.	J. B. Wheelock	Transferred to Company C. Regt. Order No. 117. 2nd June 1834
	2d Lieut.	John P. Vandever	Present Acting Asst. Com. of Sub.
D	Captain	David Hunter	Present Commanding Company
	1st Lieut.	D. B. Moore	Present for Duty
	2d Lieut.	E. Steen	Absent on detached Service since June 6th 1834.
E	Captain	David Perkins	Present Commanding Company
	1st Lieut.	Jeffn. Davis	Present Commanding Company F.
	2d Lieut.	James Allen	Absent not joined
F	Captain	Eustis Turner	Present Comdg Company
	2d Lieut.	G. W. Holmes	On detached service with 7th Infantry
	1st Lieut.	C. F. Noland	Absent without leave since 13th May 1834

G	Captain	Lemuel Ford	Absent without leave since 14th May 1834
	1st Lieut.	P. St. G. Cooke	Absent sick at Camp Canadian
	2d Lieut.	B. A. Territt	Present Commanding Company
H	Captain	Nathan Boone	Present Commanding Company
	1st Lieut.	Saml. W. Moore	Absent on duty in 7th Infantry
	2d Lieut.	James W. Skambough	Present on duty in Company "K"
I	Captain	Jessie B. Brown	Present Commanding Company
	1st Lieut.	Abraham Van Buren	Absent A.D.C. to Genl. in Chief
	2d Lieut.	James Clyman	Absent on Furlough since May 12th
K	Captain	Jessie Bean	Absent on Furlough S. O. S. W. Frontier No 17. June 17th 1834
	1st Lieut.	I. F. Izard	Present Commanding Company "K"
A	Bt. 2d Lt.	Jas. M. Bowman	Present doing duty in Company "C"
B	" " "	G. W. McClure	Present for duty at Regl Hd Quarters
D	" " "	Asbury Ury	Present on Duty in Company "H" since 18th June. by order of Col Dodge
E	" " "	Gaines P. King	Present for Duty
F	" " "	Wm. Eustis	On detached service since 31st May 1834
H	" " "	Thos. J. McKean	Absent on duty at Jeffn. Barracks
I	" " "	A. G. Edwards	On detached service since June 26th
K	" " "	L. B. Northrop	Present doing duty in Company "H"
	" " "	E. G. Eastman (Inf)	in Company "G" present Sick

The roster shows forty-five officers in the Regiment.

It will be noted that Cooke had again been transferred, this time from Company C to Company G, already his third assignment in the Regiment. Like so many of his comrades, he was sick in one of the field hospitals which had been set up during the Pawnee village march.

Some entries are not clear. It does not appear how Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, who had been replaced as Regimental Adjutant by Lieutenant Hamilton, could be in command of Company F, while at the same time the Company Commander, Captain Eustis Turner, was "Present commanding Company". But such in fact is the record.

The monthly return discloses the "Total" number of officers and men in the Dragoons to be 588 for June, 1834. Of these 68 were carried as sick. During the month 12 men had been discharged; the names of 16 were listed as having deserted, including two sergeants; and one had died. It was stated that 103 recruits were required to meet Regimental needs.[28]

It was at Fort Gibson that the Dragoons held their first ceremonial exercise as a completed Regiment, even though Companies H, I and K had not yet reported there. As Commanding General, Left Wing, Western Department, General Leavenworth issued an order, April 23, 1834, that all troops designated to form part of his expedition to the Pawnee country should be mustered at nine in the morning of April 30 and should parade at three that afternoon. Freshly uniformed and equipped and fully mounted, Colonel Dodge turned his troopers out for this initial test, polished to the last possible button. General Leavenworth, an infantryman, liked what he saw. In an order the following day he commended:[29]

> The dragoons are in excellent order, much better than could have been reasonably expected considering the many disadvantages they have had to encounter during the past winter. It is evident that the officers and men have not been inattentive to their duties. The uniform is very good, as well as very soldierlike and beautiful in its appearance, and the horses appear to be very good, and all their equipment of excellent and substantial quality.
>
> The eyes of the whole country are upon this corps, and much is expected from it. . . . .

Probably this official praise formed some compensation to the pioneer cavalrymen for what they had recently undergone.

FORECAST ON THE DRAGOON EXPEDITION IN OKLAHOMA

Cooke wrote about this time: "Nature would seem to have conspired with an imbecile military administration for the destruction of the regiment."[30] Could he have foreseen the dire misfortunes they were doomed to suffer in the approaching expedition to the Pawnee villages, he might have used even more extravagant language.[31] But that is another story.

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[28] N. A. R. S., W. R. B. This document had to be repaired before being photostated. Some of the letters are difficult to decipher.

[29] N. A. R. S., W. R. B.

[30] Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

[31] Lieut. Philip St. George Cooke was with the Leavenworth Expedition (1834) in Oklahoma as far as *Camp Canadian* (near Atwood, Hughes County) where he was left among the twenty-seven sick, returning to Fort Gibson as soon as he was able to travel (Shirk, *op. cit.*, p. 11).—Ed.

"THE SMOKED MEAT REBELLION"

By Mel H. Bolster*

EARLY OKLAHOMA AND CREEK UNREST

A United States Marshal in 1909 did not have an easy job preserving the peace in the new frontier state of Oklahoma. The eastern part was no longer officially called the Indian Territory, but there had been little time for change. A considerable part of the population was Indian—Shawnee, Osage, Iowa, Kickapoo, Pawnee, Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Seminole, and many other tribes removed to the Indian Territory during the 1800's.

Some of the bigger towns had begun to look like small cities, but most of the trading centers were just wide places in the country roads, lined on either side with a few wooden store buildings, and it was not at all unusual to see a man carrying a rifle as he rode through town. Most of the Indian lands had already been opened to settlement, and the land-hungry homesteaders had begun to develop their claims.

Almost any Oklahoma newspaper of the day carried accounts of stolen mules and horses, and miscellaneous shootings and murders. Banks were robbed with alarming frequency in various communities; and in a small town in the east-central part of the state someone ran off with a thousand pounds of smoked bacon. That started the "Smoked Meat Rebellion."

Deputy Marshal W. M. Morey[1] of McIntosh County knew where to look first for the missing meat. For some time a die-hard band of Creek Indians had held the Hickory Ground as their capital where in addition to the Council House, there was a wooden store building and restaurant. Leadership came from the Creek full bloods, the

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* Mel H. Bolster graduated from the University of Minnesota (B.B.A.), and received his M.A. degree from the University of Arkansas in 1952 where he presented a thesis on "The Smoked Meat Rebellion" based on his research in the Newspaper Files and Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and on interviews with persons who were living in the Creek Nation at the time of the trouble. After his return from Navy service during World War II as Skipper of an LST in the Pacific, he traveled (1947-49) for Prentice-Hall, Inc., in Oklahoma, Texas and Louisiana. He is now located in the State Department, Washington, D.C.—Ed.

[1] United States Works Progress Administration Project S-149, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, and the University of Oklahoma, Norman. This is the Foreman Collection, 112 volumes *Indian and Pioneer History* in the Indian Archives of the Historical Society, and is the principal source for much of this article.

The writer expresses his appreciation to those who assisted him in his research: Miss Muriel H. Wright, Mrs. Rella Looney, General and Mrs. Roy Hoffman of Oklahoma City; Mr. W. E. McIntosh, Mr. J. H. Miller, Mr. Fred Cook, Mr. Dana Kelsey of Tulsa; and Dr. Grant Foreman of Muskogee.

"Snakes" who opposed allotment of land. The *Lexington Leader* observed on July 10, 1909, that "the Indians had been refusing allotments, and now they showed no interest in the certificates of allotment, and organized solely to resist the law." Tents and shacks around the Hickory Ground, in which many Creek Negroes were living, were also a hangout for numerous petty thieves and otherwise lawless Negroes who roamed the countryside.[2] About one hundred of them had been camping with the Creek Negro freedmen for several months, stealing chickens, corn, and bacon from the farmers at night and lying low at Hickory in the daytime. Occasionally they would kill a cow or a hog. Warrants had been issued for the arrest of many of them. The Indians did not accompany these fugitives on their nocturnal raiding nor did they assist them other than to allow them to put up their tents at the Stomp Ground. Some full-bloods even sought to avoid possible trouble by moving a mile west, while others, through Eufaula Harjo and Barney McGilbra, asked for Interior Department protection from "Snake" Negroes and "state niggers."[3]

If there was trouble, the Creeks would be expected to follow Chitto Harjo, a man well known to be a capable leader and a dangerous enemy. He had long been a major figure in Creek affairs and had played an important part in formulating the articulate opposition of a large faction, mostly full bloods, against allotment of lands in severalty and the removal of restrictions from the allotments. They still hoped to establish, under the treaties of 1832 and 1866, their right to participate in Creek tribal claims and to perpetuate their old communal mode of life.

Chitto Harjo was the romanticist's typical Indian. A fullblood of the old Muskogee royal line, he was a member of the House of Kings and statesmanlike defender of the old order. He was tall and straight and carried himself with dignity and pride. His hair was coarse and black and hung loosely to his shoulders. He had the high nose and prominent cheekbones characteristic of many American Indians, and he wore a black slouch hat pulled down slightly over his bright, piercing eyes. Very little is known about his early life. He was born in 1846; his father was Aharlock Harjo, his mother is unknown.[4] During the Removal they had come with the Upper Creeks to Oklahoma, and subsequently Chitto Harjo was among Opothleyahola's followers who fought on the Union side in the white

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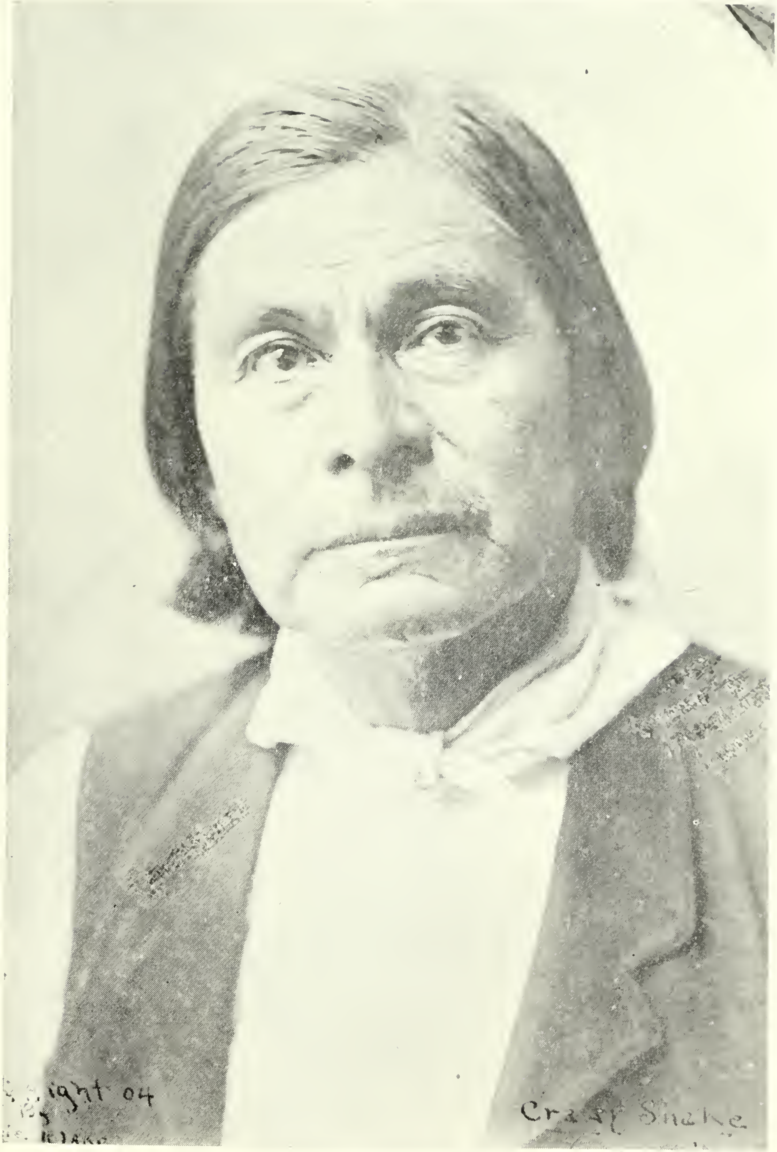
[2] With the end of the Civil War, the Creeks freed their slaves, and the Treaty of Cession and Indemnity of 1866 provided for the adoption of Creek freedmen and free Negroes living in the Creek country. By 1883, the colored citizens, reinforced by acceptance of "state" Negroes, constituted more than one-fourth of the population.

[3] District Agent Fred S. Cook talked to Barney McGilbra of the Indian Police about white prejudice against the Negroes, and suggested the danger that might exist in allowing them in Indian camps and meetings. McGilbra then asked for assistance in getting rid of the Negro element, particularly those wanted by the law.—WPA Project S-149.

[4] J. B. Campbell, *Campbell's Abstract of Creek Indian Census Cards and Index* (Muskogee, 1915), p. 168.



(Photo, 1904)

CHITTO HARJO

man's Civil War. He could neither read, write, nor speak English. The name "Chitto" is a Creek word meaning "snake," and "Harjo," originally a title rather than a name, signifies "one who is brave beyond discretion, foolhardy, or in a loose sense, crazy."[5] Hence the careless translation, "Crazy Snake." The Chief, however, often preferred to be known as Wilson Jones. His roll number in the Creek Nation was 7934, and in 1901 his census card number was 2718.[6]

Chitto Harjo, steadfast leader of the opposition during the allotment period, was an orator of great ability. His famous plea in Tulsa in 1906 was heard by about 5,000 people. He spoke in defense of the fullblood view of the Federal government's Indian policy. His words reveal a determination to adhere to the ancient treaties, to make no adjustment, and to trust completely in the good faith of the American government. He not only succeeded in impressing the public audience, but even the Senators of the investigating committee to whom he addressed himself showed interest and sympathy.[7]

In 1909 it seemed that the Snake Indians, with guns in their hands and the fiery purpose of Crazy Snake in their hearts, might actually be foolish enough to start something. There are various explanations for the name "Smoked Meat Rebellion." One report is that 1,000 pounds of meat was stolen from Morey Springs, hence the name. Bun Ryal, an Indian, heard one Frank Harris, a white man, confess to the theft. Laurel Pitman, a Creek, said it was called the "Smoked Meat Rebellion" because a posse robbed Chitto Harjo's smokehouse of a wagon-load of smoked bacon. Another story blames a dog for chasing a rabbit under a smokehouse and carelessly collapsing the smokehouse. Whatever the reason for the name, the Smoked Meat Rebellion of the Snake Indians began with Crazy Snake and his followers nothing more than observers—interested, dismayed, and surprised.

Sheriff Odom was not a man to get very excited over a wagonload of stolen meat. But there had been other things stolen during the past month, and he knew that the people of his and adjacent counties had just about had enough. He decided to have his men visit the Snake council grounds. They could pick up an Indian wanted for selling mortgaged property and search for stolen goods at the same time. And while they were at it, they might take note of the supplies accumulated and check the number of fighting men the Snakes could muster. Too many men would cause alarm, and it would be foolish for one man to walk into that camp. The Sheriff decided three men could do the job.

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[5] Mace Davis, "Chitto Harjo," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII (1935), No. 2, p. 140.

[6] J. B. Campbell, *Campbell's Abstract*, p. 163.

[7] John Bartlett Meserve, "The Plea of Crazy Snake (Chitto Harjo)," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI (1933), No. 3.

The event at Hickory Ground was not of great importance in itself, but it did lead to the culmination of a struggle between Indian and white man that had been going on for generations in the Creek Nation.[8] It was part of the larger conflict that had begun on our Atlantic shores in the day of Ponce de Leon in the early sixteenth century. The purpose of the present paper is (a) a brief examination of the land troubles underlying the "Smoked Meat Rebellion," and (b) an inquiry into the nature of the fullblood resistance and its last strong leadership.

THE DESTRUCTION OF A NATION

Three hundred years ago the Creek Confederacy was one of the most powerful Indian groups in North America. Their number during the 1780's reached 25,000 or 30,000.[9] During the latter half of the century the two great divisions, the Upper Towns and the Lower Towns, still occupied the greater part of what is now included within the boundaries of Alabama and Georgia. Creek civil administration, their representative government, social institutions, and criminal code were achievements of a highly developed primitive state.[10] Then, before the relentless advance of the white man, the Creek Nation embarked upon the heartbreaking "Trail of Tears." They were led to a new life and a new land in the vicinity of the "Three Forks" of the Arkansas, Verdigris and Grand Rivers in what is now eastern Oklahoma. Okmulgee became the capital, and the stone council house was erected there in 1878. The Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, more familiarly known as the "Dawes Commission," was appointed under act of Congress on March 3, 1893.[11] Its purpose was to negotiate with the Five Civilized Tribes for the extinction of their communal land titles. Tribal affairs were eventually liquidated and individuals in the Creek Nation were allotted 160-acre tracts, but traditions and customs are the product of many generations' development, and the cultural heritage of centuries is not forgotten as easily as names are written on pieces of paper. The uncompromising fullblood Creeks were unwilling to accept the new order that brought the dissolution of their own laws and government. They refused to choose individual allotments, and in the fall of 1900 many, under the able leadership of Chitto Harjo, quietly attempted to set up their own government based upon the

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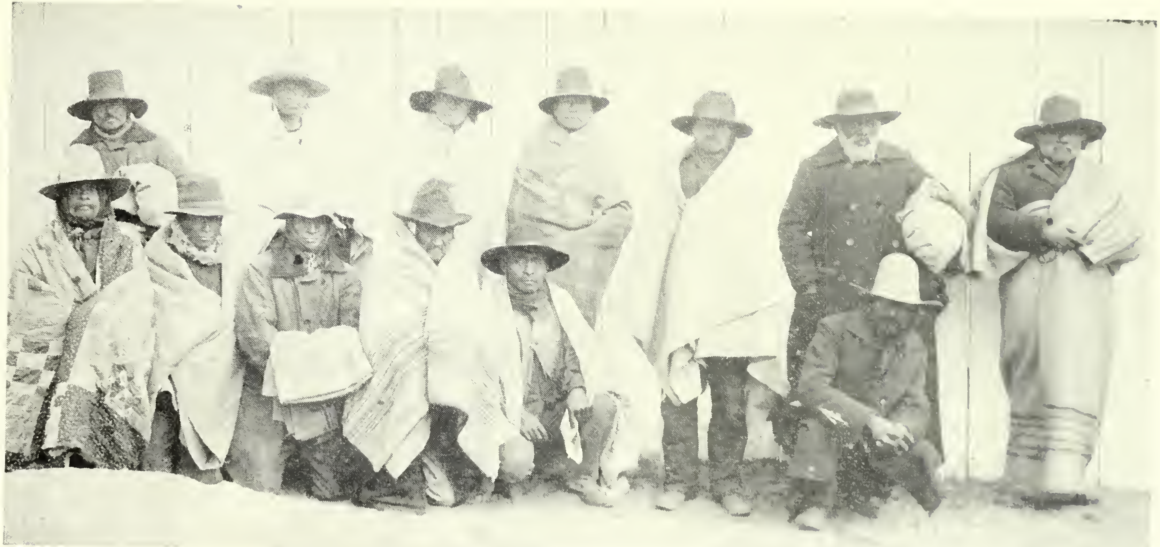
[8] Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run* (Princeton, 1940); — *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941).

[9] Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951), p. 131.

[10] *Road to Disappearance, op. cit.*; McKenney and Hall, *Indian Tribes of North America*, II, pp. 17, 32; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1845, pp. 515-18. For further information see John R. Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy," *Forty-second Annual Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1928).

[11] Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (57 Cong. 1 Sess., Sen. Doc. No. 452; Washington, 1904), Vol. I, p. 33.



"Snake Indians" of Creek Nation, under arrest at Muskogee, Indian Territory, 1901.

ancient treaties.[11a] These people were popularly referred to as "Snakes." They organized their own lighthorse, a special Creek Indian police guard.[12] and held their council meetings at old Hickory Stomp Ground, five miles from Henryetta. Fear of dispossession haunted them constantly, but occupation of their legal tracts was absolutely out of the question. After decades of insecurity and encirclement, with even their land now being taken from them, there seemed little to live for. The destruction of tribal government and the suppression of the ancient traditions left even less. "There is no life in the people that have lost their institutions."[13]

TROUBLE AT THE OLD STOMP GROUND

On Monday, March 22, 1909, Constable A. Y. Patty, of Eufaula, and two friends rode out to Old Hickory Ground. They had obtained a warrant for the arrest of the Indian who had sold the mortgaged property, and also a search warrant for the camp from Bun Ryal, a Justice of the Peace, who lived two miles south of Hickory.

When the three men arrived, they found more tents than they had expected, some twenty or twenty-five.[14] The inhabitants seemed to be mostly Negroes, and they were a surly lot. But the deputies presented their warrant and began a systematic ransacking of the premises. The sullen Indians and "Creek Niggers" stood and watched for a time, then began quietly reaching for their rifles. Someone edged forward, and the the dark circle moved in. Constable Patty saw the rifles; the three men halted their search and turned to face the Snake spokesman. Brusquely they were ordered to get out quick "and never come back." Patty tried to argue, but the Creeks meant business, and the three left. While Patty called that he would be back, they headed for Henryetta, about five miles distant, where they could round up a posse.[15]

[11a] Land allotments in the Creek Nation (160 acres each to every enrolled Creek adult and minor, and to every enrolled Negro Freedman adult and minor) were confirmed and continued by the Dawes Commission under the Creek Agreement approved by the Act of Congress of March 1, 1901. Out of a total of 13,144 allotments (160 a. each) completed by June 30, 1902, there were 1,331 arbitrary allotments made by the Commission for those Creeks who refused or neglected to choose lands for themselves, namely those individuals known as "Snakes." (*Annual Report* 1902, Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, p. 39)—Ed.

[12] In the 1880's and 1890's the lighthorse cooperated with United States marshals and Indian police in smashing organized crime (mainly horse-stealing, robbery, liquor-dealing, train robbery and murder) in the Creek Nation.

[13] *And Still the Waters Run*, *op. cit.*, p. 132, quoted from source in Indian Territory Division files.

[14] On March 26, 1909 Cook wrote to Kelsey, "These premises were occupied at that time probably by seventy-five negroes but few of whom, however, were enrolled as members of the Creek tribe of Indians but were known as 'state' negroes." They were often wanted by the law, and were generally considered intruders.

[15] Accounts of the incident may be found in the Oklahoma Historical Society: Newspaper Files—*Oklahoma City Times* (March 26), *McAlester News-Capital* (March 26), *Daily Oklahoman* (April 4); and in the Indian Archives—WPA Project S-149 (*Indian and Pioneer History*). The action of Patty and his men was severely criticized by Cook in a letter to Kelsey on April 17th.

Before arrangements could be made for a return trip to Hickory with a posse, it was necessary to report the results of Monday's visit to Sheriff Odom, and to plan the strategy of the next call. It was not until late Wednesday that a fourteen-man posse of officers and citizens under Patty and Deputy Frank Jones started for the outlaw camp. It was hoped that a surprise could be effected, so the group tied their horses some distance away and split up into three patrols as they neared the Snake stronghold. One approached from the northeast, one from the southeast, and the other from the southwest. When the three patrols converged, the Indians were holding a meeting. No one suspected the presence of the possemen. Patty and Jones gave orders to dig trenches for the night; the actual attack would not begin until dawn of the following day.

The best-laid plans are easily wrecked, however. Several members of the posse decided to visit Edwards' Store for one reason or another, and they were seen. When the white men left the store building, the still woods suddenly rang with the reports of several rifles. No one was hit, and in the semi-darkness both sides retired for the night. But a handful of men on a rise near the edge of the encampment dug their trenches a little deeper.

The first trace of dawn found both camps quiet and unanxious to start anything. But once the sun appeared, the possemen cautiously scouted about and soon decided that they needed reinforcements. Joe Ferguson started back to Eufaula for some quick recruiting. As he slipped away into the trees, Timothy Fowler, a sixty-year old preacher who had accompanied the posse, stood up to see him off. An Indian spotted Joe and fired wildly. Part of the buckshot charge struck Fowler in the forehead and chest. He fell mortally wounded as the posse opened up on the Snakes who had secreted themselves in the thick underbrush along Coal Creek, which runs through the eastern part of the Camp Ground. The Snakes returned the fire briskly, and were so well concealed that the possemen were forced to remain under cover, shooting from prone positions. The battle lasted more than an hour.

Finally, forty-two ragged, frightened men surrendered to the officers. About fifteen had escaped into the woods.[16] White casualties, in addition to Fowler, included Lee Kimball, hit in the arm; Silas Foster, a broken hip; John Black, struck in the thigh; John Grant, hit in the leg; and Ed Collier, shot in the left arm.[17]

Early reports of several Negro dead were later discounted by the press when no bodies were found. There were Negro losses, however. A Henryetta banker reported with certainty that six had been killed,[18] and both Bill Carr and Lee Bateman (neither of whom were there, but who were authorized officers and long-time residents of the area) informed the author that there were definitely several. ''Probably seven or eight,'' thought Bateman who saw some of the dead a short time after the shooting. He said that they were quietly buried by Bun Ryal. Officers in the fight included Patty of Eufaula, and G. W. Chappell, Joe Ferguson, and C. L. Forester, all of Henryetta.[19] All in all, much of the trouble thus far was more like a race riot than an Indian war.[20] In letters of March 26th, District Agents Fred S. Cook of Checotah, and Thomas J. Farrar of Okmulgee, both advised Agent Dana H. Kelsey that the Indians under their supervision had nothing to do with the disturbance.

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[16] WPA Project S-149; the various accounts are based upon the official Indian Service Investigation. Twenty-one Oklahoma newspapers, especially the *Oklahoma City Times* and the *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), are a main source for the remainder of this paper.

[17] *Oklahoma City Times*, March 26; *McAlester News-Capital*, March 26.

DEAD DEPUTIES

The town of Pierce in 1909 consisted largely of one store which sold everything from potatoes to axes, and housed the only telephone for miles around. The nearest railroad town was Checotah, fifteen miles northeast, a long, rough ride through desolate hill country. Crazy Snake lived in a small one-story eighteen by twenty-foot house about one and one-half miles due west and completely hidden from the town. The clearing was near the eastern base of Tiger Mountain, a rugged, heavily timbered eminence approximately twelve miles east of Henryetta. The house faced east away from the edge of a ravine which ran in a northeasterly direction, toward the Canadian River bottoms to the south. Here Chitto Harjo had broken some land and done some farming on a small scale. He did not believe in fences, and neither knew nor cared where boundary lines ran. He was liked by his immediate neighbors, and his home had become a favorite gathering place of a few fullbloods who continued to ignore government land regulations. Some of them worked for the ''Chief'' from time to time; certainly their meetings need not have caused the alarm among nearby whites that they did. Nevertheless, as soon as the citizens of Pierce heard the news of the fight at Hickory Ground, they wasted no time in seeking safety in the town's only store. Few people dared to venture back to their homes that night, and for the next several days women and children congregated at the store in the early morning and remained there until late at night.

Saturday morning a second posse of twenty-one special deputies under Patty and Bill Ransome proceeded to the old Stomp Ground.

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[18] Frank Jones later reported that twelve had been killed; W. F. Jones, *The Experiences of a Deputy U. S. Marshal of the Indian Territory* (privately printed, c. 1939), p. 7.

[19] It is doubtful that many, if any, of these men were authorized sheriffs or deputies. Perhaps, like Patty, they were town constables.

[20] In interviews with the author, General Roy V. Hoffman, Mr. Fred Cook, and others have substantiated the innocence of the unfortunate Indians.

The Negroes would be ordered to disperse, and those who resisted would be gathered into the fold at the Eufaula jail. Actually, stubborn resistance was anticipated, and the possemen were fully prepared for a pitched battle. But when they reached Hickory the camp was deserted. A thorough search of the tents did bring to light several hundred dollars worth of stolen property, including a magic lantern, cooking utensils, and a phonograph. After that had been recovered, the camp was set afire, and by the time the last horse had moved beyond the rim of the surrounding hills, all that remained were smoldering stone chimneys standing throughout the blackened camp site; and over all still floated an American flag. It had been a rather quiet day. But "Doc" Odom had recruited a good many deputies by this time, and some of them were bound to stir up trouble somewhere.

Lee Bateman of Checotah, Edward Baum, City Marshal from Checotah; Herman Odom, twenty-two-year old son of the Sheriff; Bill Carr, United States Marshal from Checotah; Frank Jones, one of the most famous manhunters in Oklahoma; and Frank Swift, an observer friend of Jones, were detailed to pick up Crazy Snake at his cabin near Pierce.[21] Bateman had reported seeing several Indians bringing quantities of meat to Harjo's place, and there was talk of his delivering another address to his people soon. A swift move now might stifle a dangerous rally by the discontented Creeks, it was argued. There had to be a semblance of legality about the business, so the old Chief was charged with inciting a riot and disregard of the laws of the state.

The approach to Harjo's house was made from the south, up through the ravine. The officers all rode in a three-seated hack they had procured at Sampson's livery stable in Checotah. The sun was low and hidden by the hills to the west. About half a mile from the cabin two Indians carrying Winchesters were seen running from an old shack toward the Chief's house. When they did not respond to commands to halt, except to run faster, the officers opened fire. One Indian fell, the other gave himself up. They were identified as Charlie Coker, a Seminole, and Sa-Pa-Yeh, a Creek doctor. Coker was thought dead, and while his friend was chained to a tree one hundred yards further up the trail, he made good his escape.

A third Indian was seen assisting Coker, and it was assumed that they would warn the Chief if the shooting had not already given the alarm.[22] Swift was left to watch the captive, and the rest of the posse moved on toward the cabin. Baum and Odom were in the lead as they circled along the edge of the timber. When they were opposite the cabin, all five stepped over a barbed wire fence (Bateman recalls he tore his britches) and into the open. Across the ravine someone was burning a grass field. Several saddles lay on the porch of the house, and a number of ponies stood nearby. Then several Indians were seen running from the cabin to the security of the woods. Baum, in the lead, shouted for them to halt and fired two or three warning shots into the trees over their heads. But the frightened Indians had no way of knowing that the shots were not meant for them, and the battle was on. A marksman concealed behind a hog-wire fence north of the cabin fired; Baum fell heavily and lay still. Odom called out, "Lee, Ed's been shot!" Unmindful of the danger to himself, he hurried to Baum's side. Another shot came from behind the hogwire fence, and young Odom slumped to the ground. Bateman was by himself farther to the right, while Jones and Carr were to the left and behind Baum and Odom. All three, lying prone, opened up on the marksman about 190 yards away.[23] The marksman would rise up and shoot, exposing his head and shoulders, then crouch low and move a few feet before firing again. Then he became silent, and the officers concentrated on returning the fire of the Snakes back in the trees to the left. They had the setting sun and the fire on the hillside to their backs and had kept the deputies pinned down to a very small area. There was little thought given now to offensive measures by the forces of law and order. All three of the officers were low on ammunition, and it was getting too dark to make out the dusky targets back in the brush. It was evident that unless help arrived, they would be surrounded by superior numbers and picked off during the night.[24]

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[21] The above account of the fight was related to the author by Mr. Carr and Mr. Bateman.

[22] The survivors' story at the time was one of ambush, according to newspaper accounts. It is clear, however, from the recent testimony of Carr and Bateman that such was not the case. Kelsey was informed by District Agents Cook and William Baker that there was no ambush of the officers by the Indians.

It was quiet now in the valley behind Chitto Harjo's cabin. Shadows edged forward to merge with other shadows and conceal the movements of men hiding there. The Indians were playing the game in a calm and deadly fashion. Carr whispered, "It ain't any use in us staying here and gettin' killed." He carried Odom's body toward the woods; then, seeing Jones having difficulty carrying Baum, he returned to assist. Baum died in their arms. The three survivors then slipped back to where they had left Swift with Sa-Pa-Yeh and the rig. Jones had but one cartridge remaining, Carr had two, and Bateman, forgetting he was firing a repeating rifle, had ejected several rounds of live ammunition and had none left. They rode with all possible haste to Pierce where Swift telephoned Sheriff Odom in Checotah. When the Sheriff heard of the death of his son, the entire operation took on a new light. The next evening, when a butcher's wagon was slowly drawn into town, many a horrified citizen read a new purpose into the Sheriff's effort to clamp down on potential trouble-makers among the Snake faction. The dead men lay on a mat of straw, mute testimony to the real danger of an Indian war. Baum had been hit in the forehead with a "dum-dum," the kind of bullet that mushrooms after contact.[25] This was accepted by most people in the area as Crazy Snake's reply to law and decency.

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[23] Louis Harjo was reported to have stated, "It was Charles Coker, the Seminole, and I who shadowed the officers as they approached our home yesterday evening. . . . Coker is an expert shot, and was fully 300 yards distant when he made fine targets of the bodies of the officers." *Daily Oklahoman*, March 29.

[24] Cook was told that the old Chief did no shooting, but crossed his arms and nervously paced the floor during the action. Bateman told the author that he doubted that Chitto Harjo had a gun in his hands at any time during the shooting.

The day after the shooting, a group of armed men rode out to the scene of the fight. Bateman had seen three Snakes fall, but the dead and wounded had been removed during the night.[26] Sampson Brown, a Negro, was the man who had killed the two officers. He had been wounded, and was identified by the hat and pistol that lay by blood stains where he had fallen. He later died. All three of the survivors said they had seen Crazy Snake flee from the cabin, and all were under the impression that he too had been struck. Nevertheless, he had made good his escape, and so had Coker.[27] It was thought that he and the Seminole were traveling together, and before long thousands of apprehensive Oklahomans anxiously awaited word of their capture. It was assumed that they would go directly to some mountain rendezvous where they would organize hundreds, perhaps thousands of maddened Indians into an effective horde of savage killers. By one o'clock on the morning of March 28th, Governor Charles N. Haskell had ordered five companies of the Oklahoma National Guard regiment into the field.[28] Numerous unofficial posses had already begun the search for yet unorganized, disunited bands of Snake Indians—and especially Crazy Snake.

THE SEARCH FOR CRAZY SNAKE

Sunday morning papers all over Oklahoma carried front page stories of the Creek "uprising," few of them alike. Imaginative writers had their own ideas of how an Indian war should be waged, and some of this knowledge appeared in their columns. "Reliable sources" reported further killings on both sides and gave hundreds of people in the effected area good reason to gather in the larger towns and stay out of the fields. No one knew how many Snakes there were back in the hills, or what their plans were. Trouble had been brewing for a long time, in fact ever since the days of the Dawes Commission. The attitude of the harrassed whites was expressed by the Mayor of Checotah when he grimly stated, "Crazy Snake must go . . . . . His people are dangerous to the community. . . . . It is necessary that they [Snake Indians] be cleaned up or else they will eventually depopulate this part of the country of whites. . . . . The situation is critical. . . . ."[29] A dispatch a short time later from Henryetta said that Chitto Harjo's capture will "either terminate the long and useless reign of this famous Snake Indian band or it will stir the blood of all the Indians throughout the country and a general uprising of the Indians ensue."[30]

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[25] "The favorite weapon of the natives was a high-pressure, long-range rifle shooting a steel bullet. Frequently they carried dum-dum ammunition."—Major General Charles F. Barrett, ed., *Oklahoma After Fifty Years, a History of the Sooner State and Its People,* 1889-1939 (Oklahoma City, 1941), Vol. I, p. 199.

[26] Frank Jones later reported that seven Snakes had been killed. *Experiences, op. cit.,* p. 8.

[27] Some believed that Coker had been shot at Chitto Harjo's home, and had died the next day. Imagine Bill Carr's surprise when, months later, he and Coker sat opposite each other at a dinner table, neither one recognizing the other. When someone warned Bill, he and his wife hastily repaired a flat tire and quietly drove away in order to avert trouble.

[28] Governor Haskell's decision to call out the National Guard was, in all probability, based almost entirely upon the plaintive appeals from the distraught white citizens in the Creek country. See Barrett, *Oklahoma,* Vol. I, p. 198.

Adjutant General Frank Canton undoubtedly had some misgivings when he ordered out the state militia. His statement to the press clearly expressed what he thought of the whole business. One of the most efficient and picturesque of the veteran peace officers of the American frontier, he had been all through the Creek country as a cattleman and Deputy Marshal twenty years back. He knew the ways of the Indians.[31] "I am rather of the opinion that some wild newspaper writer has worked off a small sized riot as an Indian war or race war. The only element of danger lies in the fact that sensational writers have caused the excitement and some one may have to do something to keep up the show. It is unfortunate that the affair was so greatly magnified [in the first press accounts]. From my reports there have been but two killed since the trouble started and those were officers who seem to have had extremely poor judgment."[32] Moty Tiger, Principal Chief of the Creeks, wrote to Governor Haskell, "I am of the opinion that the entire misfortune has come from the unnecessary alarm and ill-management on the part of those charged with the duty of maintaining law and order in that locality [around Pierce and Hickory Ground]."[33]

Nevertheless, the settlers throughout the Snake region were greatly relieved when the first units of the militia appeared. Companies F from Muskogee, M from Oklahoma City, B from Chandler, H from Durant, and C from Shawnee and a Hospital Corps unit from Oklahoma City had taken special trains within a very short time after receiving orders to move. The commander in the field was Colonel Roy V. Hoffman of Chandler, although Lieutenant Mont F. Highley was ordered to proceed with haste to the scene of the trouble and assume command until the Colonel arrived.[34]

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[29] *Guthrie Daily Leader*, March 31.

[30] *Daily Oklahoman*, April 1.

[31] Frank M. Canton, *Frontier Trails, the Autobiography of Frank M. Canton*, "Introduction" by Edward Everett Dale, ed. (Boston and New York, 1939), pp. 107-150, 223-36.

[32] *Oklahoma City Times*, March 30.

[33] WPA Project S-149, *loc. cit.*

[34] There were about 175 Army men in the field and 25 officers.—Barrett, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 202.

But before the militiamen marched onto the scene, a good many determined and ambitious men squinted down a rifle barrel, some just practicing, eagerly awaiting the time when they could really draw on an Indian or "nigger" and get away with it. Others were following living targets and shooting to kill. Young men scarcely in their teens rode up and down the streets of towns in the Creek region carrying Winchesters and "thumb-buster .44's."

Colonel Hoffman arrived in Henryetta in mid-afternoon, and wired General Canton in Guthrie (then the capital of the state) that "troops arrived in good order; excitement among the residents great." He then proceeded immediately to the Hickory Stomp Ground.[35] Meanwhile, several units of the Guard hurried toward the Creek country, and at the same time posses sprang up wherever there was a leader. To qualify for posseman, it was necessary to have a gun and a horse, a nervous trigger finger, and a flair for adventure. A policeman of the Muskogee Union Agency office of the United States Indian Service recognized the danger in allowing every Tom, Dick, and Harry to roam the country looking for Indians. In a letter to Agent Kelsey he wrote, "You are familiar with their [Snake] customs and can handle them with 2 or 3 police to a better advantage than 4 Regiments of State Militia, with the feeling that exists between the Indians and the State Officers. Some of the County officers want more notoriety and will jump at a chance to shoot an Indian. A dead Indian claim is worth more than a live one in this country. . . . ."[36] Undoubtedly Kelsey, a man of integrity and experience, agreed; but he had no authority to order back the National Guard or prevent the organization of posses. So within a very short time hundreds of armed men swarmed into the field and woods eagerly peering through the brush, hoping to flush Crazy Snake or other fair Indian game. In general, hunting was good, but the Chief was never found.

At sundown three signal fires were reported on Tiger Mountain; otherwise the night passed quietly. A few Indians and Negroes surrendered without a struggle near Checotah. One Negro was pronounced innocent and allowed his freedom in hopes that his experience would help allay fear of the rope among those who, although innocent of any crimes, had fled to the hills.

The fear of massacre was genuine among the white populace of the old Creek country, and their apprehension was fanned by the scalping and atrocity stories of the press.

The headlines in the *Guthrie Daily Leader* on Monday, March 29, 1909 were dramatic:

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[35] Colonel Hoffman's report to Governor Haskell is reprinted in the *Daily Oklahoman*, April 2.

[36] WPA Project S-149, *loc. cit.* "Snake could have rendered a service to the state by shooting some of these white men"; Barrett, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 197.

HOPE TO REACH FASTNESSES OF TIGER MOUNTAIN IN WHICH NATURAL STRONGHOLD THEY EXPECT TO MAKE FINAL STAND AGAINST DETERMINED PURSUERS—MUCH FIGHTING APPREHENDED BEFORE INDIANS ARE SUBDUED.

The Associated Press report of the "uprising" was written in flowery, pompous language, and described the retreat of "100 Indians under the personal command of Chief Crazy Snake." Indian plans for a fight to the death were revealed, and the public was informed of a last minute war-dance in which Crazy Snake "arrayed himself in savage toggery." It is to the credit of many Oklahoma newspapermen that such rubbish was discounted throughout the State's press. But the story was out, and before long vivid tales of the Oklahoma Indian massacre, complete with war-dance and pictures, were circulated in even the conservative eastern newspapers. In Chicago one-hundred-and-fifty anxious mothers awaited word of their sons—average age about thirteen—believed to have run away to Oklahoma to fight Indians. They had been holding military drill for several days.

While the newspapers fought their Indian war, the posses organized for theirs. One, under Frank Jones, moved on to Harjo's home.[37] When they were about 250 yards from the house, the Indians opened fire from the windows of a second cabin about 100 yards away, the same one Crazy Snake's scouts had run from the day the possemen barely escaped alive. Carr estimated that about fifty shots were fired on both sides before two Indians were seen running to the woods. Someone had set Harjo's house on fire, and the smoke was rolling low and thick through the trees. Subsequent investigation of the premises revealed nothing, although bones, thought to be human, were found in the ashes of the house. Possibly one Indian had been killed or severely wounded during the shooting, but none of the possemen had been hit. Now they turned their attention to scouring the woods once again. In justice to these men who thoroughly searched and researched through the inhospitable country into which the Creeks had been driven, it should be mentioned that not all were the troublesome "Future Heroes of America" who just couldn't wait to shoot an Indian. There were many people who had good reason to hate the Hickory Ground crowd, and who were as willing to blame the Indians as anyone else. The editor of the *Checotah Inquirer* wrote, "He [Chitto Harjo] had better surrender to the militia if he surrenders at all. Our people are very much worked up over the killing of Deputy Sheriff Odom and City Marshal Baum. I would not insure his life if he were brought back here."[38]

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[37] Sources for the following account are *Oklahoma City Times*, March 29, 30; *Daily Oklahoman*, March 30 (the name "Bill Clark" should be read "Bill Carr"). Officers participating were Sam Baker, Frank Jones, Lee Bateman, William Odom, Bill Carr, Frank Smith, J. L. Schilling, F. T. Swift, Joseph Holland, Homer P. Lee, John (Bud) Ledbetter, and William Roundtree.

[38] Quoted in *McAlester News-Capital*, March 30.

No one sensed the uneasy tension and suspense running throughout the Creek country better than Colonel Hoffman. He gave prompt orders that all possemen, unless holding a special permit from the Sheriff of McIntosh County, must disarm themselves or be arrested and sent to jail. No one would be arrested, however, unless he was in camp away from home without satisfactory explanation, or was bearing arms or harboring criminals. But this timely discipline was largely unheeded, and numerous atrocities were committed by irresponsible gunners and conscientious ''nigger-haters'' before the civilian forces could be brought under control.[39]

Hoffman's immediate command of eighty-eight officers and men were issued forty rounds of new Springfield ammunition and rations for twenty-four hours. At daybreak on the 30th (Tuesday) they marched into the woods. Other militia units were closing in, and additional posses were formed in response to calls from law officers and also from just plain restlessness. It was hard for a man to stay around the house minding his own business when his neighbors were out fighting Indians and protecting the women folk.

As to the whereabouts of the enemy, little was known. Most people were ready to believe that Crazy Snake was still in the woods and need only be found—preferably before the militia or the Department of the Interior could locate and protect him. Men having families in Pierce sent them to friends in Checotah. Frightened citizens read false newspaper accounts (again, purporting to be on the most reliable authority) of thirteen men having been killed during the first week of hostilities. Equally incorrect reports told of the capture of Crazy Snake.

That night Hoffman pitched camp about four miles from Stidham. The ground was damp and chilly as the weary guardsmen rolled up in their blankets close to huge log fires. Company M had camped out the night before with neither blankets nor tents. Over in Henryetta, reinforcements from Muskogee waited for the second show to let out; then they entered the theater and settled themselves for the night. By ten the next morning they were all looking for an unfortunate and innocent Indian who did not understand the white man's law.

The sun peeped over the Concharta Hills on Wednesday morning, March 31, 1909 and beheld one of the most extensive manhunts in the history of the nation. That is what the Smoked Meat Rebellion had become—a first-class manhunt. And how they hunted! Hundreds of men with posses and the militia were hoping to capture Chitto

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[39] General Barrett wrote, "It is just to say that there were many honest and capable officers in the country; it is no less just, however, to say that many of these deputies were as disreputable and unreliable as could be found. . . The greatest danger [for the troops] was in being fired upon by deputies lying in ambush in the hills.—Barrett, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, pp. 198-99.

Harjo and thus eliminate a dangerous agitator.[40] A base of operations was set up just west of Tiger Mountain, and was called Camp Tiger, in part an honor to an able guide and interpreter, Johnson Tiger. Telephone communication had been established between the advance base and Camp Hickory, but during the night the line was cut in several places. An offer of reinforcements came from Joseph Miller of 101 Ranch, who thought that a group of one hundred 101 cowboys could find and bring in Crazy Snake. It would have been dramatic, but there were already more than enough men in the field. From Texas, General Albert L. Myer, Commandant of the Department of Texas, sent word that he could have a battalion of federal troops on the way from Fort Sam Houston within a few hours if necessary. He doubted the need, but was prepared to give assistance if the situation in Oklahoma became worse.

A few more fugitives were brought in, but at length Colonel Hoffman decided that there was no need for the number of men he had in the field. He also realized that the deputy posses were probably doing more harm than good; Indians brought in confessed that others in the hills feared death at the hands of the possemen if captured. Many Indians had heard that the whites would burn their homes and kill them. Indeed the *Gotebo Gazette* reported that the "insurrection of the Crazy Snake band of Creek Indians. . . . will have a tendency to help out the land question on the east side. Dead Indian claims can be sold, you know."[41]

On April 1st, one week after the battle at Hickory Ground, Colonel Hoffman began reducing his forces. Back in Guthrie, General Canton appraised the situation in a four-sentence statement to the press:[42]

> While conditions in the Creek country are greatly improved in the last day or two and the troops have the situation well in hand, things may get worse. In the event they do I shall call out the remainder of the regiment and lead the men myself. The trouble doesn't seem to be of a serious nature and I do not apprehend that it will grow more serious. While a great many sensational reports have been sent out regarding the Snake uprising and correspondents have painted exaggerated pictures of the situation, the fact is not altered that the Snakes are a dangerous lot and should at this time be suppressed once and for all.

By Friday, the main body of the National Guard unit was based at Camp Tiger in the forward area of operations. Most of the posses left the hunt, leaving the field to the First Regiment and Colonel Hoffman. He and Major Charles Barrett unsuccessfully searched previously unexplored river bottoms. For many people, the absence of further captures or surrenders was ominous warning of a quiet Indian mobilization in the hills, but most folks were ready to return to their homes and their neglected fields. Corn planting had already been delayed a full week.

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[40] Indian Service officials did not blame the Snake-Creeks for the trouble, but many did believe that Chitto Harjo should be deprived of his liberty to arouse his people.

[41] Quoted in *Daily Oklahoman*, April 3.

[42] *Daily Oklahoman*, April 1.

Crazy Snake was now believed to have moved west of the Tiger Mountains. He was probably obtaining food and shelter from friends back in the mountains to the east, and was very likely in bed as a result of his wound. If that was the case, the hunt was almost over. Hoffman accordingly ordered a shift of all troops at Camp Tiger back to Hickory which had been all but abandoned. As the Colonel's command passed through Weleetka late in the evening, spirits must have been low. For a week they had tramped over rough hills, down deep ravines, and through thick woods. Hoffman had reported they were standing up well during the rigorous campaign, but field rations become tasteless in much less time than a week, and although most of the troops had brought dogtents, they often patrolled without them to facilitate operations in rugged country. It was raining as they trudged back to Hickory.

Although peace had been restored throughout most of the troubled area, Colonel Hoffman was firmly resolved to seek out his quarry if his troops had to remain in the field indefinitely. By this time, there was no glamour left in the wearisome business, and few volunteer adventurers persisted in the field. The scare had subsided into rather mild curiosity about the whereabouts of the wounded Chief. The Smoked Meat Rebellion was no longer front page news, and everyone but Hoffman could forget about it—or ask embarrassing questions about the state militia. The waning interest was reflected in the attitude of the press. On April 2nd, the *Daily Oklahoman* dryly commented, "What a Muskogee newspaper calls the 'Smoked Beef Rebellion' is all but over. McIntosh county will feed (in a day or two) between 80-100 prisoners, not one of whom resisted arrest." On the same day the *Vinita Weekly Chieftain* observed that "100 Creeks under Crazy Snake [are] on warpath, but fail to spread terror." The *Pawnee Times-Democrat* sounded a note of finality: "Those Snake Indians must surrender and give up their land. The state of Oklahoma purposes fighting it out on this line if the militia has to camp and fish all summer."[43] No necessity for calling out the Navy . . . ." decided and Agent Kelsey had, after a careful investigation, declared that Chitto Harjo had a right to defend his home against irresponsible persons and officers with no authority to arrest him.[45] The expense to the state was rising an indirect proportion to the morale of the troops, and most Oklahomans wondered why they did not go home.

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[43] Quoted in *Daily Oklahoman*, April 11 from the *Pawnee Times-Democrat*.

the *McAlester News-Capital*.[44] Special Agent George W. Woodruff

[44] *McAlester News-Capital*, April 1.

[45] Apparently Indian Service officials were satisfied that the posse had lacked proper authorization. Bateman informed the author that a warrant to search Harjo's home had been issued. Fred Cook concurred in a letter to Kelsey when he said that a warrant should never have been issued to Baum and Odom.

By April 22nd only two Indians were being held for trial. Most prisoners had been speedily released at Eufaula. Even the doughty Colonel was at last ready to follow the lead of the posses and abandon the chase. ''Ten thousand men could not find Crazy Snake in the region in which he is hiding,'' Hoffman finally declared. A few militiamen remained out under the old frontiersman, Bill Tilghman, but soon even Bill realized the near hopelessness of ever finding Chitto Harjo. When he quit the search, so did the remaining troops. As far as the National Guard and most Oklahomans were concerned the Smoked Meat Rebellion, which had cost the state $6,330.17, was over.[46] *The Daily Oklahoman* likened it to ''the average Central-American war,'' thrilling while it lasted, but of little further significance. Russell Henty Fisher, writing for the *Oklahoma City Times* early in the campaign, seemed to understand the true import of the affair as it concerned the nation:[47]

> The Snake Indian Uprising is but a ripple on the surface of a new commonwealth that has recently undergone transition from territorial government to statehood. The same number of men might be killed in Kansas City, Minneapolis, Chicago or New York . . . . in a saloon riot, and . . . . be only a commonplace incident. But here the name "Indian" figures in a story, and around that word is clustered a wealth of romance and sensationalism.

The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1909 made only passing reference to the rebellion: ''Outside of the so-called ''Crazy Snake trouble'' and the arrest of an occasional recalcitrant Indian for refusing to work the roads or pay his road or personal tax there has been no trouble between the Indians and the state and county officials.'' This is an understatement, for people were killed, and fields were abandoned while terrified people huddled in stone buildings and strapped on guns. Yet the entire affair had only fleeting moment for the nation. Its true fact and meaning hardly touched the Indian. Angry citizens had made war on a camp of outlaws, and then, confusing outlaw and Indian, had carried their grudge to the secretive, refractory Snake clan of the Creek Nation. Secretary of the Interior Richard A. Ballinger announced that he saw no reason for federal intervention in the Indian troubles, and that state authorities would be able to handle the affair.[48] Perhaps the most striking development of the Rebellion was the splendid cooperation that existed between military and civil agencies, both of whom had a genuine desire to punish and protect in accordance with the highest principles of justice.

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[46] This is the estimate of Adjutant General Canton.

[47] *Oklahoma City Times*, March 29.

[48] This opinion was shared by General Canton, who was reported as saying, "The militia will be kept on the ground for the protection of Indians who will be brought in. The whites are surely able to meet any emergency . . . The local authorities must and can now control the situation if proper judgment is used." Chief Moty Tiger released a statesmanlike comment defining his understanding of the "Rebellion." He stated that Chitto Harjo "had no hand whatever" in inciting anyone to resistance of law and order.

For the Indians—especially the old-timers, the fullbloods who knew what had been lost, the persecution of Crazy Snake meant much more. Chitto Harjo's defiant but defeated followers, and even those who had known the futility of resistance, took a last deep breath and turned to look with tired eyes toward their setting sun.

THE DEATH OF CRAZY SNAKE

As for the old Chief, it is doubtful that any living person knows for certain what happened to him. For a time it was thought he would yet be located; then, when he was not, many stories were offered to explain his disappearance. Few had much, if any, basis in fact. Some people believed that the Chief and his faithful band had all fled to old Mexico. This had almost become a traditional explanation for Chitto Harjo's more clandestine movements, and was groundless. It is established that, after the attack at the cabin, Crazy Snake went almost directly to the home of his sister, Polly Jones Davis. He was wounded, and Polly gave him a blanket when he asked for one. Then he left.

An account of the Chief's last months was written by Fred Barde, a journalist whose investigation of Chitto Harjo's death merits respect and careful consideration.[49] Crazy Snake dropped out of sight for some three or four years. Then, in 1913, Barde made a personal investigation. He had been with Hoffman's troops during the Rebellion as a reporter for the *Guthrie Daily Leader*. He was satisfied that shortly after the fire that demolished Crazy Snake's house, a Choctaw friend of the Chief, Daniel Bob (also Dan Roberts), received a message asking him to go to a certain place north of McAlester. Presumably he had heard about the trouble in the Creek country, and he lost no time in complying. At the designated place he met Chitto Harjo and Charlie Coker, who had been wounded slightly in the chest. A fourth member of the group was Anderson Harris of Lukfata, in McCurtain county, but it is not clear whether he came with Harjo and Coker, or if he accompanied Daniel Bob to the meeting place. The four men immediately began the long trail back to Bob's cabin in the Kiamichi Mountains. The trip was slow and tortuous. Crazy Snake could not ride, and the path, after passing through South McAlester, lay along a secluded route north of Wilburton, through the Winding Stair Mountains, and into the Kiamichis. A narrow trail was followed to the headwaters of Eagle Fork, and from there a deer trail led around the edge of Bok Tuklo Mountain to the cabin, about seven miles from the old Choctaw settlement at Smithville. Daniel Bob's brief account from there is quoted by Barde in the *Chronicles*:[50]

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[49] Journalists and historians consider Barde's reporting reliable and unprejudiced. The conviction that the Chief died in the Choctaw country is shared by most Creeks today. Many do not believe that he died as a result of wounds, however. Available evidence leads the author to believe that Chitto Harjo was wounded during the cabin fight and that he did reach the home of Daniel Bob. It does not seem likely, however, that he languished for three years and then died as a result of the wound. He was an old man in 1909. It seems reasonable to assume that his wound did heal, but that he remained weakened, and declined in health until he died.

> There was a man by the name of Chitto Harjo were came over here at my place. He were stay here while, and he got down in April 5, 1911, and the last few days of his life were spent in bed. One morning in April 11, 1911, at 10 o'clock, his life passed from away. In this April 5, he get down that with indeed distress, as the gunshot wound in his hip, and had died. Than we laid him good in my house yard. That where he lie in grave. This is all about Chitto Harjo death at my place.

In 1937, a seventy-three year old man, S. M. Gipon, confirmed that Crazy Snake had died at Daniel Bob's home in the Choctaw country, a foreign land to a native Creek.[51] In 1938 Mrs. Artie Potts of Talihina, a fullblood Choctaw, testified that Chitto Harjo had died at the home of Dan Roberts. Her husband was an ardent admirer of the Creek leader, and word had come secretly to them and other friends that Harjo had been shot and was in serious condition. Mrs. Potts recalled that some thirty friends came to stay with the dying man until the end. During that time she assisted with preparation of meals for the entire crowd. Her home was nearby, so additional cooking facilities and utensils were at hand. She remembered that subsequent burial was beneath a large hickory near the Bob cabin.

And so another able Indian leader was gone. We cannot compare Crazy Snake with Opothleyahola or with Tecumseh or Pontias, but it is interesting to speculate as to his probable achievements had he lived earlier, before the armies of the white man were anything more than a big bluff in the Indian Territory. He was one of the foremost among Indian orators and statesmen, and his uncompromising, fearless defense of what he thought was just and honest, reflected character achieved by only a few.

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[50] Quoted by Dan W. Peery, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 3 (September, 1933), p. 910.

[51] Ben Dwight, appointed Principal Chief of the Choctaws, confirmed this for investigators under WPA Project S-149.

THE ARMSTRONGS OF INDIAN TERRITORY

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

PART III

GENERAL FRANK CRAWFORD ARMSTRONG

Frank Crawford Armstrong, born at Skullyville, Indian Territory in 1835, was a son of Frank Wells Armstrong who resided among the Five Civilized Tribes from 1830 until his death in 1839. His mother was Anne M. Willard Armstrong. The young man was educated at the Holy Cross College, Worcester, Massachusetts.*

In 1854 the youth went to Texas and made a trip across the state from Corpus Christi to El Paso with his stepfather, General Persifor Frazer Smith of the United States Army.[1] Young Armstrong displayed such bravery during an encounter with the Indians on the journey that he was given an appointment from Texas as lieutenant in the Second Dragoons June 7, 1855. He served in Texas, Kansas, and Nebraska until 1857 when he accompanied General Albert Sidney Johnston to Utah.[2]

Armstrong became a first lieutenant March 9, 1859; was advanced to captain June 6, 1861, and was transferred to the Second Cavalry August 3, 1861. He resigned ten days later and joined the

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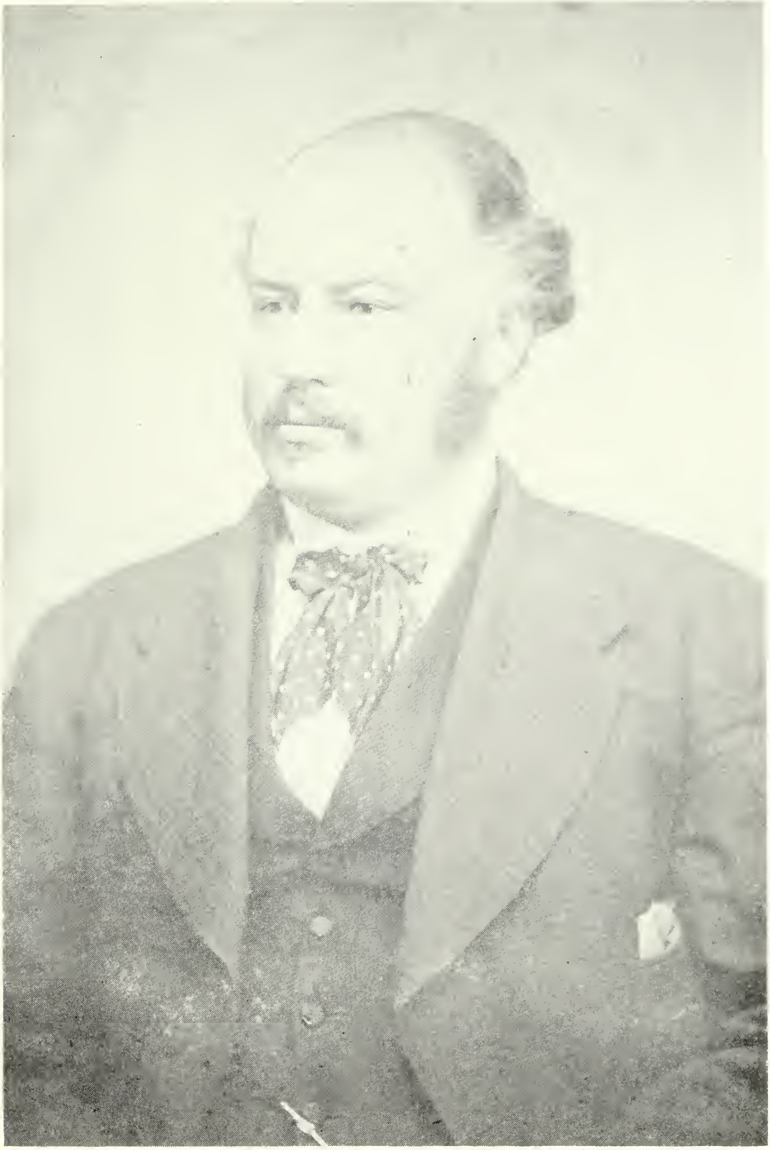
*Biographical data on General Frank C. Armstrong from the records of the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts, have recently been received by the Editorial Office of the Historical Society through the assistance of Mr. Craig Mathews, of Dalton, Georgia. The biographical material had been graciously copied and sent Mr. Mathews by Father Walter J. Meagher. S.J., Professor of History at Holy Cross.

Under the date "Jan. 19th, 1845" in the Registration Book of Students of Holy Cross, office of the Dean of Studies, appears the following entry: "Entered this date, Francis Gough Armstrong, son of Mrs. Anne Armstrong, St. Mary's County, Md. He was born in 1835." In publications at Holy Cross and in historical records and books on Oklahoma, General Armstrong's name appears as "Frank C. Armstrong" or "Frank Crawford Armstrong." Father Meagher suggests in a personal letter to Mr. Mathews, dated October 21, 1952, that the name "Frank C. Armstrong" may have been taken as Armstrong's confirmation name. See *Appendix* at the end of this article for a biography of General Armstrong published in the *Holy Cross Purple* (June, 1896), giving further notes on his career.—Ed.

[1] Persifor Frazer Smith, a native of Pennsylvania was appointed to the army from Louisiana as colonel of the Louisiana Volunteers February 2, 1836; he became a brigadier of the same organization May 15, 1846; colonel of the Mounted Rifles May 27, 1846. Ten years later he was a brigadier and he was cited for gallant and meritorious conduct in the conflicts at Monterray, Mexico and major general August 20, 1847 for his gallantry at Contreras and Churubusco. He died May 17, 1858. —Heitman, *Historical Register . . . . of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), Vol. I, p. 902.

[2] *Presbyterian Historical Society Journal, Philadelphia*, Vol. 23, p. 211; *Who's Who in America* (Chicago, 1908-1909), p. 48.



(Photo about 1870)

GENERAL FRANK C. ARMSTRONG

Confederate States Army.[3] He was the youngest captain in the United States Army at the outbreak of the Civil War when he was stationed at Fort Leavenworth, and went with his troops to Washington where he tendered his resignation. He next became adjutant general under General Benjamin McCulloch, C.S.A., in Arkansas. At the death of General McCulloch he was appointed major, and in a short time he was elected colonel of the Third Louisiana Infantry.[4]

Under orders from General Braxton Bragg, Armstrong organized a cavalry command and carried the war into Mississippi and Alabama; he captured a Federal camp at Courtland, Alabama, and later was successful in engagements at Bolivar and in the vicinity of Denmark. Appointed a brigadier general he was assigned to a brigade under General Earl Van Dorn, and later under General Nathan Bedford Forrest[5] whose newly formed division under the command of J. W. Starnes and Frank C. Armstrong extended to the east as far as the road between Franklin and Lewisburg.

The author of the stirring history, *"First With the Most" Forrest,* gives this anecdote:[6]

> "The story is related that the Union cavalry struck Forrest's flank and messengers rushed to the General with the alarming news that General Stanley had cut in behind him, captured his rear guard with many prisoners, and had succeeded in getting into General Armstrong's rear.
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> "Forrest roared, 'That's where I've been trying to get him all day, damn him.' 'I'll be in *his* rear in about five minutes! Face your line of battle about, Armstrong; push forward your skirmish line; crowd 'em both ways! I'll go to the rear brigade and you'll hear from me there! ' "

Forrest declined promotion to major general in 1863, and he was sent back to take over the vacant command of General Earl Dan Dorn at Spring Hill. There were two brilliant young brigadier generals in that outfit who had received their training in the United States regular army—William H. Jackson and Frank C. Armstrong. In the autumn of 1863 Forrest was ordered to relinquish his command to Major General Joseph Wheeler and from his headquarters five miles from Charleston he wrote the General that he was sending him Davidson's and Armstrong's brigades. When the troops reported

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[3] Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 169.

[4] Zella Armstrong, *Notable Southern Families* (Chattanooga, Tennessee, 1926), Vol. 3, pp. 6-7; *Who's Who in America*, 1908-09, p. 48. On September 1, 1862 in the fight at Britton's Lane, Tennessee General Armstrong's command lost 179 killed, 100 wounded. On the 19th and 20th at Iuke, Mississippi Armstrong had command of the cavalry of General Sterling Price's Army of the West (*The Photographic History of the Civil War* [New York, 1911], Vol. 2, pp. 322, 324).

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Robert Selph Henry, "*First With the Most*" *Forrest* (Indianapolis & New York, 1944), p. 137. The author related that the above anecdote was told to Viscount Wolseley by an unnamed Confederate general officer (who may well have been Frank Armstrong himself). It is possible that it was General Philip Dale Roddy of Forrest's staff who lived many years in London after the Civil War.

Wheeler discovered that they were "mere skeletons, scarcely averaging 500 effective men each . . . .," and stated further:

> "The men were worn out, and without rations.[7] At one o'clock in the morning of the thirtieth and again at six in the morning Armstrong wrote his new commander, Wheeler, that 'my command is totally unfit to start on any expedition; horses are very much in need of shoeing and my men have had no rations for thirty-six hours, and I can see no prospect of getting any. I am too unwell to start on any expeditions across the mountain. I request that you will relieve me from duty with the brigade and allow me to report to General Forrest.' "[8]

In the retreat from Tennessee in December, 1864, Forrest sent word to two brigades of Jackson's cavalry division—Armstrong's and Ross's—that everything depended upon the promptness and vigor with which they acted. "They proved themselves equal to the emergency by charging on the enemy, thereby checking his farther advance", according to Forrest's report.

In January, 1865, General Frank Armstrong was in command of a brigade of Mississippi troops. On the last of March, 1865 part of Armstrong's brigade joined a battle front by a forced march and were put into the short battle line, but in less than an hour, General James Wilson reported, although the resistance was determined, the position was carried by a gallant charge, and the rebels completely routed."

On the night of April 1, 1865, Forrest arrived in Selma, Alabama and found the town seething with excitement. He had only 1,400 men of Armstrong's brigade to defend three and a half miles of entrenchments about the town. Armstrong had come in by a forced march with his men who had fought at Ebenezer Church the day before. General Wilson with a force of nearly 9,000 men charged against little more than one-third their number; the garrison "fought with considerable coolness and skill," but from the beginning it was a hopeless defense. About dark the Confederate line broke and the end came with a rush. General Armstrong and General Philip Dale Roddy, holding the flanks, were borne back, but Forrest, "with the ever-faithful escort, and Armstrong and Roddy, with small bands of their troopers, managed to cut their way out in the darkness and confusion, and make their escape from the captured city. . . . ."[9]

Armstrong took an important part at Chickamauga, commanding a cavalry division. From East Tennessee he moved to Georgia and served until the fall of Atlanta; later in Tennessee and Mississippi; he surrendered to E.R.S. Canby. The last battle in which he participated was at Selma, Alabama, under Forrest.[10]

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[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 196, 197.

[8] The expedition from Vicksburg to Meridian, Mississippi took place March 3 to 5 under General Leonidas Polk's command with Forrest and Armstrong in charge of the cavalry (*Photographic History*, *op. cit.*, p. 348).

[9] Henry, *op. cit.* pp. 161, 196, 197, 405, 422, 431-32.

[10] *Who's Who in America,* 1908-09, p. 48.

The Reverend Thomas B. Ruble made a tour of the Indian country in 1867 and his report appeared in the *Fort Smith Herald* on June 6. In describing the Creek country he wrote: "The whole country from the North Fork to the Arkansas, is most delightful, interspersed with varied scenery and prospects. Maj. Armstrong now lives near Honey Springs battleground; here you meet with a clever family and the kindest treatment."

Frank Armstrong was married in 1865 to Maria Polk Walker, of Columbia, Tennessee, a daughter of General Knox Walker and a great niece of President Polk. His second wife, who survived him, was Charlotte Combs, of St. Mary's County, Maryland, the widow of Kilty MacSherry, Lieutenant in the U. S. Navy.[11]

After the War Armstrong was engaged in the Overland Mail service in Texas. He was United States Indian Inspector 1885-89; and he became Assistant Commissioner of Indian affairs in 1893, holding the position two years.

Political matters in the Cherokee Nation were embittered during the campaign of Samuel H. Mayes and Buffington for chief and in an effort to settle the controversy Robert L. Owen, the Agent, was successful in having General Armstrong ordered to the Cherokee Nation as a disinterested person.

At that time Muskogee was having the first telephone service of the future Eastern Oklahoma. This enabled the town to communicate with Fort Gibson and Tahlequah so on December 2, 1887, Agent Owen, received a message from the Cherokee capital advising him of the "Turbulent Bushyhead-Mayes election controversy. A few days later Owen, at Tahlequah, sent a message by telephone to Muskogee and by telegraph to Washington, which brought Inspector Frank Armstrong from the Interior Department to investigate the situation."[12] He accompanied Owen to Tahlequah to negotiate the matter:

> " . . . . Both parties gave pledges to preserve the peace; he had all the evidence, pro and con; he urged them to an amicable adjustment of their own affairs, and told them plainly that Mayes, under the Cherokee law, was entitled to the chieftaincy; that the Senate should count the votes, and if Mayes had the highest number of votes, declare him chief, and inaugurate him at once. Both parties appeared to be obstinate, and finally, Generally Armstrong left, with the avowed intention of protecting the peace by the use of military, unless the council did its duty.
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> "After his departure I exerted every effort and succeeded in effecting the following compromise: . . . ."[13]

The Fort Smith *Elevator,* December 23, 1887, states that both belligerent parties in the Cherokee Nation agreed that the government might settle their differences. Armstrong favored the Downing party. The government recognized Mayes as chief, but disapproved the manner in which he assumed the office. No trouble was looked for.

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[11] Zella Armstrong, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 6-7.

[12] Grant Foreman, *Muskogee, The Biography of an Oklahoma Town* (St. Louis), p. 76.

[13] *Report* of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1888, p. 137. Robert L. Owen, Tahlequah, December 22, 1887, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John H. Oberly.

Under the heading "Cherokee Matters," the *Fort Smith Elevator* stated on December 30, 1887, that the Cherokee council had convened and counted the vote cast at the last election for chief. Mayes, candidate of the Downing party won by 133 votes it was considered that the result was brought about through the efforts of General Frank Armstrong, who had been "sent to Tahlequah by the Federal government to inform the Cherokees that their nonsensical quarrel must come to an end."

From the first the Downing party was said to have listened to the reasoning of Armstrong and acted upon his suggestion. The Nationalists held out for a disposition of the matter which would have given them control of the government, and "it was only the decisive words of General Armstrong that brought them to their senses."

On December 6, 1892 Senator George Graham Vest of Missouri introduced a joint resolution authorizing the appointment of a commission to treat with the Five Civilized Tribes in order to induce them to take homesteads. Senator James H. Berry of Arkansas on January 23, 1893 suggested a provision for the commission as an amendment to the House bill to ratify the agreement for the purchase of the Cherokee outlet. This was accepted by the Senate, and the bill was passed as amended. On March 2 the Senate incorporated the whole measure, including the provision for the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, in the Indian appropriation bill which passed the next day.[14]

A dispatch to the St. Louis *Globe Democrat*, April 21, 1895, was copied in the *Weekly Elevator* of Fort Smith on April 26, 1895. This said that the members of the Cherokee Commission, except Mr. Archibald S. McKennon, of Arkansas were in Washington for a consultation with the officials of the Interior Department. They were furnished with the law under which they were to negotiate with the Five Civilized Tribes and the administration was hopeful that the new commission would accomplish more than the old one had.

Ex-Senator Henry L. Dawes was greatly discouraged over the failure and only consented to resume service at the earnest solicitation of President Cleveland. The Commission was much stronger as it had gained much by the appointment of ex-Commissioner of Indian Affairs Frank Armstrong. Ex-Congressman Alexander B. Montgomery, of Kentucky and Thomas B. Cabaniss who were both attorneys, and men of considerable ability. The Commission was supposed to leave Washington in time to meet at South McAlester about the first of May, to begin work with the Indians.

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[14] Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma* (Berkeley, California, 1917), pp. 185-86.

The Commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes reported from Fort Smith November 18, 1895, that the body had undergone some changes whereby Frank C. Armstrong had replaced Meredith H. Kidd, who had been transferred to other service. Two new members had been added in the persons of Thomas B. Cabaniss, and Alexander B. Montgomery. Immediately after this reorganization the Commission repaired without delay to the Indian Territory to continue negotiations.[15]

Armstrong's name was signed to all the papers passed between the commission and the members of the Five Tribes. At the Atoka Agreement which was signed on April 23, 1897, he appeared as acting chairman in place of Henry L. Dawes.[16] The Atoka Agreement was one of the most important acts ever passed between the Five Civilized Tribes and the United States government and Armstrong had a leading part in settling this matter.

As a meeting before the Committee on Indian affairs of the House of Representatives relative to conditions in the Indian Territory, on March 11, 1896, Hon. A. S. McKennon reported March 19, 1896: "I feel it is due to General Armstrong, as also to the committee, to say that the reason why he has not been in attendance upon the meetings of the committee, as requested, is that he has been confined to his home sick."[17]

Acting Chairman Frank C. Armstrong notified that the Dawes Commission would meet with the Cherokee Commission in Muskogee on December 17, 1896, after which they wished to meet a Seminole commission at some convenient place and Principal Chief John F. Brown was to arrange the meeting. Word was announced in Washington December 22, 1896 that General Frank Armstrong had arrived there and filed with the Secretary of the Interior David Rowland Francis the official report of the Dawes Commission on the treaty entered into with the Choctaws.

Armstrong said that the Commission was sincerely gratified with the success of its labors as it was the beginning of a thorough understanding between it and the Indians. He was convinced that the other members of the Five Civilized Tribes would meet the Commission on similar terms. The Cherokees had already signified a willingness to treat with the Commission, and a meeting was to take place in Tahlequah after the holidays.

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[15] *Report* of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, December 5, 1895 (Washington, 1895), p. 59.

[16] *Annual Report* of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes (Washington, 1898), p. 36; *The Oklahoma Red Book* (Oklahoma City, 1912), p. 540.

[17] Senate, *Fifty-fourth Congress,* 1st Session, Document No. 182, p. 26.

Commissioner Armstrong felt sure that the Choctaw treaty would be ratified, although the persons who had been decided as not entitled to citizenship would put up a strong fight. According to the treaty the Indian courts were abolished and the United States courts became supreme. Another provision stipulated that all coal leases and railroad grants must be approved by the Secretary of the Interior. All townsite lots were to be appraised and offered for sale, occupants to have a preferred right to buy; all proceeds of such sales were to be put in trust for the Indians.

Some trouble was expected from holders of townsites who thought they should have the lands upon which they had squatted for nothing. "But the commission in all its work on this vexed problem had been determined that the Indians should receive the benefit of all which was rightfully their due."[18]

On April 8, 1897, Acting Chairman Armstrong wrote to S. H. Mayes, principal chief of the Cherokees, that the petition to the Secretary of the Interior for authority" to purge the Citizenship Roll of the Cherokee Nation" and forward it to Congress, had been transmitted and such recommendations made thereon as were deemed expedient in the premises.[19]

An act approved July 1, 1898, fixed the number of commissioners at four. Frank C. Armstrong had resigned June 30, 1898, leaving at that time Commissioners Dawes (chairman), Tams Bixby, Thomas B. Needles and Archibald S. McKennon.[20] On March 1, 1899, Congress reduced the membership of Dawes Commission from five to four, and the vacancy caused by the resignation of Frank C. Armstrong, was not filled.[21]

Mrs. H. Van Smith came to Muskogee as a bride when her husband was appointed secretary to the Dawes Commission; she became well acquainted with General Armstrong and she was greatly impressed with the distinguished bearing of the General and his charming wife. Although many years have passed she still recalls that he had the most beautiful hands she had ever seen.

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[18] *The Tahlequah Arrow*, Saturday, January 2, 1897, 1, col. 5. The Choctaw treaty was signed by Green McCurtain, Principal Chief, J. S. Standley, N. B. Ainsworth, Ben Hampton, Wesley Anderson and Amos Henry, D. C. Garland and A. S. Williams, Choctaw Commission. For the Chickasaw Nation R. M. Harris, I. O. Lewis, Holmes Colbert, P. S. Mosely, M. V. Cheadle, R. L. Murray, William Perry, A. H. Colbert and R. L. Boyd (*Report* Commissioner Indian Affairs, 1897, p. 409). Signers for the Dawes Commission were Henry L. Dawes, Frank C. Armstrong, Archibald S. McKennon, Thomas B. Cabaniss and Alex B. Montgomery. H. Van Smith signed as Acting Secretary to Five Tribes Commission.

[19] Copied from Letter-book L. S. now in the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[20] *Report of the Commissioners to the Five Civilized Tribes* for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1914 (Washington, 1914), p. 6.

[21] John D. Benedict, *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma* (Chicago, 1922), p. 159.

General Frank Crawford Armstrong was the only native born citizen to serve on the Dawes Commission and it was during the period when many important matters were settled. During the latter years of his life, the General lived at 1912 Sunderland Place, Washington, D. C. He was interested in mining and other operations in Mexico, before his death at Bar Harbor in 1909.[22] He was survived by a daughter, Isabel, who first married J. Dundas Lippincott, of Philadelphia, and later Archibald Barklie of New York and Wayne, Pennsylvania.[23] The Armstrong family served in the Indian Territory from 1832 to 1898.[24]

APPENDIX

Reference: *Holy Cross Purple* (monthly magazine), Vol. III, No. 1 (June, 1896), pp. 20-3.

HOLY CROSS STUDENTS IN THE CIVIL WAR

GENERAL ARMSTRONG

Gen. Frank C. Armstrong is the son of Major Frank W. Armstrong of Tennessee, who served under General Andrew Jackson, and was his personal friend. His mother, Anne M. Millard, came of an old Catholic family of Maryland, connected with the Fenwicks and Mannings.

Frank C. Armstrong entered Holy Cross in 1845. In 1854 he went to Texas, and in company with his step-father, Gen. Persifor Smith, U.S.A., he made a trip across the state from Corpus Christi to El Paso.

It was during this year that he was recommended for an appointment in the army for the bravery he displayed in an encounter with the Indians in Texas.

In June, 1855, he was appointed Lieutenant in the 2nd U.S. Dragoons, serving in Texas, Kansas and Nebraska until 1857, when he went with his regiment to Utah in the expedition of Gen. Albert Sydney Johnson. In 1861 he resigned his commission and joined the Confederate Army.

It would require far more space than we have at our disposal to give a detailed account of the prominent part taken by Gen. Armstrong in the civil war. Throughout the entire war records we find his name mentioned in terms of highest praise. In the beginning of the war, serving as volunteer aide-de-camp, we read how he went gallantly into the fight and bore himself with great courage and coolness.

"His conduct," say the records, "is ever active and soldierly; a meritorious officer whose value is lost to the service by his not receiving rank more accordant with his worth and experience." This was March, 1862.

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[22] *Who Was Who in America*, Chicago, Vol. I, 1943, pp. 30, 31.

[23] Zella Armstrong, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 6-7.

[24] For a full account of the Dawes Commission during Armstrong's connection with it see Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, 1934), pp. 173, 220, 268-79, 246-47, 259, 264, 276-78, and —, *And Still the Waters Run* (Princeton, 1940). See, also, Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951), and Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), Vol. II, "The Dawes Commission," pp. 607-24.

The same year and month, Gen. Van Dorn writes requesting that "the President be pleased to confer the rank of Lieutenant Colonel on F. C. Armstrong."

Nor was his promotion long deferred. After reporting to the War Department in Richmond, Va., he joined Gen. McCulloch, commanding the Confederate forces in Arkansas, and was assigned to duty as adjutant-general in his division. After the death of McCulloch, Armstrong was appointed major, and in the reorganization at Corinth, he was elected colonel of the 3d Louisiana Infantry. He was soon detached from this regiment and assigned by Gen. Bragg to organize a cavalry command.

Gen. Armstrong was not engaged in Northern Mississippi and Alabama. He attacked and captured the Federal Camp at Courtland, Ala. Having left Baldwyn at the head of 1,100 men he was re-inforced at Holly Spring by about 1,100 cavalry, pushed boldly forward toward Bolivar, met a largely superior force in front of that town, and drove them back with a heavy loss, killing and wounding a large number and capturing 73 prisoners. When this was accomplished he did not delay but pushed northward, crossed the Hatchie river, passed between Jackson and Bolivar, at which places there were heavy bodies of Federal troops, and took and held possession of the railroad for more than 30 hours, during which time he destroyed all the bridges and a mile of trestle work. On his return he encountered the enemy in force near Denmark, attacked and routed them, capturing 213 prisoners and two pieces of artillery.

The highest praise was awarded Gen. Armstrong for the prudence, discretion and good sense with which he conducted this expedition. His gallant conduct was made the subject of a special dispatch to the government. He was soon appointed Brigadier General and assigned to a brigade under Van Dorn. Later he was assigned to Forrest's division, and commanded a brigade during the campaign in Tennessee and on the retreat to Chattanooga. In the retreat at Corinth he proved the salvation of the retreating forces by rebuilding, with great foresight and energy, the bridge that Northern forces had burned.

He served with Forrest until after the battle of Chickamauga. In the official records of the battle special praise is given to Armstrong; for his command was dismounted and fought almost entirely on foot, always up and frequently in advance of the infantry. "The charges made by Armstrong's division while fighting in the battle of Chickamauga would be creditable," according to the official report, "to the best drilled infantry."

After Chickamauga, he moved with Longstreet to East Tennessee, under Gen. Jo Wheeler. An inspection of the latter's papers shows Armstrong singled out for praise for gallant and good conduct. He was engaged in no battle in which his bravery did not make him prominent even among prominent officers.

When Longstreet fell back to Virginia, Armstrong moved to Virginia, serving there until the fall of Atlanta. His coolness and foresight, his energy and determination, did not desert him during these trying days. He went with Hood's army to Tennessee, and assisted in covering Hood's retreat from Franklin to the Tennessee river; his was the last Confederate brigade across the Pontoon bridge on the south side of the Tennessee river. Hood knew well the bravery of his faithful follower, for he had already recommended him to Beauregard as the best man in his army for the post of Major General.

Armstrong now operated in Mississippi with Forrest; but on the surrender of Generals Lee and Johnston, Forrest's command was surrendered by Gen. Taylor to Gen. Canby.

For several years after the war Gen. Armstrong was engaged in overland mail service in Texas, Kansas and Indian Territory. During Mr. Cleveland's first administration he was made United States Indian Inspector, served four years, and was removed by Pres. Harrison.

Under the present administration he was appointed Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, but resigned on Jan. 1, 1895. The Sec. of the Interior expressed his regret at Gen. Armstrong's resignation, for he was generally conceded to be the best informed man on Indian matters in the public service, and the department could not but feel his loss keenly.

Gen. Armstrong is now a member of the "Commission authorized by Congress" to treat with the five civilized tribes in the Indian Territory.

Reference: *Holy Cross Purple*, Vol. 23 (Oc. 1909), pp. 91-2.

OBITUARY

DEATH OF AN OLD STUDENT

"General Frank C. Armstrong, an old Holy Cross student 1845-46, passed away at Greencourt, the summer home of his daughter in Bar Harbor, Me., on Sept. 8, 1909. General Armstrong had been ill for several weeks and death was due to his general enfeebled condition. He was nearly 75 years of age at the time of his death and a resident of Washington, D. C. With his decease he closed a long, eventful military career. He was born at the Choctaw Agency, Indian Territory, in 1835, his father being Major Frank W. Armstrong of Tennessee, who served under General Jackson. . . . ."

W. C. AUSTIN: PIONEER AND PUBLIC SERVANT

By Monroe Billington

Southwestern Oklahomans have paid deserved tribute to W. C. Austin. With public approval the officials of the Lugert-Altus irrigation project, appreciative of the fact that Austin had given his time and efforts unstintingly in behalf of their program, had the name of the irrigation works changed to bear his name.[1] Yet this Oklahoman was more than an irrigationist; he was also a competent lawyer, an exceptional state senator, a reclamationist, a water conservationist, and a reviser of tax laws.

Both farmers and farm land were poor in Arkansas in the years following the Civil War. Meager crops accompanied the monotonous lives of most of those dirt farmers. When Robert J. Austin[2] and Sabra Elizabeth Ford were married. Their ambition in life was to live on a farm, grow cotton, and ''raise'' a family. It was into this environment near Nashville, Arkansas, that William Claude Austin was born on January 24, 1880, the fourth in a family of six children.[3] As Willie grew older, he became dissatisfied with farm life and decided one afternoon while alone in a cotton field that he was not going to live on a farm all his life. He wanted to be a lawyer instead. Will had received only a limited high school education in Nashville, but despite this drawback he began to read Blackstone by the hour in the office of W. C. Rodgers in Nashville.

At the age of sixteen he left his home to work in a barrel stave factory in near-by Arkadelphia. After saving a small amount of money, he entered the University of Little Rock where he continued his training for the legal profession. He was admitted to the Arkansas bar in August 1901. Not having money to launch his profession career, he went to Pittsburgh, Texas, and worked in both cotton fields and molasses mills for sixty-five cents per day. When he had saved twenty-five dollars, he moved to Mountain Park, Oklahoma Territory. Within two weeks he had returned to Arkansas,[4] where he married his childhood sweetheart, Lillie Etta Dildy. Im-

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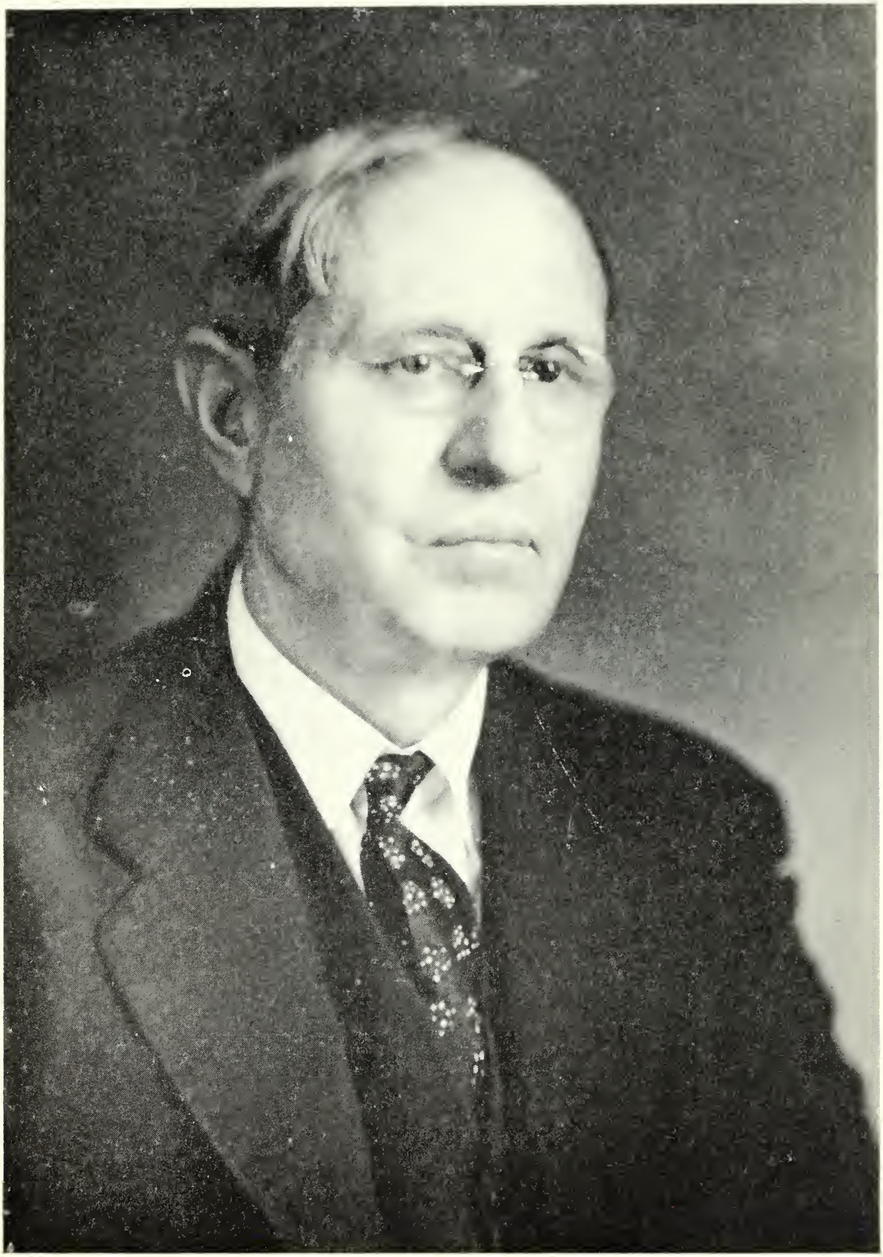
[1] See Monroe Billington, "W. C. Austin Irrigation Project," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 2 (Summer, 1952), pp. 207-15.

[2] Confederate States Army records in the Adjutant General's Office, War Department, Washington 25, D.C. show: R. J. Austin was in the Confederate States Army, enlisting June 1861, at Raleigh and promoted to Second Lieutenant. He was mustered out in October 1864, and his name appears on Report of Prisoners of War surrendered May 29, 1865, at LaGrange, Tennessee.—Robert L. Williams, "William Claude Austin," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV, No. 2 (Summer, 1947), p. 162.

[3] The Austin children in order of their births were Elbert, J. H., Josie, W. C., Ettie, and Charles.

[4] Personal interview with Mrs. W. C. Austin, January 24, 1951.



WILLIAM CLAUDE AUSTIN

mediately after the ceremony, the young couple left for Oklahoma Territory, Austin having rented some land on the "halves" from Tom Pruitt near Reed. They took a small amount of bedding and travelled by train—the wife on the passenger coach and the husband on the cattle car—to Quannah, Texas. Here they joined a group of people who were traveling by wagons into Oklahoma Territory.

After much cold weather and difficulty the Austins reached their farm near Reed. The only available shelter was an old abandoned silo. Since a stove could not heat the place adequately, quilts were hung from the ceiling to make a smaller square room within the large round space of the silo. This was their home during the cold winter of 1901-02 in Oklahoma Territory.

In the spring Austin planted a crop, but there was a drought in the summer and not much chance of making money. He sold his horse and buggy and built a small business house in the village of Reed where he began to practice law. He hired two young men to help him gather his crop, and with the limited profits he bought a few books. Soon afterward, he was appointed postmaster at Reed. The post office was moved to one corner of his new building, and his wife helped him in operating their business establishment.

One day Austin made the casual remark to his wife that if he could save enough capital, he would start a drug business. Upon hearing that three hundred dollars was the amount needed, Mrs. Austin informed him that was the exact amount her mother had wanted to give them when they were married. She had refused to take the money because they wanted to be entirely independent. When approached on the subject, however, her mother was still willing to give them the money, and soon a drug counter was added at one side of their store.[5] A Dr. Barr rented a small amount of office space from Austin, thus completing four different businesses in the building: a row of law books on the shelves in the rear, a postal service window on the right, a drug counter on the left, and a medical doctor's office in one corner of the store.

Soon after opening his law office, Austin had his first client. A dry goods peddler who had arrived in Reed to sell his materials was discovered carrying a gun. The people of Reed being peaceful, law-abiding citizens decided to put the man on trial, and the peddler persuaded Austin to be his attorney. The trial was held, and the young lawyer used all the oratory and persuasive power he could muster in defending the itinerant. During the course of the trial the gun disappeared, and without such evidence the man could not be convicted. The peddler paid Austin twenty-five dollars in dry goods for services rendered. This meant that the Austins received large quantities of towels, cotton cloth, and calicos—enough dry goods to last them for many months. Several pairs of men's washable pants were also included for the young attorney. With all of the cloth available, Mrs. Austin made herself some long "mother hubbard" dresses.

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[5] *Ibid.*

In September 1903, the Austins moved from Reed to the frontier town of Eldorado. The St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad from Oklahoma City to Quannah, Texas, had just been completed through this settlement, and Austin felt that his profession would flourish if he were in a railroad town. He remembered his vow of earlier years to be a lawyer, and he did not intend to be diverted by his other jobs. He resigned as postmaster of Reed and sold all his possessions—including his drugs and business establishment—except his law books. With the money he moved to Eldorado, bought a small lot, and built a home. In Eldorado, Austin began his profession in earnest, and within a short time he was a prominent citizen there. He and his wife became leaders in the First Baptist Church. He was Sunday School Superintendent for several years, as well as a member of the building committee. When the church was without a pastor for a while, Austin, having become an ordained deacon, kept the church together until another pastor could be secured.

The Austins had six children born in their Eldorado home. In the order of their births they were Rob Ben, Dildy, Lowell, Harlan, Sabra, and Harriett.[6] Their first child born at Reed died at the age of two and a half years.

A young man by the name of Carl A. Hatch, who grew up in Eldorado, was quite impressed with this lawyer Austin. The Hatch and Austin families became well acquainted, and it was Judge Austin's personality that helped young Hatch decide to become a lawyer. He read Austin's law books and received beneficial instruction from him. After his high school training at Eldorado, Carl A. Hatch went to Vanderbilt University and received a degree in law. In the summer of 1912 he was admitted to the bar, and immediately became associated with Austin, an association that later developed into a partnership under the firm name of Austin and Hatch which lasted until Hatch moved to New Mexico in 1916.[7] The Hatch acts of 1939 and 1940, which limit the annual expenditure of any political committee to three million dollars and any individual annual contribution to a national political committee to five thousand dollars, show legal training which undoubtedly roots in the close association between Hatch and Austin.

The Austin family had stayed in Eldorado but most of Austin's business was carried on at Altus because that town was the county seat of Jackson County. The law profession tends to prosper in a county seat. In 1925 the Judge had set up his office in Altus.

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[6] Three of the Austin children served in World War II: Lowell E. Austin, USNR; Marshall Harlan Austin (grad. U. S. Naval Academy, 1935), Commander U.S.S. *Redfin* and U.S.S. *Spearfish* in Pacific Theatre; and Harriet P. Austin, Lieut. (jg) in the Waves.—Williams, "William Claude Austin," *op. cit.*, p. 162.—Ed.

[7] Personal letter from Carl A. Hatch, February 6, 1951.

A home was bought in Altus and the family moved to that city in January 1926.[8] Since his law office was already set up there, Austin had little change to make in respect to business details. He handled a few criminal suits in his early years as a lawyer, but he was handling only civil suits by the time he moved his office to Altus.

Only a few months after moving to Altus, his friends began asking him to run for state senator. He at first refused to consider the position, but finally yielded and became a candidate in the Fifth Senatorial District composed of Jackson and Tillman counties. He was the only Democrat seeking the office, nevertheless his name was placed on the ballot, and he received 1829 votes in the first primary.[9] In the general election in November, Austin won over the Republican nominee, Dr. Raymond H. Fox, 2058 to 374.[10] The victor did little campaigning for this office. The *Altus-Times-Democrat*, the leading daily newspaper in the district, carried no advertising in his behalf.

If Austin did not work to acquire the office, he certainly worked while in office. He felt that a public office was a public trust. He expressed this attitude in a letter to his good friend and former partner, Carl A. Hatch, when he wrote,[11] "I am now in the State Senate doing what I can for the public. This, as you know, is at a heavy [financial] loss." He felt that a public call was a demand, and he did his best to comply with that demand.

As an inexperienced law maker, Austin naturally did not contribute a great deal to the Eleventh Legislature during the first few weeks of the session. His colleagues soon learned, however, that he had a keen legal mind, and they depended on him for legal information and advice before the session was over. The majority of the bills of his authorship related to laws already on the statute books, such as making minor changes in court laws or rephrasing ambiguous sentences. One of Austin's most important bills made appropriation for the construction of a building to be located on the state capitol grounds in Oklahoma City for the use of the Oklahoma Historical Society, its library, museum, and other effects and property.[12]

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[8] The records of the First Baptist Church, Altus, show that the entire Austin family joined that church on February 3, 1926.

[9] *Altus Times Democrat*, August 6, 1926.

[10] *Ibid.*, November 5, 1926.

[11] January 8, 1927, W. C. Austin Collection, University of Oklahoma Library, Division of Manuscripts (Hereafter cited as A.C.), *General Correspondence*, F-G-H.

[12] *Journal of the Senate for the Regular Session of the Twelfth Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, January* 8, 1929 *to March* 30, 1929, pp. 120-21.

The impeachment trial of Governor Henry S. Johnston was by far the most outstanding event during Austin's term in the Senate. Friction arose between the executive and the legislature when Mrs. O. O. Hammonds, confidential secretary to the governor, allegedly prohibited the legislators from conferring with the governor about legislative policies. When it appeared that Mrs. Hammonds was screening all persons who wanted to see the governor, the legislators became impatient and appointed a committee which waited upon the governor to ask her removal from office. The governor refused to discharge her but agreed to accept her resignation if she would resign. She would not.[13] Agitation grew when trouble arose concerning the paving of state roads. The State Highway Commission, preferring asphalt over concrete, received bitter criticism for its preference.

When the agitation increased, an investigating committee of the lower house brought hasty impeachment charges against the governor. The Governor, with the aid of the National Guard, refused to allow the legislators to meet in the Capitol. They convened in the Huckins Hotel and drew up five articles of impeachment. The Senate had organized as a court of impeachment without executive call and had also retreated to the hotel when the state militia appeared on the scene. They adjourned until after the Christmas holidays, however, before a vote was taken on the articles of impeachment. Tempers cooled during the vacation days, and the Senate voted 22 to 16 to refuse to entertain the impeachment charges which had been preferred by the House.[14] Alice M. David, state organizer of the Oklahoma Women's Christian Temperance Union, wrote Austin on December 31, 1927, after the Senate dispersed, "I want to personally thank you for your position in standing for the supremacy of the law in this recent struggle." Austin felt that there had to be a legally organized Senate before it could organize itself into an impeachment court. He believed that the articles of impeachment had to be presented to the Senate, not to the court of impeachment. The Senate could then organize itself as a court of impeachment presided over by the chief justice of the state supreme court.[15] On December 28, 1927, the Senate quitely dispersed, and the so-called "Ewe Lamb Rebellion" came to an end.[16]

Carl Magee, editor of the *Oklahoma News,* charged that the Governor had used bribery to adjourn the Senate court of impeachment.[17] No doubt Magee had good intentions when he made the charges of corruption, but after the charges were widely publicized throughout the state, some of the senators though of joining in a criminal libel action against Magee. Austin was asked to join this suit, but the attitude reflected in part of a letter written to a colleague expressed his strong character and his profound belief in the public:[18]

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[13] *Daily Oklahoman,* January 22, 1929.

[14] James Ralph Scales, "Political History of Oklahoma, 1907-1949" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1949), p. 292. (Hereafter cited as Scales, "Political History.")

[15] W. C. Austin to James R. Tolbert, December 9, 1927, A.C., *General Correspondence,* A-B.

[16] The revolt took its name from a Biblical phrase injected by Johnston into a tense conference with legislative leaders who were importuning him to dismiss Mrs. Hammonds. "Must I give up this one little ewe lamb?" Johnston asked. See II Samuel 12:3, quoted from Scales, "Political History," p. 290.

> I don't favor joining in a criminal libel action against Magee. I believe that the matter should be forgotten. . . . . I am just as confident of the integrity of my fellows in the Senate, as I am of my own integrity in the matter. . . . . We have done everything that honorable men could do, by way of offering the public authorities the benefit of information. I may be wrong in my conclusion, but I just do not feel that I want my name dragged into the courts to prove my innocence of a thing that the public does not charge me with, and of which, there is no semblance of truth. . . . . I do not want to join in any court proceeding. I do not deem it necessary, but I do deem it very unwise.

With the Governor and the senators remaining under fire throughout 1928, it became more apparent as the months passed that investigations were forthcoming as soon as the legislature reconvened. In November 1928, Austin was reasonably sure that investigations would be made but felt that no investigations would hurt an honorable officer, "but if properly and impartially conducted, will reflect to his credit." He wrote:[19]

> . . . . my position will be, that whatever investigation is made, [it] should be conducted openly fairly, impartially but thoroughly and if charges are to be preferred against any individual officer, they should be presented to and tried by the Senate, as a fair minded court, having no preconceived opinions and devoid of prejudice in any degree.

When the Twelfth Legislature met in January 1929, it passed a resolution which authorized the investigation by a committee of the Senate of the charges made relative to the action of the court of impeachment in the year 1927. The senators had been accused of being bribed with one hundred thousand dollars to quash the purported articles of impeachment presented to them by the House. Austin, being partially responsible for this action to clear himself and his colleagues of the unwanted publicity of the earlier events, was made chairman of this committee. From January 26 to 28 the senators appeared on the witness stand to testify that they had received no bribes in connection with the 1927 gossip.[20] After three days of intensive investigation which disclosed that the senators had not changed their votes overnight in the impeachment proceedings, the affair was closed. Conducting the investigation of the bribery charges on a high plane of efficiency, Austin won many friends for the way he handled the entire affair.

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[17] *Daily Oklahoman*, January 22, 1929.

[18] Austin to Tom Anglin, February 14, 1928, A.C., *General Correspondence*, A-B.

[19] Austin to Otis Sullivent, November 21, 1928, A.C., *General Correspondence*, R-S.

[20] *Daily Oklahoman*, January 27, 1929.

In the meantime the House in regular session had voted articles of impeachment, including charges of incompetency, corruption in office, and moral turpitude, against the Governor.[21] When presented with these charges on January 21, 1929, the Senate voted to accept them. The trial lasted from February 11 to March 20, during which time 141 witnesses appeared on the stand. From March 7 to 14 the governor himself testified in his own behalf.[22] On March 20 Senator Mac Q. Williamson moved that the charge of general incompetency be voted on.[23] Guy L. Andrews (McAlester), Tom Anglin (Holdenville), and W. C. Austin (Altus) were the first three names on the Senate roll, and generally the entire Senate voted much the way they did. Each man was asked to rise and cast his oral vote clearly and distinctly. Andrews and Anglin had voted ''aye'' and Austin stood to cast his vote. It was a dramatic moment. He spoke so low that some of the senators asked how he had voted.[24] When the newspaper reporters heard that the first three men had voted ''aye'', they ran to the telephones knowing that Johnston was the same as convicted. They were right. By a vote of 33 to 9, Johnston was removed from Oklahoma's highest office.

William J. Holloway became governor of Oklahoma on March 20, 1929. Holloway called a special session of the Legislatures in May to consider reorganization and economy proposals, since the regular session of the Twelfth Legislature had been devoted almost entirely to judicial duties.[25] When that session was over, Austin was happy; he had not enjoyed his tenure as a senator. About a year later he wrote,[26] ''I am not going to take any active interest in politics. . . . as I do not feel that I ever want any more political experience.'' After his term of office, people often referred to him as ''Senator'', thinking that he would take the remark as a compliment. They were mistaken. He did not enjoy being a senator and did not want people to remind him of his unhappy experiences in that capacity.

During the impeachment proceedings Austin wrote a letter which he probably thought would be read by no one except his law associate. This letter most likely expressed his true feelings:

March 15, 1929

Mr. Ross Rutherford,
Altus, Oklahoma,

Dear Ross:

It now appears impossible for me to be in the office tomorrow, as a motion was passed, this morning, to continue the session until tomorrow at 5 o'clock. It is beginning to worry all the members, but there's nothing to do, but stay in the chamber and do our duty whatever it may be. I, in casting my vote whatever it shall be, will follow what I deem to be in the line of best interest for the public for the next two years. I may err and I am sure will be criticized either way, but cannot avoid that. I have made up my mind to cast a vote on my judgment of what the state's interest demands and take the consequences as they come. I am quite sure that it will not be long until I will be in the office.

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[21] *Altus Times-Democrat*, January 18, 1929.

[22] Scales, "Political History," pp. 299-300.

[23] *Transcript of Proceedings of the Twelfth Legislature, Sitting as a Court of Impeachment*, II, 5395.

[24] *Daily Oklahoman*, March 21, 1929.

[25] Scales, "Political History," p. 307.

[26] Austin to John A. Goodall, June 13, 1930, A.C., *General Correspondence*, F-G-H.

Yours very truly,
W. C. Austin (signed)

WCA:OH

Austin voted the way his conscience prompted when all of the evidence had been presented and carefully weighed in the impeachment proceedings. He won many friends by his conduct and fine attitude during these distasteful events. Austin's ideals in public service brought respect from those whom he served and among those with whom he worked. In 1928 he was elected to the American Bar Association.[27] When the State Bar of Oklahoma was organized in Oklahoma City in 1929, Austin was a leader in his district. He felt that this was a great step in raising the standards of the bar in Oklahoma,[28] his interest in this taking him to Washington in 1933 to attend the American Law Institute.[29]

In 1931 when Sam Massingale declined to be a candidate for re-election as Governor of the State Bar, several of Austin's colleagues felt that he was the logical candidate.[30] He was approached on this, and his remark was, ''I respect that office. I will register no objection if events turn in that direction.''[31] That was characteristic of him. If his services were required, he was willing to serve.

In the later months of 1932 Austin was elected to the office of Governor from the Ninth Supreme Court Judicial District.[32] In this capacity he served on the Board of Governors for the State Bar of Oklahoma for the year 1933. At that time several lawyers were trying to get the State Bar Act repealed. Austin believed that if that were done, it ''would be unfortunate for the Bar of the State and for the public in general.''[33] Austin was re-elected as Governor for the Ninth District in December 1933. The duties of the Board of Governors include the handling of all the executive functions of the state bar and the enforcement of the provisions of the State Bar Act which includes the power to fix and determine the qualifications for admission to practice law in Oklahoma, and the power to formulate and enforce the rules of professional conduct.[34] The records show that as a member of this board Austin carried out his duties faithfully.

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[27] William P. MacCracken Jr. to Austin, May 29, 1928, A.C., *General Correspondence*, A-B.

[28] Personal interview with Robert B. Harbison, one of Austin's law associates, January 24, 1951.

[29] Austin to Thomas J. Horsley, May 11, 1933, A.C., *State Bar File*, 1931-31.

[30] A. W. Rigsby to Austin, February 10, 1932, *ibid.*

[31] Austin to W. C. Roe, August 10, 1931, *ibid.*

[32] F. B. H. Spellman (Editor-in-Chief), *Oklahoma State Bar Journal*, III (November, 1932), pp. 200-01.

[33] Austin to Roe, November 29, 1932, A.C., *State Bar File*, 1934-41.

After his tenure on the Board of Governors, Austin was appointed to a committee on rules for the State Bar of Oklahoma.[35] He was adept with legal phraseology, and his proficiency was revealed when he wrote legal documents or rules. He was elected to the executive committee of the State Bar in December 1939.

Concurrently with Austin's several responsibilities as a governor and as a committee member of the State Bar were also his accomplishments in the field of taxation. In 1935 he was appointed chairman of the section on taxation, a subdivision of the State Bar.[36] A statement of policy for the Oklahoma Tax Commission reads: "One of the principal functions of the Oklahoma Tax Commission under the law is to study the tax system of this and other states with a view to the equitable distribution of the burdens of taxation in Oklahoma." With this statement in their minds, Austin and his committee pursued the theory that the State Bar had not been called upon to write a new code on taxation based upon their own concept of what it should be, but rather to restate in more simplified and effective form the tax laws and policies of the state as they had been established by the Legislature. All revisions were made in the light of administrative interpretation and judicial construction. Austin served on this committee for three years, during which many Oklahoma tax laws were rewritten and simplified.

For his efforts to bring reclamation benefits to Southwestern Oklahoma, Austin was elected the first president of the Oklahoma Reclamation Association when that group met in Altus for its organizational meeting on November 13, 1941.[37] He retained that position until his death five years later.

The Oklahoma Reclamation Association was organized as a means of localizing information from the National Reclamation Association with reference to irrigation, water uses, and related problems affecting the arid and semi-arid West. Its purpose is to include appropriate support of new projects and their presentation for official consideration. As such projects are found to be feasible and in the public interest, it is to aid in securing their authorization for construction. This program has become of extreme importance to every citizen in the state.

Governor Robert S. Kerr, in his inaugural address in January 1943, included the development of the natural resources of Oklahoma as a part of his program. In view of this proposed program, the Nineteenth Legislature passed a bill re-organizing the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board. Selected by the governor to serve on his nine-member board, Austin was designated chairman of the Water Resources Committee. This committee was to make investigations and recommendations concerning flood control, irrigation, water pollution and projects, for the streams of Oklahoma.

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[34] Personal letter from George E. Lipe, March 1, 1951.

[35] The State Bar of Oklahoma (by Reuel Haskell Jr., Secretary) to Austin, January 7, 1935, A.C., *State Bar File*, 1934-41.

[36] Austin to F. M. Dudley, October 10, 1935, A.C., *Taxation*, Section on Taxation.

[37] Minutes of the organizational meeting of the Oklahoma Reclamation Association, November 13, 1941, A.C., *Reclamation*, Nat'l Rec. Ass'n, "Correspondence."

Appointed a member of the agricultural committee of which H. G. Bennett was chairman, Austin's efforts had much to do with the development of the soil and water resources of Oklahoma. The minutes of the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board show that he was a regular attendant of its meetings during the years 1944 to 1946.

As stated in the introduction, Austin is most known for his part in the successful completion of the Lugert-Altus irrigation project in Southwestern Oklahoma. The labors of many went into this dream that became a reality, but beyond question W. C. Austin was the primary motive power behind this great project. Fully one-third of the last ten years of his life were spent in completing it. All of the time and energy Austin gave to this project were gratis. He received no money for the countless telephone calls and the many letters written every day. He traveled widely in this work, and only with reluctance did he accept expense money for two trips to Washington while trying to get the project approved. Farmers in Southwestern Oklahoma are receiving benefits now and will continue to receive them because of his perseverance.

Judge Austin died on October 5, 1946, knowing that other hands would complete the task which had been his for so many years. Less than a year later, an act of Congress changed the name of the irrigation project to the "W. C. Austin Project," and in September, 1947, it was formally dedicated. At that time, a large bronze plaque set in natural granite and permanently affixed to the east end of the Altus dam was unveiled. The plaque contains an image of Judge Austin's face in bas-relief. Below it are these appropriate words:

W. C. Austin

whose life was completely dedicated to the service of his God, his Country, his community and his fellow man. Who never turned away from a call for his helping hand. Who asked as his reward for accomplishment only another chance to serve. Loved and respected by all who had the privilege of knowing him, the citizens of Oklahoma unite in dedicating to him this monument and the irrigation works comprising the project which now so rightfully bears his name.

Presented by friends of
Southwestern Oklahoma,
September 5, 1947

FIFTY YEARS OF CHOCTAW LAW, 1834 TO 1884

*By Oliver Knight**

The constitutional and statutory laws adopted by the Choctaw Nation between 1834 and 1884 illustrate in fine degree the advances an Indian tribe made on the white man's path within the brief span of a half-century. The Choctaws developed a social and economic order closely parallel to that of the Anglo-American society which eventually absorbed and assimilated them. Imparting the flavor and the letter of law and government, the Anglo-American influence was predominant in the Nation's legal development, which took place in two principal periods.

In the first period, between 1834 and 1867, the Choctaw Nation built a constitutional government, and enacted a code of laws suited to the conditions of the frontier. Relatively few laws were demanded by an isolated people who were adjusting to a compromise between ancient tribal and Anglo-Saxon customs. For the most part these laws preserved peace and order, cherished the Choctaws' proud citizenship, protected the rights of individuals in the tribe's lands which were owned in common, established legal procedure, and safeguarded ownership of livestock.

In the second period, between 1867 and 1884, the General Council enacted laws which accommodated the Nation's transition to a complex of industry and agriculture. Too, the Council vainly tried to preserve tribal customs against the relentless pressure of white expansion which filled the Nation with a large alien population. New laws helped the Nation adjust to the chaos of Reconstruction, to preserve community rights in natural resources, to force white settlers to conform with tribal laws, and to defend Choctaw independence against the inevitable results of Manifest Destiny.

For a good many years the Choctaws had been acquainted with Manifest Destiny, long before the term graced America's national expansion. They succumbed to it the first time in 1820 and 1830 by signing the treaties of Doak's Stand and Dancing Rabbit Creek whereby they traded their homelands in Mississippi for a new home in Oklahoma. When the tribe moved west to the lands lying between the Canadian-Arkansas river line on the north and the Red River on the south, they did so with the United States' solemn promise

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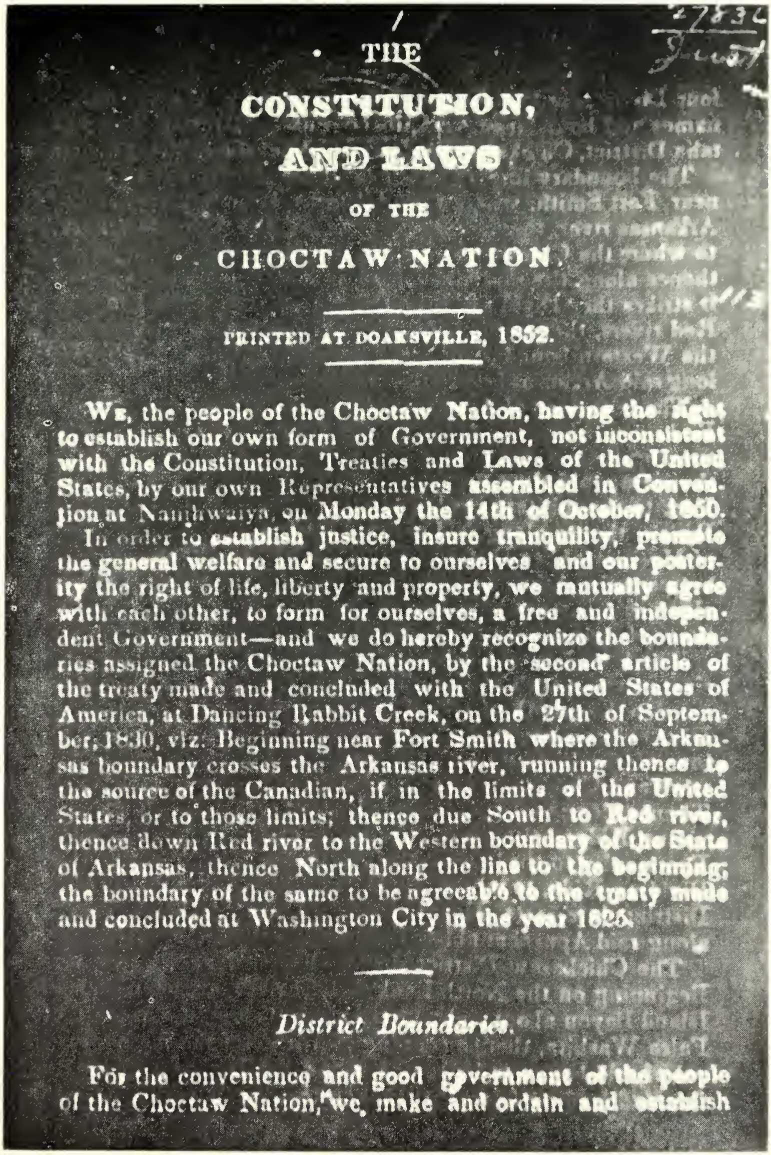

THE

CONSTITUTION,

AND LAWS

OF THE

CHOCTAW NATION.

PRINTED AT DOAKSVILLE, 1852.

We, the people of the Choctaw Nation, having the right to establish our own form of Government, not inconsistent with the Constitution, Treaties and Laws of the United States, by our own Representatives assembled in Convention at Nanihwaiya, on Monday the 14th of October, 1850. In order to establish justice, insure tranquility, promote the general welfare and secure to ourselves and our posterity the right of life, liberty and property, we mutually agree with each other, to form for ourselves, a free and independent Government—and we do hereby recognize the boundaries assigned the Choctaw Nation, by the second article of the treaty made and concluded with the United States of America, at Dancing Rabbit Creek, on the 27th of September, 1830, viz: Beginning near Fort Smith where the Arkansas boundary crosses the Arkansas river, running thence to the source of the Canadian, if in the limits of the United States, or to those limits; thence due South to Red river, thence down Red river to the Western boundary of the State of Arkansas, thence North along the line to the beginning, the boundary of the same to be agreeable to the treaty made and concluded at Washington City in the year 1825.

District Boundaries.

For the convenience and good government of the people of the Choctaw Nation, we, make and ordain and establish

(Photostat)

First page of *The Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation.* Volume printed at Doaksville, Choctaw Nation, 1852.

that they would be self-governing and forever free from inclusion in any state or territory.[1]

By 1835 nearly all the Choctaws had been removed to Oklahoma where they were joined two years later by their relatives, the Chickasaws who had sold all their lands in Mississippi and purchased the right of settlement in the Choctaw Nation, West. Under provisions of a treaty with the United States and the Choctaw Nation in 1855, the Chickasaws established their own government in 1856. Thus, from 1837 to 1855, the Choctaw laws applied equally to the Chickasaws.

Choctaw constitutional government developed and proceeded in six phases: A constitution adopted in 1834, the first written in Oklahoma, vested all legislative power in a unicameral General Council whose laws could be vetoed by two of the three district chiefs.[2] After the Chickasaws purchased the right of settlement among the Choctaws in 1837, a new constitution was adopted for the Choctaw Nation in the following year, providing a fourth district to be called the "Chickasaw District." An 1842 amendment provided for a bicameral council. The withdrawal of the Chickasaws to form their own government occasioned another constitution, written and adopted at Skullyville in 1857, which supplanted the three district chiefs with one executive to be titled "Governor." A counter resolution was adopted against the "Skullyville Constitution" the next year by a conservative group of Choctaw citizens, an action that threatened civil war in the Nation. The cleavage, however was closed with a compromise constitution adopted at Doaksville in 1860, which with a few amendments remained the fundamental law until the Choctaw government was closed with the formation of the new state of Oklahoma.[3]

The Doaksville Constitution of 1860 recognized the compact theory of government: sovereignty of the people; freedom of religion, press and assembly; and three branches of government— legislative, executive and judicial.

The legislative branch consisted of a bicameral General Council whose Senate was composed of four senators from each of three districts, serving for two years, and whose House of Representatives was composed of eighteen to twenty members elected annually on the basis of one representative per thousand inhabitants. Executive power resided in a Principal Chief and three subordinate District Chiefs, none of whom could serve more than two consecutive terms of two years each. Each bill passed by the Council required approval or veto of the Principal Chief. The executive establishment also included a National Secretary, Treasurer, Auditor, and Attorney who were elected for two year terms. A national corps of lighthorsemen was under the direction of the chief executive, and similar forces were directed by District Chiefs. Each county had a sheriff, plus a ranger to deal with stray livestock and brand records. The judiciary consisted of Supreme, Circuit and County Courts.[4] The Circuit Court was the court of original jurisdiction. The County Court directed county affairs and had charge of minor matters, like probate.

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[1] Edward Everett Dale and Morris L. Wardell, *History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1948), pp. 122-25.

[2] Lester Hargrett, *The Constitution and Laws of the American Indians*, (a Bibliography, Harvard University Press, 1947), "The Choctaw Nation," pp. 54-77.

[3] Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, 1934), pp. 74-5. This volume cites references to Choctaw law codes and to acts of the General Council of the Choctaw Nation.

Other articles of the constitution provided that no office could be held by a person who did not believe in God or the hereafter; double jeopardy; trial by jury; right to bear arms in defense of self and country; freedom from unreasonable search and seizure; protection against deprivation of life, liberty, property and privilege unless by judgment of peers or law of the land; no imprisonment for debt; no excessive bail, fine, cruel or unusual punishment; open court trials; no bill of attainder, retrospective laws nor law impairing obligation of contract; suffrage for free males eighteen and over; right of any citizen to work a mineral deposit within a one-mile radius; and establishment of a milita which the Principal Chief could call out. An amendment of 1883 moved the capital from Chahta Tamaha to Tuskahoma, effective in 1884.[5]

A social order commensurate with the development of statecraft developed during the fifty years between 1834 and 1884. Before the Choctaws had been in Oklahoma for a generation they were a literate people. In addition:[6]

> Taken as a whole the generation from 1833 to 1861 presents a record of orderly development almost unprecedented in the history of any people. The Choctaws had settled a wild and remote frontier, accepted an alien religion and code of morals, established an educational system completely foreign to their aboriginal conceptions, adopted the constitutional and legal system of an unrelated racial experience, and modified their agricultural and commercial practices to conform to a complex economic system; and these innovations had been so eagerly accepted that they had become fundamental in their social, political, and economic life.
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> * * * * *
>
> The evolution of a tenant system of agriculture, the construction of the railroads, the opening of the mines, and the influx of a large non-citizen population brought a complex economic order very different from the simple agricultural society that had existed before the Civil War.

In the new economic order the permit law of 1867, the timber law of 1871, and the coal law of 1873 were fundamental, and were necessitated quite as much by the composition of the population as by the resources themselves. A census of 1867 showed 13,161 Choctaws and 1,981 Negroes. By 1890 the population included 10,017 Choctaws, 4,406 Negroes, and 28,345 whites.[7]

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[4] County courts dated from 1850 when the first counties were organized in the Choctaw Nation—a total of nineteen counties in the four districts.—Muriel H. Wright, "Organization of Counties in the Choctaw and the Chickasaw Nations," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. VIII, No. 3 (September, 1930), pp. 315-34.

[5] Joseph P. Folsom, *Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation* (New York, 1869), pp. 7-26, hereafter cited as "Folsom, *Laws.*" (This compilation of the constitution and laws in effect in 1869 was referred to among the Choctaw as the "J. P. Code."—Ed.)

[6] Debo, *op. cit.,* pp. 78-9 and 131, respectively.

In manuscript, the laws between 1869 and 1884 were written on ruled paper with a wide margin on the left, similar to legal tablets used today. Each was headed by the legend, ''An act entitled an act to . . . .'' The customary legislative form of ''Be it enacted by the General Council of the Choctaw Nation assembled'' and ''Be it further enacted'' preceded appropriate paragraphs. The laws were written in the stilted expressions of the lawgiver, reflecting the education of Choctaw youth in United States schools. However, there were a few instances in which colloquialisms crept into the law, as in 1872 when the court ground of Jack's Fork County was moved back to ''the same old place.''[8] The customary saving clause appeared at the end of each bill, repealing all previous acts in conflict with the new one.

Each bill was folded in quarters. On the two outside surfaces were legends giving the title of the bill, date passed by the House, date passed by the Senate, and date approved by the principal Chief. In 1881 the National Secretary was directed to have all acts, resolutions, and reports of auditor and treasurer of each session printed and bound.[9]

A discussion of laws by groups follows:

COMMERCE AND TRANSPORTATION

Commerce was placed under a licensing system in 1836 with a law stipulating that all white men employed in the Nation must have a permit. That law remained on the statute books until 1863 when all previous permits were revoked by an act which required annual renewal of licenses.[10]

The permit law of 1867 laid the basis for a much more elaborate licensing system. Non-citizens obtained permits from the Principal Chief to expose goods for sale, the permit was renewed annually, the businessman paid an *ad valorem* tax of one and one-half percent of the original cost of inventory, and posted a one thousand dollar bond. Artisans were subject to similar requirements. The 1867 law was repealed in 1871 without a substitute to take its place, but was reinstituted in full force and vigor in 1872.

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[7] *Extra Census Bulletin* (1890), "The Five Civilized Tribes," pp. 4, 6.

[8] "Acts Choctaw Nation," Vol. II, p. 52. These laws are in manuscript as adopted by the General Council of the Choctaw Nation between 1869 and 1907, now in the Phillips Collection at the University of Oklahoma, bound in twenty-five volumes. References to these acts in this article will be given as ACN with volume number.

[9] ACN, Vol. V.

[10] The laws relating to commerce and transportation are found in Folsom, *Laws*, and ACN Vols. I, II, III, IV, V.

The permit law was strengthened in 1875 when non-citizen merchants were required to obtain one-year permits from the Principal Chief by making written application signed by twenty citizens, setting forth the county and place of the business, kind of business, and capital. A one thousand dollar bond guaranteed observance of national laws and payment of an annual tax of two percent upon the invoice cost of goods. The Principal Chief was to issue the permit, which he could renew by endorsement, through the National Revenue Collector (a post established the same year) who was instructed to deliver the permit only after the tax had been paid. Mechanics, artisans and professional persons obtained similar permits for a twenty-five dollar annual tax, and permits also were required of non-citizen laborers, teamsters and servants, whose annual tax was six dollars.

Certain modifications were made in 1876 when the General Council overrode a veto to specify that only five citizens need sign the application, that the tax be reduced to one and one-half percent, that artisans and ''professional characters'' other than school teachers could obtain permits from county judges for which they were to pay seventeen dollars each, and that citizens employing non-citizens as laborers, teamsters or servants could enroll them with the county clerk for ten cents per name and pay the sheriff five dollars for each employe. Permits were required for non-citizen farm tenants in 1883. Servants hired by the month at stated salaries were to be recorded by the employer at ten cents per name.

In 1853 the General Council directed that an applicant for an attorney's license be examined by a member of the Supreme Court. An act of 1876 provided that an attorney who received a fee from a client and then accepted money from the opposing litigant should be prohibited from practicing in Choctaw courts. A law of 1884 provided that the Principal Chief should appoint three citizens, graduates of reputable medical colleges, to sit as a Board of Physicians to examine non-citizen doctors.

Some businesses were chartered by the General Council. Between 1854 and 1884 the General Council passed nineteen acts authorizing toll bridges. Generally, Choctaw citizens were exempt from paying the rates, which were set at one cent for each head of livestock, ten cents for each horse and rider, twenty-five cents for each four-wheeled wagon drawn by one or two animals, and fifty cents for each four-wheeled wagon drawn by four or more animals. At first, a six-year limit was set, but by 1872 it was ten years. Several were renewed.[11]

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[11] For example, see act pertaining to John Riddle's toll bridge across Fourche Maline on the road from Fort Smith to Boggy Depot (Folsom, *Laws*, p. 192), and law granting charter to James D. Davis (*Ibid.*, pp. 437-38, and ACN, Vol. III, p. 79). —Muriel H. Wright, "Historic Places on the Old Stage Line from Fort Smith to Red River," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (June, 1933), pp. 807, 808, 815.

Eight similar charters were issued between 1860 and 1877 for turnpikes. The same rates set for toll bridges applied to toll roads, and certain conditions were specified, as to construction of the road for a certain distance on either side of the toll gate.

Other charters allowed Wilson Jones to build a water-powered sawmill in Atoka County in 1870 and authorized Campbell LeFlore to construct a telegraph line, running from Fort Smith, Ark., to Sherman, Tex., in 1859.

Railroads brought on thirteen pieces of legislation between 1869 and 1884. The first proposals for construction of a railroad through the Indian Territory stimulated a resolution protesting against the suggested investment of public money in the railroad, "thus subjecting us for years to the necessity of resorting to taxation for the support of our government, and placing our funds in the hands of speculators."

In 1870 the General Council directed that the charters of the Thirty-Fifth Parallel, and the Central, Choctaw and Chickasaw railroad companies be translated into Choctaw. A few months later another act directed the National Secretary to produce the original charters. Within the same year the Council revoked the charters.

The lack of legislative sanction did not deter construction of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas railroad in 1871-72. After the road was an accomplished fact, through the aid of federal legislation, the Choctaws in 1874 adopted a law which said that the General Council alone could grant right-of-way. In 1876 the Council imposed a tax of one and one-half percent of cash value on railroad property, but the Katy operated to the end of the tribal period without paying a Choctaw tax of any kind. Although the General Council did not grant any charters for railroad construction prior to 1884, it did on several occasions give citizens authority to extend branch lines to tap coal producing areas. Another law (1883) specified that no branch to a coal mine, "pinery" or other place could be built without a Choctaw charter.

Public roads also were supported by legislation. An 1836 law imposed a one dollar fine for obstructing or closing a public road, a fine that was increased to twenty-five dollars in 1881 for anyone obstructing a road leading to a school or church. In 1854 the Council decreed that all free males between eighteen and fifty should work on the county roads six days a year, with a fine of fifty cents per day for refusal. United States citizens were to be reported to the Indian agent if they refused. County judges were authorized in 1881 to appoint overseers to whom citizens were assigned for road work.

CRIMINAL LAW

The more obvious crimes were forbidden one by one as time went on. Punishment was by fine, whipping, or death by shooting. For many years jails were unnecessary because of the Choctaw honor code which compelled a condemned man to report voluntarily for his execution or other punishment. However, the Indians learned so many valuable things from white men that by 1860 jails were necessary. One of the first laws mentioning imprisonment as a penalty was one enacted in 1860, which held that any public officer who altered public records could be jailed for six months and fined one hundred dollars. Quite frequently, during the earlier years at least, informers were entitled to half the fine.[12]

Specific criminal laws were enacted in this order: It was made a capital offense in 1834 to kill another as a witch or wizard, and sixty lashes on the bare back was the punishment for even saying that a person was a witch or wizard; arson was made punishable in 1840 by a fine equal to the value of the property destroyed and thirty-nine lashes, or one hundred lashes if the accused could not pay the fine; perjury in 1841 brought a fine of ten to one hundred dollars and five to thirty-nine lashes; a two-dollar fine was imposed in 1842 for cutting down pecan or hickory trees for the nuts; assault and battery made a person liable for damages in 1843.

Rape was made subject to one hundred lashes for the first offense and death for the second (1846), forgers were subject to thirty-nine lashes and a fine of twenty-five to five hundred dollars (1846), public officers could be impeached for selling whisky or being found drunk twice (1848), and gambling was made a crime (1849). Apparently a murder law antedated 1834, for in 1850 the Council passed a law imposing the death penalty on anyone who murdered a murderer or anyone else in custody of police. And in 1858 the death penalty was prescribed for murder.

District Chiefs were authorized in 1850 to offer a fifty dollar reward for the capture or death of outlawed criminals, the reward to be paid from national funds. In 1853, violation of the Sabbath by ball games or horse racing was made subject to a ten dollar fine. Grand larceny was defined in 1858 as a crime involving goods valued at more than twenty-five dollars. A second conviction of horse theft meant death on the gallows. And the unauthorized removal of public documents also was considered larceny, punishable by thirty-nine lashes. One hundred lashes was the punishment for knowingly selling a free person as a slave, or for stealing or selling a stray animal.

Incest was punishable by a two hundred dollar fine and one hundred lashes, beginning in 1858, the same year the first kidnapping law was enacted with the penalty of having the letter "T" burned into the forehead and one hundred lashes "well laid on the bare back." Also in 1858 manslaughter, including death by abortion or at the hand of an intoxicated physician, was punishable by one hundred lashes. The year 1858 also brought enactment of a treason law and the death penalty for traitors; as well as one hundred lashes for mayhem. In 1860 sodomy was made punishable by death by hanging.

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[12] Laws relating to crime are found in Folsom, *Laws*, and ACN Vols. I, II, IV.

In 1860 judges were directed to set the date of execution as within two months from the date of sentence. Accessories and abettors were made liable in 1866 to full punishment. And in 1866 the death penalty in all cases was decreed to be by "shooting the convict until he is dead." In 1871 the Council said no one could be tried on a two-year-old indictment, except for rape or murder, unless he had been out of the Nation during that period. A ten dollar fine was imposed in 1873 for anyone selling or displaying goods on Sunday, although the sales of medicine, burial clothes, and provisions for travellers were exempt. Embezzlement was made punishable by one hundred lashes in 1880, and hunting any kind of game on Sunday was outlawed in 1883. Assault with intent to kill was subject to a fine of from $250 to $500, with half of the fine to go to the aggrieved.

Domestic Relations

Between 1835 and 1850 several laws established the procedure of the marriage ceremony; defined those with authority to perform marriages; protected marriage against alienation, polygamy, and adultery; required all white men to legally marry the Indian women with whom they were living; and stipulated that in the future no white man could intermarry before he had resided in the Nation for two years. Married partners were to retain separate ownership of property held at the time of marriage but were to own jointly all acquisitions after marriage. Elopers could not be legally married. Legal ages for marriage were set at eighteen for men, sixteen for women. Relatives could not marry legally. Divorce was permissible on various grounds, including impotence, bigamy, adultery, desertion, drunkenness, and cruelty endangering the spouse's life.[13]

After the Treaty of 1855 under which the Choctaws were to receive approximately $750,000, innumerable laws were passed by the General Council in legitimizing specific individuals born out of wedlock and sometimes the entire issue of a common law marriage. Finally, in 1871, the Council decreed that county judges could legitimize children. However, a few special acts were passed in later years.

In 1834 the Council said all wills, either verbal or written, must be made in the presence of two witnesses to be valid, and in 1848 another law specified the heirs of anyone dying intestate or without a will. In 1860 a law gave the court discretion to impose fine or imprisonment for anyone hiding or destroying a will.

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[13] Laws cited above relating to domestic relations are found in Folsom, *Laws*, and ACN Vol. I.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

After the 1830 Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek little legislation was involved in relations with the United States. Washington paid the annuities, an agent was stationed among the Choctaws, and only occasionally was action necessary in regard to the few white men who infiltrated. Beginning in 1852, however, legislation with reference to the United States became increasingly frequent, and the tenor of legislation showed how the United States was coming to dominate the tribe to which it had once guaranteed the right of self-government.

When the United States was moving toward dissolution, the Choctaw General Council passed a resolution calling delegates of the various nations to meet at Boggy Depot in 1861 for conferences on their common safety in the event of civil war. When the Civil War did break out, the Choctaws sided with the Confederacy almost to a man and remained loyal to the very end.[14]

The Treaty of 1866, which ended the Civil War for the Choctaws, contained certain provisions of importance in later legal development. For one thing the Choctaws ceded the Leased District for three hundred thousand dollars (of which the Chickasaws were to receive one-fourth) provided they adopted their freedmen within two years. If not, the United States proposed to spend the money for the benefit of the freedmen. Another clause established the right of United States citizens to build a north-south and east-west railroad across the Indian Territory. Provision was made for allotment of land, should the tribe agree to private ownership. The Nation was to agree to such legislation as Congress and the President considered desirable for the better administration of justice in the Indian Territory, which should not, however, interfere with the tribal judiciary. The Choctaws were to be allowed full jurisdiction over intermarried or adopted citizens, and were given a large measure of control over white immigration.

As a result, the federal court for the western district of Arkansas, at Fort Smith, dispensed justice for the Indian Territory. This caused the General Council in 1869 to memorialize Congress for an amendment to the Intercourse Act which would permit them to try their own citizens for violation of laws forbidding introduction of spiritous liquor into the Nation. Numerous acts over the years appropriated money to defend Choctaw officers against murder charges placed against them in the U. S. court.

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[14] Acts relating to external affairs are included in Folsom, *Laws*, and ACN Vols. I, II, IV, V.

Beginning in 1870 the General Council waged a long fight against proposals for a territorial government. A special session was called in 1874 to condemn the suggestion of land allotment and of territorial government which would have nullified guarantees from the United States. Delegates were sent to Washington to present the Nation's cause.

At the regular session in 1874 the General Council drafted a memorial to Congress, which was an ''urgent solicitation'' for settlement of the Net Proceeds Claim arising under the treaty of 1830. The memorial said that the Treaty of 1855 and an 1859 decision of the United States Senate found the value of ceded lands to be $2,981,247, and that only $250,000 had been paid. Since then, claims had risen to $5,500,000. Another memorial in 1876 asked for the earliest possible appropriation of the net proceeds funds.

The Choctaw permit law prompted the Council in 1877 to authorize the Principal Chief to obtain the Secretary of the Interior's latest opinion on permits that had been set aside. The same year another resolution asked the President to interpose his authority in behalf of the Five Civilized Tribes by ordering the discharge of Indians who were held for trial at Fort Smith in violation of treaty stipulations. Relations with the United States had become so involved by 1878 that the Council set up a joint committee on the subject.

After the United States removed intruders who had settled along the railroad, the Council in 1881 adopted a resolution which expressed ''profound gratitude'' for the promptness in which the intruders had been expelled from communities where they had been ''a dangerous element. . . . getting too numerous, troublesome and defiant.''

However, the extent to which the autonomous Choctaw Nation had come under the sway of Washington was illustrated by a law directing the Principal Chief in 1882 to obtain the Interior Department's approval of all laws concerning non-citizens, especially laws against carrying firearms, the public road law, permit law, and timber law.

In 1882 the chief executive was authorized to appoint, with the advice and consent of the Senate (a proviso usually attached to appointments), two delegates for the forthcoming session of Congress. They were to represent the Nation in the Ream and Hailey coal case, guarantees of protection against construction of the Atlantic and Pacific Railway from east to west, disputed citizenship, and other questions. Another delegation was sent to Washington the next year to negotiate the questions of freedmen, timber and coal laws.

Aside from numerous acts calling for cooperation with the Chickasaws in meeting problems posed by railroads and national resources, legislation dealing with intertribal affairs was at a minimum. In 1859 an act sent three delegates to North Fork Village in the Creek Nation where a convention of the five tribes was to be held. At the convention the tribes adopted a code that provided for extradition of criminals, transferal of citizenship from one nation to another, trial under local laws of anyone committing a crime or harboring a runaway slave, and suppression of strong drink. The Okmulgee Constitution was ratified in 1871.

FISCAL

The fiscal affairs of government called for the passage of many acts at each session. Rather than adopt a general tax system, the Choctaw Nation relied upon annuities from the federal government for revenue—dividends from investments made with money received for Choctaw land. After the Civil War the increasing number of white men in the Nation and the extraction of resources called for royalty laws which brought in a certain amount of money.

In 1872 the Principal Chief was directed to ask the Secretary of the Treasury to convert into currency the $250,000 in U. S. bonds that the government held for the Choctaws. A Court of Claims was established to handle the claims arising from the payment of the money.[15]

Collection of money derived from taxes on permits and resources called for several experiments. First, a National Agent was employed. Later, there was a commission of three citizens. A National Revenue Collector was added in 1875. A National Agent was employed again in 1880.

In 1882 taxes were levied on livestock driven through the Nation by non-citizens—ten cents for each head of cattle, horses, mules, jacks, and jennies, and two cents each for sheep, hogs, and goats.

At each session many small appropriation bills were passed, such as those settling claims, paying for upkeep of the capitol, and authorizing *per diem* expenditures (ranging at various times from $1.50 to $5) for legislative and executive officers during Council sessions. Sometimes these were lumped in the overall appropriation bill, as was the case with school appropriations. The general appropriation bill usually was one of the last pieces of business. Appropriations ranged from $20,230 in 1869 to $110,171 for fiscal year ending July 31, 1884. Sometimes it was necessary for the General Council to authorize the National Treasurer to borrow money to meet the immediate costs of government, most frequently in the case of extra sessions of the Council.

Government money was spent by having the auditor issue warrants which were redeemed by the treasurer.

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[15] Acts relating to fiscal affairs are included in ACN Vols. I, II, V.

GOVERNMENT

The administration and details of government called a score or two of laws into existence. Legislation affecting the General Council included such things as the appropriation of twenty-five dollars to pay Theodore Watkins for the use of his house by the Senate in 1858; establishing the representation basis at one per thousand in 1858; creation of joint committees on Claims and Petitions, Principal Chief's Message, and Way and Means in 1862; appropriations to pay a substitute journalist; and directing the county judge of Atoka County to take a special census in 1883 for reapportionment.[16]

After the Constitution of 1860 was adopted, the Council gave the chief specific authority to remove any officer under certain conditions, to require reports from all executive officers, to examine records, and count the money held by the auditor and treasurer. the Chief specific authority to remove any officer under certain conhad the use of a contingent expense fund of four hundred dollars per year.

Too, the chief was empowered in 1873 to suspend the treasurer and auditor if their reports were unacceptable. In 1881, he was allowed a private secretary and in 1883 the chief's salary was raised to two thousand dollars a year.

Laws governed the duties of various executive officers, such as the National Secretary, National Treasurer, and National Auditor whose seal of office was defined as a tomahawk and reaping hook surrounded by the legend, "Auditor's Office, Choctaw Nation." Their salaries were six hundred dollars a year; the National Attorney's four hundred. In 1878 the Council said only legal citizens could represent the Nation as delegates, commissioners, or agents.

A law of 1860 confined the district chiefs' authority to conservation of the peace with control over district lighthorsemen, but no right of interference with national lighthorsemen. The district chief was to "attend the Circuit Courts of his own district to address the people on the importance of obeying and enforcing the law, and maintaining good order throughout this Nation, and also to the practice of temperance, industry, and morality."

A series of laws extending from about 1850 on dealt with the organization of counties in each of three districts, and the duties of court clerks, treasurer, and sheriff. From time to time laws were enacted changing the boundaries and names of some of the counties.

Election machinery brought the enactment of several bills at almost every session of the Council. In 1858 a law made election fraud punishable by a fine of from one hundred to five hundred dollars and imprisonment for six to twelve months, with one-half of the fine going to the informer. An 1860 law said that voting should be by ballot, with each voter writing the name of "such candidate as he may think proper to vote for." Election judges were to number the ballot with the number by the voter's name in the poll book. Polls were to be open from 8 a. m. to sunset. The most numerous laws dealing with election machinery pertained to voting precincts. In virtually each session the Council enacted one and usually more laws creating, changing, adding, or renaming election precincts.

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[16] Acts relating to government herein cited are found in Folsom, *Laws*, and ACN Vols. I, II, III, IV, V, VI.

An auxiliary governmental body was set up in 1859 when the Council created a Court of Claims to decide the validity of claims that would be made against the money received from the Net Proceeds Claim. In 1872 the pay of commissioners was set at seven dollars a day. And in 1873 the chief was directed to obtain a copy of the list of claimants under the treaty of 1830, sending to Washington for it if necessary. The dates on which the Court of Claims should meet in each district were specified in 1876.

An 1857 law directed that a census be taken on January 1, 1858, and every six years thereafter, to show the distribution of Choctaw males in five age groups; Choctaw females under and over sixteen; number of Negroes; number of white men with Indian wives, number with licenses and families, and the number not licensed; production of cotton, corn, wheat, and oats; and number of livestock by kind.

The capital and capitol building were subjects of several acts. One in 1861 noted the change of the capital to Chahta Tamaha. An 1863 law directed the building be cleaned after each session and locked to prevent unauthorized use. When it was decided in 1883 to move the capital to Tuskahomma, an act directed the chief to appoint three commissioners who would select the site and approve the plans for a new stone building.

In 1883 the Council appropriated fifteen hundred dollars for a newspaper which was to be the organ of the Choctaw Nation. It was to be published and managed by L. H. and R. M. Roberts under the supervision of the chief and his cabinet.

INHABITANTS

Citizenship was a touchy matter with the Choctaws because of the privileges attached. Every once in a while, prior to the Civil War, the General Council passed special acts conferring citizenship upon certain individuals, usually members of other tribes. One such act in 1858 conferred citizenship upon ninety-four persons at the same time.[17]

In 1872 the Supreme Court was given the responsibility of determining claims of citizenship. The testimony of two disinterested

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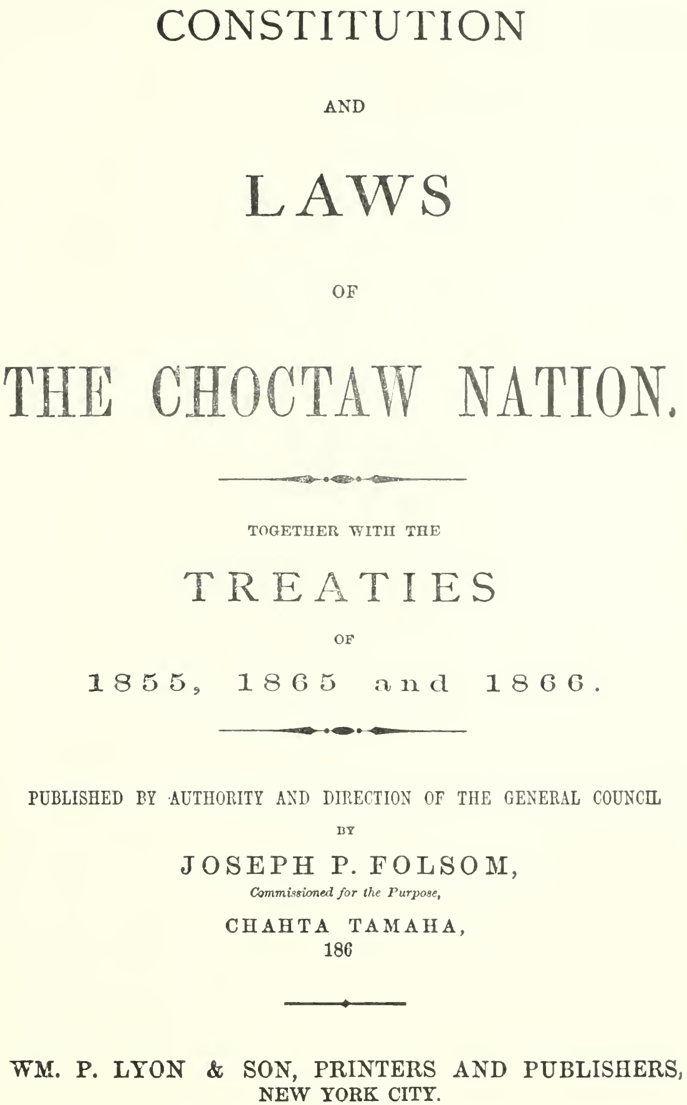
[17] Acts relating to inhibitants herein cited are found in Folsom, *Laws*, and ACN Vols. I, II, III, IV, VI.



CONSTITUTION

AND

LAWS

OF

THE CHOCTAW NATION.

TOGETHER WITH THE

TREATIES

OF

1855, 1865 and 1866.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY AND DIRECTION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL
BY
JOSEPH P. FOLSOM,
Commissioned for the Purpose,
CHAHTA TAMAHA,
186

WM. P. LYON & SON, PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS,
NEW YORK CITY.

Title Page of Choctaw Law Book or "J. P. Code," published 1869.

witnesses was required in the case of a person claiming Choctaw descent. But that very year the General Council said it would receive petitions for citizenship, also requiring the testimony of two disinterested witnesses. In 1877 the Council directed the sheriffs to determine the number of persons having but not claiming citizenship. Those persons were to petition for citizenship at once or be treated as intruders.

Almost from the first, intruders were a problem. In 1844 the General Council ordered some intruding Indians from the Nation; in 1849 a law said no white man could raise livestock unless he married into the Nation; in 1854 a complaint was made against white intruders in the vicinity of Fort Arbuckle; in 1858 D. H. Cooper, the agent, was asked to remove any Creek who settled without permission, especially bootleggers; and in 1859 sheriffs were commanded to report at once the names of white men living in the Nation without a permit. A blanket order was issued in 1860 for the removal of all intruders.

Then in 1875 the Council said that "Whereas the Choctaw Nation is being filled up with white persons of worthless character by so-called marriages to the great injury of Choctaw people," all white men desiring to marry Choctaw women had to swear in a court of record that they had no surviving wife from whom they were not divorced, and were further required to furnish a certificate of good character, signed by ten citizens. Each had to pay a twenty-five dollar fee and swear to honor, defend, and submit to the Choctaw Constitution. They also had to forswear protection by or redress in United States courts. The marriage was to be solemnized under Choctaw law or be null and void.

Also in 1875 the Council imposed a twenty-five dollar fine on all non-citizens who might be found hunting, trapping, taking or destroying pelts; white men were to be turned over to the United States marshal for prosecution. In 1877 the Council directed that all non-citizens, not employed by citizens, dispose of their improvements by the last day of January 1878 or face confiscation. The law was renewed in 1878.

The problem of intruders was so pressing by 1878 that the Council authorized a delegation to present personally to the President of the United States a request for speedy removal of intruders who were abusing timber resources and whom United States agents had either refused or neglected to expel.

In 1881 came a law saying that a missionary who wished to preach in the Nation must be approved by some church group and be recommended by missionaries already in the field. Once admitted, the missionaries were enjoined to "strictly confine themselves to the sacred office of minister" on pain of having their privileges rescinded.

White men coming into the Nation caused such trouble with the United States that a resolution was adopted in 1882 exemplifying the disagreements. It said the non-citizens who had failed to establish citizenship according to law were appealing to Fort Smith and sometimes using bribed witnesses. Therefore the Council agreed that anyone whose claim was rejected could appeal to the Indian agent, provided the Nation was represented at the hearing by an attorney. The resolution also said many non-citizens remained year after year under the pretense they were about to prove claims to citizenship. The agent was requested to act immediately in settling their claims. Failure of the individuals concerned to take advantage of the offer would mean that the Choctaws "do not and will not recognize their citizenship."

After the Civil War the Choctaw Nation found another vexing problem in the slaves who had been freed. As early as 1844 the Choctaws had shown their disposition toward freed slaves in a resolution which held that "no free Negro unconnected with Choctaw blood shall ever be allowed to draw any money from the Choctaw annuity." The 1866 treaty provisions regarding freedmen were not fulfilled by either party, and the Negroes remained in the Nation for several years without a defined legal status. In 1872 the Council directed the chief to aid the United States in removing them. The directive was predicated upon the presence of a "large number of freedmen whose relations to the Choctaw Nation are novel and unsatisfactory" and whose "pretended grievances" had been set forth in a petition to Congress.

A fresh approach was taken in 1875 when the Council authorized the chief executive to appoint five commissioners who were to confer with Chickasaw delegates on the matter of freedmen. The commissioners were reminded that the treaty provision had lapsed and that the question must be settled without losing such a large tract as the Leased District. The Council stipulated that freedmen were to have no interest in the land or money of the two tribes, but that they could be given money or land as a clearly understood charity. Too, it would be permissible to give the former slaves full civil rights in courts and elections. In 1877 the Council directed the chief to report to United States authorities those Negroes who were disposing of timber unlawfully since they had no interest in the public domain.

Three years later the Council sent a memorial to Congress, saying the Choctaws were ready to accept as citizens under terms of the 1866 treaty the freedmen who had been a source of "a great deal of trouble and anxiety." This was followed within a few days by a resolution saying the chief should name three citizens to register freedmen if the United States approved of their adoption.

In 1883 the Council sent two delegates to obtain Washington's approval of a bill adopting the freedmen with full rights of citizenship except for annuities and the public domain. Each freedman was to receive forty acres, and those who left the Nation permanently were to receive one hundred dollars. They were specifically forbidden the right to hold high office. Objections by the United States caused repeal of the office-holding restriction. A year later the freedmen were adopted.

Inhabitants also were subject to certain restrictions in the use of the commonly owned land. An 1836 law required permission of the General Council for the member of any other tribe to settle in the Nation; an 1838 law prohibited any settlement within half a mile of a salt works; an 1839 law restricted settlements to no less than 140 yards of each other, unless the first settler agreed to a lesser distance; an 1873 law held that no citizen could settle within 440 yards of the improvements of a previous settler. In 1838 the Council prescribed a fine for anyone who pulled or left down the fence of another; an 1883 act made it unlawful to enclose a pasture with wire fence, although rail fences were permissible around an area not greater than one mile square; and in 1884 it was made lawful to enclose a one square mile tract with wire fence.

COURTS

Organization, administration and procedure of courts of justice were subjects of numerous laws. Prior to 1860, laws were enacted which directed clerks and judges to keep records (1840), instructed judges to keep order in court (1844), prescribed the authority of county judges (1850), and set fees for court officers (1857).[18]

After 1860 came laws defining the duty of the Supreme Court clerk and fixing his pay at one hundred dollars a year; directing that a Supreme Court of three justices elected by the Council should have an eagle as a seal; giving circuit courts (of a judge in each district) original jurisdiction in cases involving more than fifty dollars; setting the salary of Supreme and Circuit Court judges at four hundred to $450 a year giving county courts jurisdiction in probate, guardianship, and executor matters, with instructions to meet on the first Monday in each month for no longer than four days; raising the salary of county judges to $150 a year and denying to them all "perquisites" of office except for marriages; and setting salaries for district attorneys. A law of 1882 also specified the duties of Circuit Court clerks.

In 1883 the Nation was divided into judicial districts according to political districts, the dates specified for semi-annual court sessions in each district, the jurisdiction of the courts prescribed, and the judges' authority affirmed in such matters as *habeas corpus*, injunctions and all other remedial writs.

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[18] Acts relating to courts in the Choctaw Nation herein cited are found in Folsom, *Laws*, and ACN Vols. I, II, IV, VI.

Several laws were enacted prior to 1860 dealing with the duty and methods of selecting jurors, and the compensation to be allowed them. The procedure was retained under the Constitution of 1860. An 1877 law reaffirmed that jurors receive five cents per mile and one dollar a day. In 1883 the Council specified that the county court should pick jurors for the circuit court, set the pay of jurors, and enumerated the grounds on which counsel could challenge.

Prior to 1860 laws were enacted setting travel pay at two cents a mile and *per diem* at fifty cents for witnesses, authorizing depositions, and directing that witnesses be kept separate at trials. In 1870 the Council said witnesses could have the privilege of reading the court record of their testimony and then correcting or expanding the transcript. In 1883 witnesses were to receive five cents a mile and $1.50 per day.

The most numerous laws involved changes in court grounds. The meeting places of the courts were changed with such frequency that the Council in 1873 made all court grounds permanent and said changes would be made only upon petition. Each petition was to be given enough notice to give opponents a chance to file a counter petition.

NATURAL RESOURCES[19]

An 1834 law said no one was entitled to damage by livestock unless his land was guarded by a fence ten rails high. In 1843 the Council said a person could not ride a stray horse from the Nation, and that a stray pen was to be built at the Supreme Court grounds in each district. It was made unlawful in 1846 to drive livestock from the range where they belonged. And in 1850 all unmarked cattle two years old or more were to be posted as strays. In 1856 livestock owners were ordered to record their brands or be fined five dollars. Cruelty to livestock was made punishable by a fifty dollar fine and thirty-nine lashes in 1858. When the Constitution of 1860 authorized a ranger in each county, the Council passed a law setting his duties. He was to register all certificates of strays, and after a year sell all strays on quarterly sales days. In 1873 he was given charge of the brand record books.

In 1880 non-citizens were forbidden to raise livestock except for home consumption, and then only ten head of cattle, a team to work the farm, and such other stock as could be kept in an enclosure.

The real wealth of the Nation was found in the stone, timber and coal. Because the land was held in common, the Nation took the position that the resources, too, were the possession of the entire tribe.[20]

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[19] Acts herein cited relating to natural resouces in the Choctaw Nation are found in Folsom, *Laws*, and ACN Vols. I, II, III, IV, V.

[20] One of the earliest forest laws in Oklahoma was enacted by the Choctaw General Council for the preservation of hickory and pecan trees, in legislation approved November, 1842.—*The Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation* (Printed at Doaksville, 1852).—Ed.

Consequently, a law was passed in 1871 authorizing the chief to appoint a National Agent who was to sell all of the timber and stone produced by citizens. The law was broadened two years later to include the sale of coal to the railroad, and set the royalty at ten cents for each tie, three cents for each running foot of timber, and directed the agent to retain one-half cent per bushel of coal, the remainder of the coal price to go to the producer. A law of 1875 specifically said the resources were held by the people in common.

A new law went into effect in 1875. It was almost identical with the former, except that that coal royalty was reserved for schools, and the agent was directed to turn one-fourth of the receipts over to the Chickasaw Nation. The next year a public weigher was stationed at each mine. Thereafter, an agent for the Chickasaws was to collect their share of the royalty.

The National Agent was replaced in 1878 by three collectors who received royalties on coal, lumber and shingles shipped via the Katy from McAlester, Atoka, and Stringtown. Another new law specifically made it unlawful for anyone to dispose of timber to a non-citizen.

In 1880 the Nation went back to the agent plan with a new law which specified the royalties to be collected on coal, stone, pine, walnut and oak lumber, shingles, and railroad ties of various woods. Coal contracts were to run six years; all others, one year. The Choctaw agent was to collect three-fourths of the revenue, leaving the remaining quarter to be collected by the Chickasaw agent. Two years later district collectors were authorized to collect the tax on traders, lumber and timber off the railroad, and by public weighers at each coal mine. A long list of specific royalties was set out in an 1882 law pertaining to various types of lumber, telegraph poles, piling, ties, tanning bark, cord wood, and shingles.

By 1883 the Nation's attention was turned to petroleum. A law gave the National Agent authority to contract with anyone who would drill for oil or salt. The next year the Council chartered the Choctaw Oil Company because it was felt necessary to induce someone to drill for oil in view of surface indications.

An 1882 law said anyone could cut and export prairie grass if he notified the sheriff of the county and paid fifty cents per ton. Only two years before, that activity had been outlawed.

The land itself remained a prime resource, and was protected by an 1839 law which prescribed the death penalty for anyone selling any or all of the Nation's land, and laws of 1870 and 1877 which prohibited the leasing of land to non-citizens.

PEACE AND ORDER

Laws safeguarding the peace and dignity of the Nation included: Stolen property found in the Nation was to be returned to its owners outside the Nation (1836); a lighthorseman was to serve each school (1842); five dollar fine for disturbing worship (1846); fine of five to fifty dollars for disturbing the peace of a family (1847); district chiefs to call upon other district chiefs for use of lighthorsemen (1847); lighthorsemen to call upon any citizen for help in taking a criminal or destroying whisky, five dollar fine for refusal to help (1848); five to ten dollar fine for interfering with destruction of whisky (1849);[21] drunks disturbing any public gathering to be fined ten dollars and to rest in jail until sober (1854); fine up to twenty-five dollars for disturbing religious devotions or schools (1854); slander and libel made actionable (1858).

Under the 1860 constitution the Principal Chief was authorized to appoint a national corps of six lighthorsemen (increased to nine in 1884) to serve as messengers, keep peace, execute criminal laws, suppress disorders, destroy whisky, keep intoxicants two miles away from General Council meeting, and be at disposal of United States authorities.

The carrying of firearms by other than peace officers was banned in 1869, 1880, and 1883. Disturbing religious worship was forbidden again in 1880 and 1883.

In 1883 three companies of militia, one for each district, were authorized for the use of the Principal Chief.[22]

WELFARE

Outright relief was resorted to on two occasions. An 1860 law made appropriations for the immediate purchase of corn because "in consequence of unprecedented heat and long continued drought of last summer, there has been an almost total failure of crops among Choctaws, and all the horrors of famine are impending over very many of them." Three commissioners were appointed to distribute corn from storehouses at Fort Coffee, the mouth of the Kiamichi, and Reverend E. Hotchkin's on the Red River. The crops failed again in 1881, and the Principal Chief made an emergency expenditure of six thousand dollars—after the people had assembled to ask redress of their "sore grievances"—which the Council approved at the next session.

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[21] One of the first measures, if not the first, enacted by the General Council of the Choctaw Nation in Oklahoma was titled "An Act preventing the introduction of whiskey," approved in October, 1834, at the first session of the Council West, and signed by Joseph Kincaid, Thomas LeFlore and Nitakechi, Chiefs (*Ibid.*, p. 17). Session IV of the General Council (in Oklahoma) enacted further legislation relating to selling whiskey in the Choctaw Nation, under the title "An Act laying a fine on all those who sell whiskey, and also for the disposal of said fine." (*Ibid.*, pp. 23-4).—Ed.

[22] Laws relating to peace and order referred to above in this article are found in Folsom, *Laws* and in ACN Vols. I, IV, VI.

Laws also specified that orphan minors should have guardians (1847); propertied idiots should have guardians (1849); giving ten dollars from the sale of strays to each crippled, blind, or idiotic person, provided he was temperate and incapable of self-support (1854); that guardians should file annual statements of property belonging to orphans (1863).[23]

EDUCATION

More than seventy laws pertained to education.[24] Some of the earlier ones dealt with runaway pupils (1842); ages for attendance (1842); proximity of stores to schools (1842); public examinations and time for vacations (1849); trustees and superintendent (1853).

Of the later laws the more important were: A physical examination of students at New Hope Seminary and Spencer Academy (1877). Superintendent and three citizens to license teachers of local schools (1878). Reorganization of the administrative set-up (1879).

Other laws specified the textbooks to be used (1881), set quotas for each national school (1883), local trustees to locate schools when at least ten pupils were available and employ teachers (1881).

Each year appropriations were made for the schools. A typical law was that of 1879 which set aside $31,734 for schools, including six thousand for Spencer, five thousand for New Hope, $6,200 for 22 students in the States, $14,300 for neighborhood schools, and $234 as the superintendent's contingent expense fund. After 1877 part of the coal royalty was used to pay expenses of students at school in the United States.[25]

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[23] Legislation relating to welfare cited above is found in laws of the General Council included in Folsom, *Laws* and in ACN Vol. V.

[24] The Choctaw Treaty of Doaks Stand (1820) provided that the proceeds from the sale of 54 sections of "good land," out of the cession of lands in Mississippi made to the United States by this treaty, be applied to the support of schools in the Choctaw Nation; the Treaty of 1825 provided that an annuity of $6,000 paid the Choctaws by the United States be applied for twenty years for the support of schools in the Choctaw Nation and "extending to it the benefits of instruction in the mechanic and ordinary arts of life"; the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek (1830) provided the erection of a church, to be used as a school, in each district until others were erected by the nation (Kappler, Indian Affairs, *Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II). Session IX, General Council of the Choctaw Nation, enacted a law titled "An Act public schools," approved November, 1842, and signed by James Fletcher, Isaac Folsom and Nathaniel Folsom, Chiefs (*The Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation*, 1852, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-3). This act of 1842 provided the establishment of seven boarding schools in the Nation: two for boys—Spencer Academy and Fort Coffee Academy; and five boarding seminaries for girls—Koonsha (Goodwater), Chuwahla (Pine Ridge), Iyanubbe (Stockbridge), Wheelock and New Hope. Pupils in these schools should receive instruction in "Letters," the boys to receive, also, instruction in "Agriculture and the Mechanical Arts," and the girls, "in Housewifery and Sewing &c." The General Council provided for the establishment of Armstrong Academy for boys in 1843.—Ed.

[25] Laws cited above relating to education in the Choctaw Nation are found in Folsom, *Laws*, and in ACN Vols. III, IV, VI.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Order Index For Volume XXX, *THE CHRONICLES*

1952

The Index for Volume XXX of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* 1952, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Clerk-Archivist, is now ready for free distribution among those receiving the magazine. Orders for this Index should be sent to Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

A Photograph of "Worcester, the Pride of the West" and Nevada Couch Discovered

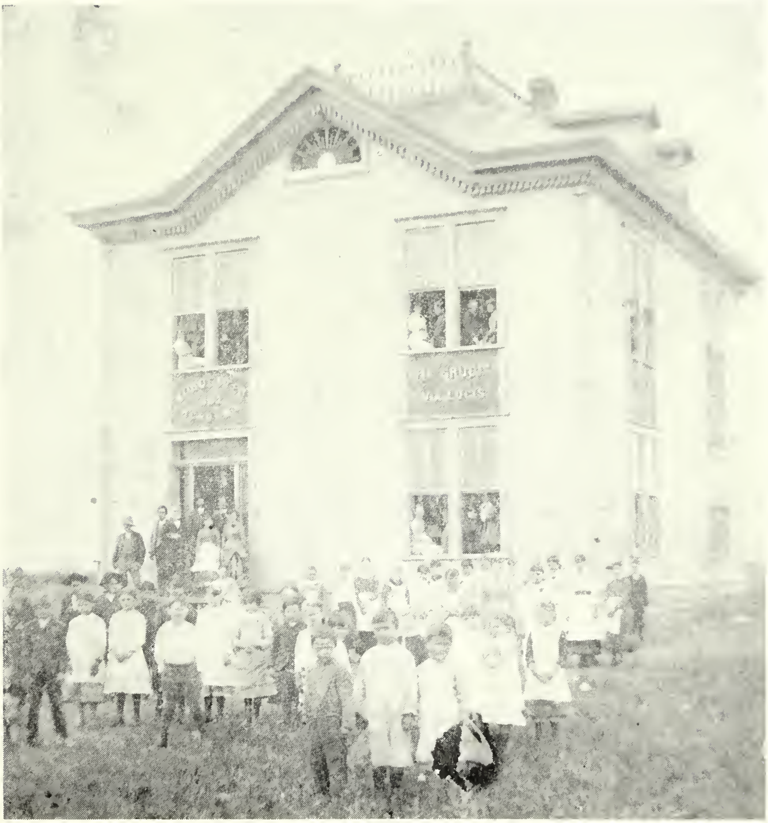
Immediately after the publication of the winter number (1952-53) of *The Chronicles,* a postal card was received by the Associate Editor, with the following statement from Mrs. Lucy Allen, Vinita, Oklahoma:

"In the recent number of Chronicles the article—'Worcester, the Pride of the West' has a statement which needs correction. Nevada Couch is not dead. She is 87 and lives at 702 Duck Street, Stillwater. Her name is Mrs. Vada Davis."

This information was sent to Miss Kathleen Garrett, writer of the article, who investigated the matter at once. Her report was accompanied by a letter, in which she writes: "And what a coincidence to find Nevada Couch living in Stillwater! . . . . She wasn't a bit upset at being considered dead; she simply waved it off (literally) and said that sort of thing didn't bother her." More than this, she presented Miss Garrett with a fine old photograph of Worcester Academy which is published here since none could be located for her article in the winter number of the magazine.

Miss Garrett's interesting report on her discovery of Nevada Couch is as follows:

> The happiest kind of correction that a writer-in-error can make falls to the lot of the writer of "Worcester, the Pride of the West" published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Volume XXX, No. 4 (Winter, 1952-53).
>
> Drawing her material from memories that groped back half a century, the writer stated that Nevada Couch, a student of Worcester Academy and the author of a pamphlet entitled "Pages from Cherokee Indian History, etc." was no longer living. It is with the greatest pleasure that the writer states that her remarks concerning this fact are not true. Nevada Couch is not only alive, but she is alive with good talk and story and a keen sense of humor at the age of eighty-seven.
>
> By a storybook-like coincidence she is living in the same town as the writer, on a road the writer uses every day; and she attends the same



(Photo from Mrs. Nevada Couch Davis)

Worcester Academy, Vinita, Indian Territory, early 1880's.

church. But who was to recognize the Nevada Couch of Worcester Academy in Mrs. George A. Davis of Stillwater!

Mrs. Davis did not graduate from Worcester Academy, but went on a scholarship to Drury College, Springfield, Missouri. She remained there one year; then, thinking she could best help her family by teaching school, she took the examination for a teacher's certificate. Her Oklahoma Territory certificate, one of the first to be issued in Payne County, is now in the Oklahoma Historical Society Archives.

She taught several years, then met Mr. Davis. He insisted that no wife of his should work. "If it were today," Mrs. Davis says, "I would have kept on teaching." She and Mr. Davis lived on a farm near Stillwater until their sons were ready for college, then they moved into Stillwater.

The subject of the pamphlet "Pages from Cherokee Indian History etc." was suggested, she believes, by Doctor Scroggs. It was the custom at Worcester, as at most schools of the period, to have orations at commencement time. She was wondering what subject to choose for her oration when the suggestion of writing about the Academy and the man for whom it was named was offered. She wondered where she could get material. Some of the teachers wrote to people for information for her. And all one summer people sent her material. She wrote it up during the school year and delivered the oration at the June commencement. As the address contained very important material it was published as a "kind of advertisement" for the school.

Mrs. Davis has shared her pioneer adventures with various Stillwater groups, talking to clubs and organizations of her days as an early day school teacher and of her homesteading experiences in Oklahoma Territory. And she says that she likes to emphasize, when she talks of the past, the wonderful neighborliness of pioneer folk. —Kathleen Garrett

(M.H.W.)

1890 Conditions on an Oklahoma Claim

An unusual incident is told in a letter that came recently to the Associate Editor from a long-time member of the Historical Society, Mr. O. H. Richards, an '89er and a resident of Arnett, Oklahoma, whose contributions on the history of the old Day County region in Western Oklahoma are well remembered as published in *The Chronicles.* Much to his surprise, Mr. Richards not long ago read a story that he had written in 1890 published in *The Winfield Daily Courier,* Winfield, Kansas, taken from the old files of this newspaper and reprinted in its 1952 Achievement Edition. The by-line on the story printed sixty-two years ago was ''An Oklahoma Traveller'' but his identity was unknown when the reprint appeared in 1952. A letter from Mr. Richards to the *Daily Courier* brought a cordial reply from H. L. Hart, Managing Editor, which together with the lead editorial appearing in his newspaper for January 20, 1953, and the original story of 1890 will here interest readers of *The Chronicles*:

THE WINFIELD DAILY COURIER
Winfield—Kansas

Jan. 21, 1953

Mr. O. H. Richards,
Arnett, Oklahoma

Dear Sir:

We of *The Courier* were much pleased to hear from one of our workers of the 1880's. You will note the enclosed lead editorial from *The Courier* of yesterday.

Under separate cover we will mail you in late February a copy of our 1953 Achievement Edition. Feel perfectly free to use any of our material in your "*Chronicles.*"

We hope you will be pleased with the new edition.

With best personal wishes,

Yours cordially,
(Signed) H. L. Tart
Managing Editor

Winfield (Kan.) *Daily Courier*, Tuesday, Jan. 20, 1953

REPORT FROM OKLAHOMA

The Courier has received an interesting letter from one of its employes of the 1880's.

"A copy of the 1952 Achievement Edition of *The Courier* fell into my hands not long ago," writes O. H. Richards of Arnett, Okla. "In the historical section there was an article under the caption, 'Former Cowley Man Describes Conditions on Oklahoma Claims,' signed "An Oklahoma Traveler.' I am the author of the article and you can imagine the strange feelings it gave me, an old man 85 years of age, recalling incidents that happened 62 years ago when I was a youth of 23.

"By way of explanation, when in my early twenties, I was employed by *The Courier* as solicitor and collector for the *Weekly Courier* among the farmers of Cowley County. They made a special rate of three months for 25 cents. It was the custom in those days to continue to send the paper after the three months expired or until the subscriber came in, paid up and ordered the paper stopped. It was mighty hard for a subscriber to stop his paper.

"I wrote a column each week describing the home and farm of each of our new subscribers and any other items of interest under the pseudonym of *The Couriers*' Wandering Reporter.

"When I made the run (to Oklahoma) in 1889, Mr. Greer, the editor, requested that I send in a story once in a while. That was my first story.

"My father, John R. Richards, was a pioneer of Cowley County, settling on the Walnut in the Star Valley community in 1871. I was educated in the country school there and in Winfield High School. The late Harry Caton, Edgar Kyger and Charles Roberts were schoolmates of mine."

The Courier staff is delighted to learn the identity of "An Oklahoma Traveler." In that day there was considerable anonymity in articles contributed to the paper.

The staff is at present engaged in preparing the 1953 Achievement Edition. We hope Mr. Richards finds much in the historical sections to awaken old memories.

FORMER COWLEY MAN DESCRIBES CONDITIONS ON OKLAHOMA CLAIM

From *The Courier* of Jan. 9, 1890:

Letter from Alfred, Oklahoma.[1]

Dear *Courier*: It has been some time since I kicked the dust of fair Cowley off my brogans and departed for the land of claim jumpers and magis boom.

As I am rather lonely tonight I thought I could not while the time away better than by writing you a letter and letting my numerous friends and creditors through Cowley know of my whereabouts.

My claim is about 13 miles northwest of Guthrie, lies on a little stream called Wolf creek which flows into the Skeleton. I have built me a cabin out of jack oak logs, daubed it with red mud and to stand off from it a short distance it looks like an Apache in full war paint.

People here who have claims seem to be pleased and contented with their possessions. A great many persons here are ones who have met with financial reverses elsewhere, and have come to Oklahoma in order to regain their shattered fortunes, and have a home in their declining years.

All Classes of People

All classes of people, from the hod carrier to the lawyer, may be seen holding down claims. No one has any say over another—all are reduced to a common footing; formalities are here thrown aside and from every one you receive nothing but wholesouled hospitality. Every claim I know of is taken. Claims that I do not believe have 10 acres of tillable land will have someone on them, going ahead and making improvements, and showing by their works that they are here to stay. Some of the land here is very hilly. There are quarter sections here I know of that almost stand on edge. Any person getting such a claim as that is lucky, for he can farm both sides and therefore beat the government at the same time.

A great many are putting up neat and comfortable residences, although the majority are contented with a small shanty, boarded up and down, a dugout or a log house covered with clapboards and daubed with mud.

Claim jumpers are running riot, every claim that has the least chance of being contested has one filed on it with the rapidity of greased lightning. The contests which are filed are mostly for blood money and may be credited to a gang of shysters and one-mule lawyers who hang around the Guthrie land office. They make it a point to keep a record of filings and dates, and if a claim holder does not happen to put in his appearance when the six months has expired, these lawyers will have a contest filed against him and then will come around and offer to release for a given sum.

The claim holder will generally give them something to get rid of them only in a great many cases to have the performance repeated. Such work as this is an injury to the country and the sooner these scalawags are run out the better it will be.

Tells of Sad Case

A sad case of poverty and want came to my knowledge a few days ago. A report came that a woman had died about three miles from where I was located and that her husband had no means to defray the funeral expenses.

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[1] The Town of Alfred later became Mulhall, Okla.

A party of us made up and went to the place designated where we found a ragged tent out in the midst of a desert plain. On entering the tent we found the body of a woman about 25 or 30 years of age, cold and still in death. Her features were pinched and drawn. The look of woe and suffering was described in every lineament of her pallid cheeks.

From what we could learn the woman had died from sheer exposure and want, together with the need of proper medical aid.

A collection was taken up among the neighbors to defray the funeral expenses. All contributed liberally and showed by their kind attention and respectful mien their reverence for the dead woman. She had passed beyond the sunset of life and was free from its cares and disappointments.

A grave was dug on one corner of the claim, and there surrounded by a large concourse of the neighboring men and women, together with the sad husband, the silent remains of the dead woman were laid at rest. Her keen suffering and torture she had undergone would be forever a sealed book to all who stood around her, except Him whose blessed task will be one day to wipe every tear from every eye.

The people of Alfred celebrated Christmas eve with a dance. It was held in an empty storeroom and was under the happy management and direct supervision of a couple of ex-cowpunchers, the leading society gentlemen of Alfred.

The orchestra was simply immense, the pieces consisted of a aged fiddle with three strings, a fife and bass drum. The members of this magnificant orchestra wore sad and reflective countenances and left the impression that they were a long way from home.

At an early hour the company began to gather and in a few minutes from the time the doors were thrown open, three sets of dancers were gliding through the enchanting measures of a lively quadrille.

A drugstore which was in close proximity to the store building furnished refreshments for the gentlemen.[2] The refreshments bore the names of "medicine" and "hop tea."

The ladies were dedecked in costumes suitable to the festive occasion and as I gazed on these vision of fairy loveliness whirling through the fantastic turns of the mazey waltz, I felt that it was a good place to be, even if I had to listen to the harrowing strains of the wheezy fiddle.

After each set the gentlemen in soldierly procession would file out of the dancing hall and march to the drugstore where one by one they would go in and call for "medicine," "hop tea," just as their thirst dictated.

The gentlemen were all arrayed in negligee attire which gave perfect freedom of action. As for myself I was elegantly attired in a wool shirt, blue overalls and cowhide boots.

Well, my light is growing dim, and the fire in the stove is burning low and my watch indicates the midnight hour so I'll bring this letter to a stop by wishing *The Courier* a long and prosperous career through the shifting scenes of life.

AN OKLAHOMA TRAVELER.

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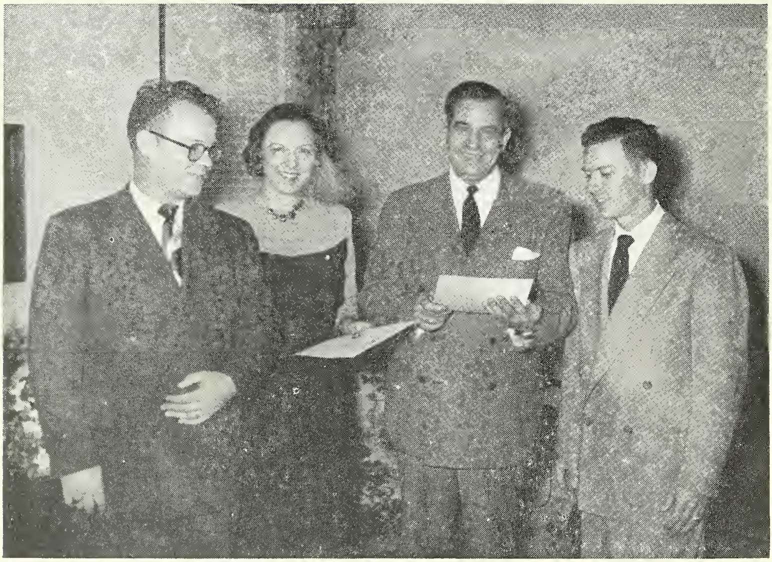
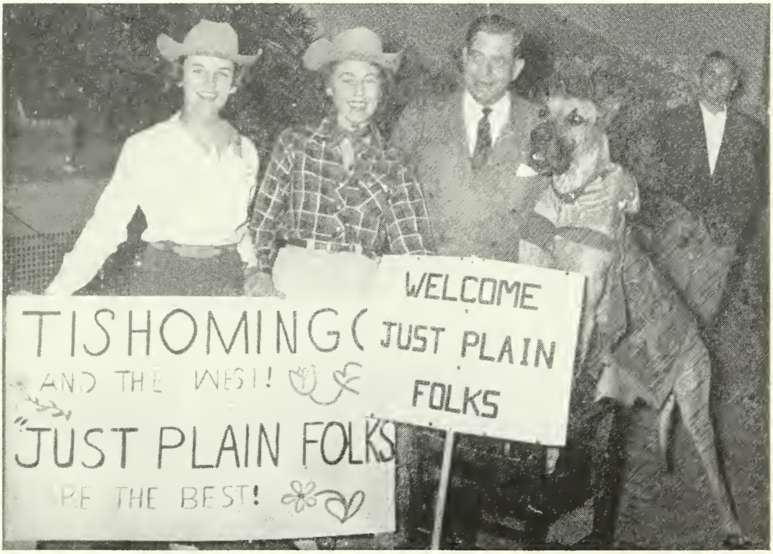
[2] At the time this article was written (1890) Oklahoma was under martial or military law and the sale of intoxicating liquor was prohibited. The only way one could get a drink was by doctor's prescription, and needless to say, some druggists did a thriving business.

In my story where the customers at the Alfred dance called for "medicine" and "hop Tea" it is needless to say that they were served a generous portion of whisky when they called for "medicine". When they called for "hop tea" they were served beer.—O.H.R.



Governor and Mrs. Johnston Murray, honor guests on "Governor's Day" at Oklahoma A. and M. College—March 7, 1952.



Governor Johnston Murray and Students of Oklahoma A. and M. College on "Governor's Day," March 7, 1952.

GOVERNOR-STUDENTS DAY AT A. AND M.

A pictorial book of the ''Governor-Students Day'' at Oklahoma A. & M. College last spring was presented recently to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Most unique feature of ''Governor-Students Day,'' March 7, 1952, was that the students were in charge of every particular. Labeled photographs in the 50-page book tell better than words the events of that occasion, unprecedented in the history of the college. It was an experiment in campus democracy, an all day shangri-la.

The book was prepared by Doctor Haskell Pruett's Shutterbugs and Oklahoma History students under the direction of Doctor B. B. Chapman. It shows the Governor addressing a general assembly in the college auditorium and his address being carried over the state by radio. It shows a radio program under the direction of John Woodworth, head of radio and television services, in which the Governor was interviewed by students on administrative policy. ''For students usually confined to textbooks for a study of Oklahoma governors, this day was one of invigorating experience,'' said Doctor T. H. Reynolds, head of the history department.

In the book one can read inscriptions on banners elevated by students in the well-filled auditorium: ''Welcome Johnston and Willie,'' ''Economy—we've always had it,'' ''Welcome Plain Folks,'' ''Just Plain Alfalfa,'' ''Welcome Governor Murray,'' and ''Tishomingo and the West, Just Plain Folks are the Best.''

Perhaps the finest part of Governor-Students Day was the informal visiting. In recording this visiting, the Shutterbugs were superb. ''Sig,'' mascot of Sigma Chi, wore his blanket and was on his best behavior. A photo is labeled: ''Here they are, everybody and his dog.'' A photo shows Mrs. Murray extending sympathy to ''Sig'' who, by popular vote, had been named UGOC (Ugliest Guy on Campus). ''Sig'' is shown to thousands of Aggies, but to only one governor.

Pictures show Mrs. Murray talking with her former high school teacher, Miss Elsie Shoemaker of the journalism department; Governor and Mrs. Murray getting first hand information about springtime activity at Theta Pond; Pat Daugherty putting in a plug for the ''Aggrievator,'' humor magazine; the Governor visiting with Mrs. Marie E. Hatcher of Stillwater, his former school teacher and Sunday school teacher at Tishomingo; the Governor speaking Spanish with Aggies from Bolivia; the visitors going through the cafeteria line as guests of Xi Mu, pre-law fraternity; Miss Vesta Etchison, social director of the Student Union and Doctor R. R. Oglesby, dean of students, enjoying the experiences of their advisees; and the election of Governor and Mrs. Murray as honorary members of the student senate.

Some of the pictures have for a backdrop Bill Baker's cartoon of "Murray Day." It shows the Governor wearing a big hat, cowboy regalia, and with a rope in his hand.

There is a photo of Mayor Fred Hesser presenting the Governor a seven-foot key bearing the words, "Vet Village." The "O" Club members presented the Governor and Mrs. Murray with a cowbell made by Charles Rorick under the supervision of Professor W. H. Rice. Among organizations shown in photos are the inter-collegiate rodeo club; and Sigma Tau, whose pledges in the crowded halls of the Student Union made room to "Praise Plain Folks," a yell given with usual St. Pat vigor. Delightful affairs recorded in the book include a tea at Murray hall, and a reception by the Student Union activities board.

None contributed more to the delightful events of the day than Governor and Mrs. Murray who, with Jim Garibaldi, were the finest of "Plain Folks." The First Citizens gained a view of Aggie life that will better enable them to serve the youth of the State. A copy of the book was presented to Governor and Mrs. Murray by "Just Plain Aggies," and a copy is in the college library.

"Life Among the Choctaws"

Two unpublished letters in the collection of Mr. Frederick Langford of Pasadena, California, recall the early work of the Methodist Church to further the educational effort of the Choctaws. In November, 1842, the Choctaw National Council made provision for seven schools to be established in the three tribal districts. Fort Coffee Academy, with provision for a Female Seminary, was established for Moshulatubbee District, and through the efforts of Reverend E. B. Ames, arrangements were effected with the Methodist Church for that body to operate the school.

Reverend Wm. H. Goode was appointed Superintendent of Ft. Coffee Academy; and Henry C. Benson was named teacher. Both of these pioneer educators have left their respective journals[1] and through this fortuitous circumstance we are able to know many of the details of the early days at Ft. Coffee.

Reverend Goode reached Ft. Coffee in April, 1843, and Reverend Benson arrived the following 26th June. The old buildings at Ft. Coffee, abandoned by the army in 1838, were repaired and pressed into use for the new school. After an intensive program of repairs, clearing and gardening, they were able to open the school for students on 9th January, 1844. Perhaps one of Reverend Benson's[2] first letters after the arduous excitement of the opening was this one to his old friend and colleague of the Indiana Conference:

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[1] Rev. William H. Goode, *Outposts of Zion* (Cincinnati, 1864); Henry C. Benson, A.M., *Life Among the Choctaws* (Cincinnati, 1860).

[2] Henry C. Benson was born near Xenia, Ohio, in 1815. He graduated from Indiana Asbury University (now DePauw) in 1842, and was admitted to the Indiana Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He served as a teacher and missionary to the Choctaws from 1843 to 1845, returning to the North where he con-

Fort Coffee, Choctaw Nation Feb. 23, 1844

Rev. O. H. P. Ash, A.B.
Connersville, Indiana

Dear Oliver:

The last mail brought your favor to this point. It is well you confessed judgement "with your fingers in your mouth" so as to excite my sympahy—but *excuses* will not always screen every little *Rag-muffin* from the castigations that justice calls down upon his devoted head. In the clemency, for which the Bishop is celebrated, he graciously pardons this offence; but the fearful vie of his righteous wrath will rest upon the *repetition* of the Aggressor.

Our Academy is opened, and my duties, from the relation I sustain to it, compel me to devote a portion *meorum temporum* in handling and turning the leaves of musty, fusty, dusty, rusty, moulded, soiled, stained, blotted, faded, colored, broken-backed books, from "Pickett's Primer, to the Greek Reader, and Vergil. The sums are well calculated to call up the days of "auld lang syne," especially when I hear Greek verbs conjugated. I am losing in some respects and gaining in others. If I should remain only one or two years, my knowledge of the classics will not only be more deeply impressed, but greatly enlarged; but I am doing but little in theology. The preaching here is necessarily simple, and hence there is no incentive to study and investigation, and if I study a deeply metaphysical, logical, Syllogistical, enegetical sermon, it could not be appreciated, or even understood. Since I have been here I have had a few appointments over the State line and have taken in 15 or 20 members into the church—took in 8 the first appointment. Took a ride on a steamboat a few weeks since, and while our boat lay at the wharf in Ozark (on Sabbath), by request I preached at the Court House—and what do you think?[3] Verily, verily, I say unto you, that Mr. Carroll (brother to the Ex-Governor of Tennessee), a Presbyterian, said it was the best sermon he ever heard in the town of Ozark. Enough of this. (No Egotism of course)

A few days since I received a letter from Baltzer Kramer. He is at the Academy in the Shawnee Nation, West of Missouri, and is well pleased. W. W. Williamson is in Bedford (Indiana), reading law in the office of Hon. George H. Dunn. J. W. Parnett "has crossed the Rubicon." I.E. he is married to a Miss Meeks of Newton (Indiana). I knew the family. Good.

I was much pleased to hear of your success in the great work of winning souls to Christ. It would much improve my happiness to live in the enjoyment constantly of that religion which made your old sisters jump and holler. May Heaven send it over the length and breadth of these lands. I sometimes hear the unlettered Indian shout the high praises of God.

You say that you are going to make an effort to do something for the missionaries, and you propose favoring us with whatever you collect. I assure you that any aid in your power to render us, will be received with

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tinued pastoral work until 1850 when became a member of the faculty of Indiana Asbury University. He went to California in 1852 where he served as pastor and editor of church periodicals for many years. He died at Santa Clara, California, January 15, 1897.—Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, (New York, 1916), Vol. I, pp. 183.

[3] Mr. Benson tells this almost verbatim in *Life Among the Choctaws* (p. 180), and gives a detailed description of the court house at Ozark, Arkansas.

grateful feelings towards you, and devout thanks to Almighty God. You ask what we must need? We need almost everything. We have received some clothing from Ohio, some from Indiana, and some from Kentucky, for which we were truly thankful; but still it will do us little good as it was nearly all so small that we can never use it. You acted wisely to make the inquiries. We shall need winter clothing for our Students; coarse and substantial. Say Jeans, either domestic or factory. Linsey country cloth & C. We will need garments for boys from 15 to 20 years of age—coats, (roundabout, cut) vests, pants, and woolen socs. Shirts will also be needed —the coarsest factory, without either bosoms or collars. Please send us any goods that can be made into clothing. Let all be made on the plainest and cheapest plan. Any of our good sisters can make them, and I am confident they would rejoice, thus to aid in bringing these injured, benighted, and perishing sons of the forest (for whom Christ shed his blood), to bring them into the fold of Christ. They are willing to be educated and receive the Gospel, and they have already contributed about 30 percent of the scanty pittance that the Government has paid them for their land in Mississippi, to be expended in the support of schools, but this will barely begin the work; and unless the Church should lend a helping hand (as she is willing to do), hundreds will "perish for lack of the Bread of life."

I have been much delighted and interested at some of our Class meetings, with the simplicity of these people. Permit me to relate an incident that occured at a Camp Meeting among the Indians. The preacher was treating of the Sufferings of Christ, and the agony of the cross. A woman who stood in the back part of the congregation appeared much interested. At the close of the sermon, she came forward and prostrated herself on the ground, wept, prayed and agonized until God converted her soul; when she arose with joy beaming in her countenance and exclaimed "Jesus good—very good—big as the world."

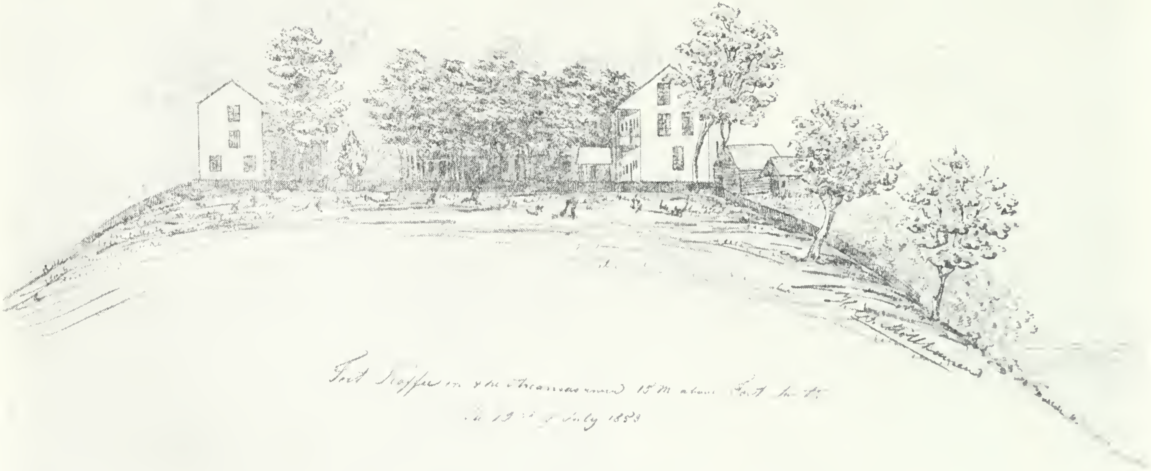
I must hasten. You ask "What inducements does Arkansas Conference present to a Methodist Preacher?"

1st. A plenty to do, as the Arkansas Conference embraces the State, a part of Mississippi, a part of Texas, the Cherokee Nation, Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws, Senecas, and Quawpaw Indians. There are many mountains to climb and swamps to wade. More musketoes "than ever entered the heart of a man" who had not been here. Wilderness country (the preachers all carry blankets to wrap in when they fail to get to houses, which is not infrequent).

2nd. The Climate is the finest I ever saw. We have had no cold weather. Could put all the snow I have seen this winter into a pint cup. The ground has not been sufficiently frozen to bear the weight of a man. People do not pretend to feed out stock. (Last week we bought 1000 lbs. of beef—killed in the commons, and had never seen grain, yet it was excellent.) I cannot vouch for the health of the country, though the people here contend that it is healthy; but, if I speak frankly, I think it sickly.

3rd. There is some good Society, intelligent and wealthy people; but you know that the morals in the South are not to be compared with the North & West.

4th. The State embraces every variety of soil, is adapted to the cultivation of rice, cotton, and corn. There is some poor lands. The State has many advantages, being on the East by Mississippi River, and Arkansas River running thro. the center—but there's less enterprize among the citizens than I ever saw before.


Fort Koffee on the Arkansas river 15 M above Fort Smith
on 19th of July 1853
Möllhausen

(From original drawing by Molhausen, Whipple Collection)

Fort Coffee Academy, Choctaw Nation
1853

5th. Your last question, "Can I do any good out there?" Yes, if you come and try. Notwithstanding the extent of country embraced in the Conference, there are only about 60 preachers in the work. But, after all, I cannot advise you to come unless you come as a missionary. I do not think I could travel in the state. Between you and me I do not expect ever to have a circuit in this Conference. When I quit the Mission I expect to quit Arkansas; but this I say confidentially. If I advise (as a father) I would say, "Go to Iowa, and if I do not die in this heathen land you may someday be my colleague among "Iowans."

I might further say in relation to this Conference, the preachers are mostly young men; and, so far as I was able to judge, of very moderate literary acquirements. I remarked that nearly all the undergraduates in the ministry, were reported by the Committees, "deficient in English Grammar." Now, Oliver, if you understand "Grammar," and wish to wreathe a literary chaplet around your brow, come to Arkansas Conference.

Your humble servant is not aspiring, or perhaps he might acquire some celebrity. Your last Question, "Will you correspond regularly?" "Preposterous, Ridiculous and Absurd" in the extreme for you to ask such a question!!! You know I have not been delinquent. And you have the effrontery (after a silence of nearly a year) to ask if *I will be prompt.* "*Troja crit*" (*Latin*)!

Should you succeed in getting us a box of clothing, you will direct to "Rev. W. H. Goode, Fort Coffee, West Arkansas, To the care of Rev. J. F. Wright, Cincinnati." You please request him to place the intermediate directions on the box. Now, Oliver, do your best. I must conclude this "dish of many kinds," by requesting you not to show it to anybody.

I have just received a letter from Ballingal. He proposes to send us a box of clothes also. I shall rather expect one from Tom Goodwin. "Now see who is the best man."

I must, unwillingly, bid you adieu! Mrs. B. sends her respects. Write soon.

Yours in the bonds of a peaceful Gospel.

The Bishop.

In May of the following year the momentous Louisville Convention erected the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and to it went the allegiance of the Indian Mission Conference. As both Reverend Goode and Benson were from the north, they felt it proper to seek transfer to a northern conference. Reverend Goode had left Ft. Coffee on March 3rd so as to be in attendance at the Louisville Convention, and he did not return to his old station, going direct from Louisville to his Indiana assignment. Reverend Benson followed shortly, leaving Ft. Coffee before the end of May.

Prior to his departure, Reverend Goode had let the necessary contracts and made the needed arrangements for building the female branch of the school, to be known at New Hope Academy, its location some five miles from Ft. Coffee and closer to the Choctaw Agency. On his way to Louisville, Reverend Goode had purchased in Cincinnati all of the furnishings for the new establishment. The services of Reverend E. G. Meek had been secured for the post of teacher at New Hope; and our other letter is from him:

Choctaw Agency Feby 7th 1846

Rev. O. M. P. Ash, A.M.
Liberty, Union Co., Indiana

My dear Oliver:—

I received your letter of Nov. 9th, but not until after it had gone to Ft. Towson, and for aught I know to all the other forts in Uncle Sam's dominions.

This will in part account for my long silence, although there are some other reasons which I will not inflict on you. Your note which you sent to Greencastle (Indiana) was forwarded to me, but of course you could not expect an answer to that. I was much pleased with your account of the Commencement performances at Greencastle; but should like to know a few more things about old Asbury. What was done at the meeting of the *Alumnusses* as Bob Hudson would say? Who makes the most address? Prof. Teff's address was of course exceedingly *ad captandum*. There is one of two things about which there is no mistake: either the western country and its inhabitants are marvelous proper objects for laudation, or the Yankee oraters who hold forth in the sunset longitudes are equal to the Milesians themselves in the gift of the *blarney*: but as you value your ears do not breathe this sentiment and quote me for your authority, even to your *inamorata* herself. You say the performances at Bloomington (Indiana) were poor. How much of this my reverend friend is attributable to your dislike of things and persons about Indiana's pet school? I have always thought Dr. Wylie a strong, and despite his poor baccalaureate still do. I am glad to hear that Bucher is preaching toluation, and hope he does not forget to practice it towards those vulgar and illiterate creatures the Methodists.

Did you in your Kentucky ramble see your old flame? Is she married? And now you are a bachelor *par excellence*, and are enjoying all the bliss which results from that happy state, and as if to gloat over me in what you appear to deem my afflictions, you quote the wretched doggerel of some infamous scribbler who had doubtless been discarded by every pretty girl in town, and who should have cut his throat with his own pen-knife before he had drawled out strains which the organ-grinder or hurdy-gurdy player would be ashamed to bawl in the streets on an election day. Oh Oliver! My dear Oliver! By the memory of that friendship which animated us when in the days of our bondage, we floundered like jaded nags through that slough of despona yclept, Davis' Calculus, and when most unlike jaded nags we expectorated finely masticated tobacco over old Miller's stove, raising his ire to the boiling point, I beseech thee to adjure such unworthy doctrines, and demean thyself as becometh a gentleman and Christian. Sure it is not good to be alone, and as an earnest seeker after the "*Kalon*" you must in the future renounce all such pernicious dogmas as you penned in your last epistle.

As my ideas are in these Latter Days more entirely engrossed in the business of every day life, than formerly, you must be content to endure in my letters more of the matter-of-fact style, and to expect less of the gossiping character that my little correspondence had when I dated from Greencastle. As you have given your prospects, situation & c. I will take the same privilege with you.

Know then that we are situated in the Choctaw Nation, a little south of latitude 35, five miles from the Arkansas River, and about 600 miles from its mouth. As you may well suppose the summers are something of the warmest, and the way the snakes, centipedes, scorpions, tarantulas and other *varments* abound is literally something of a caution; but the winters are delightful almost beyond anything you can conceive.

We have in our school twenty-five girls, most of them bright, and extremely docile. The Nation takes great pride in its schools, and the parents of the girls, together with the principal personages of the district, visit us quite frequently. The girls board in the house, and there are besides, some who come as day scholars from their homes in the neighborhood. Our Salary is $500. per Annum, and our boarding, lodging, fuel, lights and all that, joined, add to this enough that I think I shall realize about $200. per Ann. from my private practice in the neighborhood, and you have now about the state of our worldly affairs.

When I landed at Ft. Coffee in July, I was about $400. in debt, including expenses of my professional education, a stock of books I bought before coming away, outfit & c. Of that I have already discharged something more than $200. and as I may safely reckon on an income of 700 hard dollars per Ann. I think the prospects are fair. Here we have but little society, and hard fare, but I did not see any chance of doing much in Greencastle without a little capital, which a young man could hardly get there. We expect to stay here two years, and then if there should be a good opening elsewhere, why of course I should accept it. I have two points in my eye, Indianapolis, and Greencastle. I think two years' study and practice will enable me to enter into my profession with as good advantages as most young men of my age. You see I have not space in this to give you any more details, so that they must be deferred until you answer this, which you must not fail to do at your earliest leisure. So now my dear friend "Vale, Valeque"

Your affectionate friend,

Ed G. Meek

PS:There is no post office at Ft. Coffee. Direct to "Choctaw Agency, West of Arkansas."

Nothing excels personal correspondence for informal glimpses of by-gone times, and these two letters are of the best.

—George H. Shirk

HISTORICAL TRIP TO TULSA

Dr. Charles Evans here recounts his recent interesting visit in Tulsa, for readers of *The Chronicles*:

It has become fashionable for state patriots to warn the citizens of each commonwealth who are out vacationing, with a cry, "Get Acquainted With Your Own State." There never was a better slogan nor one that is more flagrantly violated and ignored.

There are thousands of people of Oklahoma entering attractive towns and citizens of this state, each teeming with points of historical interest, everyday, but who never see anything but streets, houses and folks. Just around the corner there is a wonderful school, perhaps a state school, where thousands of dollars have been poured out for many decades to make it a center of learning, and also, in its campus and buildings, a thing of pride and beauty. Not two out of ten entering the town ever turn from the beaten track and look upon this school. I recall that shopping one day in one of the state school towns I asked a clerk and afterwards, the manager, just for a test trial, "What is this large group of buildings I see far out on the edge of the town?" They looked startled and made an evasive answer without any information. I pressed the question until

I found that they knew nothing of it particularly. Perhaps they had noticed its shadow or something. I asked finally, "How long have you lived in this town?" One replied he had been there fourteen years and the other, six. So it goes as to public parks, libraries, remarkable church buildings, historic homes, historical markers along the highway telling of great history taking place there, until you wonder what it will take to incite a people of a great state to interest themselves in some things beyond the simple business of just driving about.

I took a trip to Tulsa the other day to deliver an address February 12 before the splendid Cosmopolitan Club of that city. The first time I saw Tulsa in 1906 it was a scattered "concern" of some four thousand people. I have entered the city hundreds of times since and spent a period as President of Kendall College, now Tulsa University there. I have never entered it from any angle or at any time without knowing that it is one of the seven wonders of the modern world. I have framed a sentence for many audiences in speaking upon the topic, "Oklahoma's Progress," that I wish to give at this point, "No where in the annals of history is revealed two cities of such power and growth as Oklahoma City and Tulsa in a period of forty-five years." I stand ready at any time to defend this statement from anybody who wishes to challenge it.

VISIT TO GILCREASE FOUNDATION

After speaking to the finest group of progressive Americans as can be found, The Cosmopolitan Club, I was invited by Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, the founder of the great Indian Museum and art center, to visit this wonderful institution which he, as a Tulsan and an Oklahoman, had permitted the citizens of Tulsa and the state to enter, to enjoy, to be educated, and to be ennobled by the rarest works of art to be found in America or in Europe.

I passed through the galleries of this engaging building with Mr. Gilcrease at my side. Like an eager and excited and delighted school boy I showered him with questions about these remarkable works of renowned artists. He answered them with fullness and ease because it was no remote idea of his carried out in a remote way, but a personal, eager and profound decision and study whereby he decided to build in one of the fine cities of America an institute of art worthy to take its place among the best of like kind in America and Europe.

The compelling and most remarkable collections brought from all the corners of the world, entailing an outlay of money reaching into the millions, were as interesting in their classification, their arrangement and harmony, as the art values themselves. For example, there was one room given over to Remington and his western plains, cowboy and Indian portraits. This room alone would demand that one stay a week in order to know it well and enjoy it fully. Mr. Gilcrease has spent several years in the Montana-Wyoming region gathering this collection, and then, not rounding it out as he wished it, he assigned that duty to one of the closest friends of Remington who finally made a completion more or less of Remington's work and brought them to the Gilcrease Foundation.

And so, it went through some several hours of looking upon one of the most remarkable developments—this splendid art center—that has occurred in Tulsa, in Oklahoma, and in the West. It is my intention later to write a particular and special article on the Gilcrease Foundation Art Institute. May I say that my introduction to Mr. Gilcrease and my opportunity of making this visit to the Foundation came through the courtesy and kindness of Mr. Cyrus Avery and Mr. Charles Lamb. Mr. Avery has been associated with Mr. Lamb and Mr. Gilcrease through many years in business enterprises looking toward the development of Tulsa and adjacent communities.

Mr. Avery will be remembered throughout the history of Oklahoma, as, perhaps, the chief agent in the building of the modern road system of Oklahoma. Mr. Lamb, a retired oil man and business leader of the Tulsa region, has known and profoundly appreciated Mr. Gilcrease since his boyhood. They both accept each other as pals and kindred spirits. Mr. Lamb has been a Life Member of the Oklahoma Historical Society for several years and a constant helper in developing the society. He presented to the society some years ago a marvelous collection of his great movement, "The Kindness Club," which he carried on for the children of Tulsa and the state. He won national renown for this philanthropic work.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY PRESENTED AT KOTV

This visit to Tulsa was given a happy touch when KOTV, the big television center of the city asked the Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society to come over, make a bow and be televised. Miss Dorothy Friend (the "Stop, Look and Listen" artist) received me with that grace and charm which always intrigues, and then, before the glaring lights, while the boys cranked their machines, she asked me questions galore about the Historical society, etc. Of course, in these places, "so forth" plays a larger part, but it was a very profitable and pleasant experience. It seems to have gotten across to some of the city folks because upon returning to the Hotel Mayo, a woman on the elevator startled me by asking, "Weren't you on television this morning?" I said I was, "How did you know it?" She replied, "I knew it because I remember that tie you have on!" Strange connections we make in life with fame and fortune.

TULSA UNIVERSITY

On the morning of February 13, Dr. C. I. Pontius of the Tulsa University was so kind as to take me in his car to visit the University. It was more than a revelation. As one who had been privileged to serve as President of Kendall College, the very tap root of this university, and as one acquainted with the long and serious, tedious and yet glorious founding and progress of old Kendall, I looked in proud bewilderment upon the array of imposing buildings stretching across an attractive campus of many acres. Here was a university that in a space of some twenty years under the leadership and direction of President Pontius had moved from an obscure position, a negligible income and a student body and faculty of small proportions to an institution of learning known throughout America, with a faculty of eminent specialists in every department and with a student body approaching 2,500, representing, not only, all parts of Oklahoma, but rather from all sections of the United States.

President Pontius with a vision properly evaluating the riches and power of Tulsa and with a purpose and plan of liberal education that would permit Tulsa University to embrace colleges of the Fine Arts, the Modern Sciences, Law, Petroleum Engineering and Industries, etc., now presents an institution of learning to the State and to America ranking among the highest and best in the Nation.

Every citizen of Oklahoma should find an opportunity, and accept it, to visit and look upon this genuine citadel of learning.

THE LARGEST THING AFTER ALL

This rounded and interesting visit to Tulsa, meeting a splendid club of men, a visit of KTOV, and the Gilcrease Foundation, after all it should be said that historically the biggest thing looked upon or met was the splendid city of modern civilization, Tulsa. For after all, Tulsa and all citizens and towns are larger than the institutions they incorporate. The plain citizens, who from the earliest years of exploration, settlement and final growth are the adventurous, sacrificing and noble spirits who made all of this possible. Perhaps it may be said with right and truth that there is nothing God has created more powerful than the average man and woman for the average man and woman gives life and possibility to the man and woman who move beyond the average. In truth, it was a memorable visit to Tulsa.

—Charles Evans.

Oklahoma's Golden Jubilee

1957

A statewide meeting of representatives of state and county and patriotic organizations was held in the auditorium of the Oklahoma Historical Society on Monday, November 17, 1952, commemorating Oklahoma's forty-fifth birthday which this year came on Sunday (November 16th) to lay plans for celebrating the State's fiftieth anniversary in 1957. The meeting had been called through the co-operative efforts of the Oklahoma Memorial Association and the Oklahoma Historical Society, and was presided over by President J. G. Puterbaugh, of the Memorial Association, with Miss Mary Bentley serving as secretary. Among those present who actively participated in the discussions for an Oklahoma Golden Jubilee were Dr. Nash, Chancellor of the Board of Regents of Higher Education, Dr. McCash, President Emeritus of Phillips University, President Curtin of the Oklahoma Press Association, Dr. Wardell and Dr. Sears, both of the History Department of the University of Oklahoma, and Mrs. Anna B. Korn, organizer of the Oklahoma Memorial Association (1927) who spoke in favor of a great historical pageant to be a part of the Golden Jubilee Exposition. Victor F. Barnett, of Tulsa, Chairman of the Oklahoma Industrial Tour of 1947, opened the discussions with suggestions to marshal all the forces in the state in making 1957 a great year, and reviewed his remarks made at the Oklahoma Industrial and Mineral Industries Conference at Tulsa in November, 1947, in which he stated in part:

> By 1957, the year of the golden anniversary of Oklahoma, we will be a great state. We will be a well balanced state with four staunch and even legs holding us up high—agriculture, minerals, industry and services.
>
> Let's really celebrate in 1957! Let's begin planning now, and the hundreds of men and women who helped to organize and conduct the Oklahoma Industrial Tour of 1947 are the logical ones to take the lead.
>
> Let's have great fairs in Oklahoma in 1957, fairs just a notch below World's Fair stature but fairs that will attract everyone in America who can travel that year, by auto, train or plane. We are in the middle of the U.S., on transcontinental travelways. We can attract and hold for days on end the people of all the rest of the country if we will stage great fairs in Oklahoma in 1957, such as Dallas and Fort Worth staged a few years back.

Let's plan now to hold every national convention of note with which Oklahomans are affiliated in Oklahoma in 1957. Let's invite the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the American Petroleum Institute, the American Road Builders Congress, the National Bar Association, the Congress of Parents and Teachers, all the dozens of national organizations to meet in Oklahoma in 1957.

Let's take over our great universities and colleges between terms to house and serve some of these conventions. By starting to plan now we can stagger school terms for just one year to open additional weeks when the large school plants may be used as convention sites. Let's guide our hotel expansion to be ready for 1957.

In a few years let's go to the Legislature with a plan and a promise and ask for the appointment of the proper Commission to organize the celebration and carry it on, and for an adequate appropriation to assure its success.

Oklahoma will be a bustling, prosperous state of 3,000,000 people by 1957. But we needn't stop there. With a great celebration of the historic occasion that comes in 1957 we can focus the eyes of all the people on Oklahoma, and really grow!

As a result of this 1952 meeting in the Historical Building, plans were immediately formulated under a Resolution unanimously adopted as follows:

A RESOLUTION

We citizens of Oklahoma assembled at the Oklahoma Historical building on the seventeenth day of November, 1952, the forty-fifth birthday anniversary of the State of Oklahoma, do hereby pledge our support and cooperation to the Oklahoma Memorial Association and the Oklahoma Historical Society for the purpose and plan of holding the Oklahoma Golden Jubilee Exposition as outlined here on this date.

We further endorse and approve the appointment of the heads of all representative organizations of the state to cooperate with the two above named leader organizations and our elected state officers in furtherance of this plan.

We further direct that the personnel of the general committee set up in the paragraph immediate above shall be identified immediately and called to a meeting as soon as possible on the initiative of the presidents of the Oklahoma Memorial Association and the Oklahoma Historical Society. This general committee shall be known hereafter as the Oklahoma Golden Jubilee Committee and from it subordinate committees shall be appointed to carry on the work—charged with the responsibility of realizing in full the plan and purpose of the Golden Exposition of Oklahoma in 1957.

Committee:

I. N. McCash, Enid, Chaplain Oklahoma Memorial Asso.
W. S. Key, President, Oklahoma Historical Society
M. A. Nash, Chancellor, Board of Regents Higher Education
Oliver Hodge, Superintendent Public Instruction
Stanley Draper, Secretary Okla. City Chamber Commerce
Judge N. B. Johnson, Pres. Hall of Fame, Famous Indians
Gerald Curtin, State Pres. Okla. Press Association
C. E. Grady, Okla. County, Sup't of Schools
George Bowman, Kingfisher
Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Federal Judge Western Okla. Dist.
Judge R. A. Hefner, Oklahoma City
H. B. Bass, Enid

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, THURSDAY, JANUARY 22, 1953, AT TEN O'CLOCK A.M., HISTORICAL BUILDING, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA.

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, January 22, 1953, with General W. S. Key, President, presiding.

The roll was called which disclosed that the following members were present: General William S. Key, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Baxter Taylor, W. J. Peteron, Thomas G. Cook, Dr. T. T. Montgomery, Dr. E. E. Dale, Henry B. Bass, R. M. Mountcastle, Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Judge N. B. Johnson, Judge Edgar S. Vaught, H. Milt Phillips, Col. George H. Shirk, Dr. I. N. McCash, R. G. Miller, Thomas J. Harrison and Mrs. Frank Korn. Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary, was absent because of illness.

The President reported that Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Judge Redmond S. Cole and Judge Robert A. Hefner had sent letters of excuse for their non-attendance at the meeting.

Judge Baxter Taylor made the motion that the absentee members who had notified the President and Secretary be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. Judge Edgar S. Vaught seconded the motion which passed.

The President asked Col. George Shirk to report on the fencing of the Rose Hill Cemetery property near Hugo, Oklahoma, Col. Shirk being chairman of that committee. He reported that the contracts have been let; that the corners of the forty acres owned by the Society were surveyed by the County Surveyor; that the man with whom the contract had been made to fence the forty acres, had agreed to set the cornerstones free of charge; that new footings had been made and the slabs reset; and that the sum of $35.00 had been agreed upon for a cattle guard. He also stated that a suit had been filed in the District Court of McCurtain County, with the Oklahoma Historical Society as plaintiff, against Mr. S. G. Story, et al., for the sum of $2000.00, the value of the timber illegally cut by the defendants on the forty acres owned by the historical society. He stated that the defendants had signified a desire to settle this case but nothing had been done about it to date.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made the motion that Colonel Shirk's report be accepted and that he be commended for the great interest he is taking in this matter. Mr. W. J. Peterson seconded the motion which passed.

President Key stated that at the October 1952 meeting of the Board a committee was appointed, composed of Col. George Shirk, Chairman, Henry B. Bass and R. G. Miller, to make a report to the Board on the physical needs of the Society. He advised that this committee spent considerable time in making an exhaustive survey of the building and of the needs of the various departments and submitted a four-page report covering its findings and recommendations. He read the recommendations of this committee, as follows:

(1) That the newspaper room requirements be submitted to the Legislature and every effort be made to secure an appropriation for $21,000.00.

(2) The Legislative Committee of the Society work closely with the Board of Affairs in the two appropriations requested by it for the Society.

(3) That the needs of the auditorium repairs not be pressed to the detriment of the more primary needs of the Society.

(4) That the Secretary and the Microfilm Committee meet with the Oklahoma Press Association with a view to microfilming copies of certain metropolitan papers.

(5) That the Society procure at once a minimum of three Space Savers for the museum.

(6) That the Committee, on a continuing basis, work with the Board of Affairs and its staff towards the eventual completion of the East wing stack room.

(7) That no repairs to the fourth floor murals be undertaken at this time.

(8) That the Secretary be requested to submit a plan whereby a lounge room could be provided for the staff.

(9) That further study be undertaken to the recarpeting of the Union and Confederate rooms."

Judge Edgar S. Vaught made the motion that the recommendations of the committee be approved, and that the Space Savers recommended by said committee be purchased out of the regular funds of the Society. Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour seconded the motion which passed.

Mr. H. Milt Phillips stated that the Oklahoma Press Association has begun rather an extensive program for the microfilming of the newspapers at the State Library in the Capitol, where an excellent microfilming project is being carried out. He invited Colonel Shirk, Chairman of the Microfilming Committee of this Society, to meet with the Oklahoma Press Association at the Biltmore Hotel, January 24, that he might be advised relative to the microfilming of the newspapers of Oklahoma. Colonel Shirk accepted the invitation.

The President advised that the regular budget as submitted had been introduced in the Legislature and that he felt reasonably certain it will be passed, and that he hoped the members of the Legislative Committee, Mr. George A. Bowman, Chairman, and Directors H. Milt Phillips and Colonel George Shirk, will contact the Legislature relative to the Society's pending bill.

President Key stated that Mr. James Henry Stone of Kay County, Oklahoma, had presented a deed to a parcel of land in Kay County, Oklahoma on which stands a monument of a horse upon which Mr. Stone made the Run of September 16, 1893, described as follows: "20′ square where the monument of the horse I rode in the race for claim September 16, 1893, on part of Northwest Quarter, Section 23, Township 25 North, Range 1 West Indian Meridian in Kay County, Oklahoma." He stated that in behalf of the Society he had expressed appreciation of this gift and invited Mr. Stone to visit the Society. Mr. Henry Bass offered to visit this tract of land soon and report thereon.

The President advised that on November 16, 1952, Mrs. Carolyn Thomas Foreman of Muskogee, Oklahoma, presented to the society a very fine collection to be known as "Rough Rider Collection," consisting of fine scrap books and bound volumes containing original telegrams relating to the recruiting of Companies L and M of the Rough Riders in Indian Territory, newspaper clippings and magazine articles relative to the parts played by these two companies and others in the Spanish American War, etc., and an American Flag presented to "Miss Thomas" by men of Company L.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made the motion that Mrs. Foreman be thanked for this very wonderful collection. Mr. Thomas J. Harrison seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary reported that the following gifts had been received:

Five (5) pieces of script issued by the J. J. McAlester Mercantile Company, donor, John Michael Capps, five year old great-great grandson of J. J. McAlester; a walnut chair used by Gov. William C. Renfrow in the executive when he was territorial governor, donor, Renfrow A. Robertson, grandson of Governor Renfrow; a collection of pictorial envelopes, printed during the Spanish American War, donor, Mrs. Alva J. Niles; a large feather fan, donor, Mrs. R. A. Conkling; gifts received from Divonis Worten, M.D.: oil painting of the old Worten home in Kentucky, photograph Dr. Worten, framed photograph group of medical doctors, certificate of merit for fifty years practice of medicine, certificate of Pharmacy issued in 1898 to Dr. Worten, diploma issued to Dr. Worten when he finished medical school, two old histories of Kentucky.

The following pictures have been received:

Oil portraits of Joy Alexander and R. J. Cooper, the outstanding 4H boy and girl for 1953; oil portrait of Gen. Fred S. Forum, presented by his friends; photographs of W. J. Peterson and Thomas G. Cook to be hung in the Directors' room; a group picture of H. L. Muldrow and others; twenty oil pictures purchased by the Society.

It was also reported that the following gifts had been received by the Union Memorial Room during the quarter:

Program for memorial services for Gen. U. S. Grant, presented at Mattoon, Illinois, on August 8, 1885, given by Mrs. Jay Little, Muskogee, who attended the services; Grand Army of the Republic transfer and transcript of the army record of Nelson D. McGinley, Co. L, 15th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry Regiment; Newspaper clippings about Major B. F. Hackett, Union army veteran, presented by Mrs. S. B. Hackett, Norman; photograph of Leopold O'Breiter, Union army veteran and secretary of Grand Post #1, Grand Army of the Republic, presented by Pearl O'Breiter Cheek, Costa Mesa, California, his daughter.

Dr. Berlin B. Chapman made the motion that the above gifts be accepted and that a vote of thanks be extended to the donors. Mrs. Frank Korn seconded the motion which passed.

General Key asked for a report on the Fort Gibson project. Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Chairman of that committee, reported that nothing had been done to date, but soon he would meet with members of the committee with a view to going forward, even though Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, who was standing the expense of reroofing the Barracks Building is out of the state and unable to meet with the committee.

The matter of the establishment by the legislature of "Oklahoma Historical Day," commemorating the anniversary of the birth of Jean Pierre Chouteau, was discussed. In view of conflicting opinions relative to the date of the establishment of the Chouteau Trading Post at the site of Salina, Mr. R. G. Miller made the motion that the President appoint a committee of five members of the Board of Directors to study and obtain factual information concerning this matter. Dr. E. E. Dale seconded the motion which was adopted.

Mr. H. Milt Phillips made the motion that the Board of Directors request the special committee on correct historical facts concerning the Chouteau settlement, to prepare the historically correct data to be presented, jointly with the legislative committee, to the proper legislative committees for proper amendments to the statutes establishing Oklahoma Historical Day. Dr. E. E. Dale seconded the motion which passed.

Mr. R. G. Miller called attention to the 1953 annual spring Historical tour, to be held June 4, 5, and 6, and reported the proposed itinerary. The caravan will depart Oklahoma City 7:00 A. M., Thursday, to visit Anadarko, Colony, Cordell, Lugert, Mangum, and Elk City, where the first night will be spent. On Friday, Cheyenne, the site of the Battle of the Washita, Boise City, Fort Nichols, the old Santa Fe Trail, and Guymon, for the night stop and the annual Society meeting, are scheduled. Saturday's stops will include Goodwell and the Panhandle A. and M. museum, Forgan, Ft. Supply, Woodward, Watonga and the Chisholm grave, and return to Oklahoma City. Mr. Miller suggested that Col. Shirk be named to designate the historical markers to be visited.

Judge Baxter Taylor made the motion that a committee composed of Mr. Miller, Col. Shirk, Dr. E. E. Dale and Judge Thomas A. Edwards be appointed to make the tour arrangements. Mr. Thomas J. Harrison seconded the motion which passed.

Mrs. Frank Korn reported that the Oklahoma Memorial Association and the Oklahoma Historical Society are working together on the plans for the observance of the Fiftieth Anniversary of statehood; that a state meeting was held on November 17, 1952 in the auditorium of this historical building, with a large attendance, at which time General Key, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and Mr. Puterbaugh, President of the Oklahoma Memorial Association, were called upon to make the plans for the celebration.

President Key then stated that the terms of five members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society would expire in January 1953. He read from the Constitution and By-Laws, as follows:

"Section 4B. The absence of a member of the Board of Directors from three consecutive regular quarterly meetings of the Board of Directors shall operate to terminate the membership of such director from said board, provided that the attendance of such member at special board meetings during such period shall operate to prevent termination of membership; and provided further, that a written statement from such member that he was reasonably prevented from attending such board meeting may prevent the termination of such membership on such board." He then stated that Mr. N. G. Henthorne, of Tulsa, Oklahoma, had been unable to participate on the Board, so, under the above regulations, his position was vacated.

Judge Baxter Taylor made a motion that Mr. W. J. Peterson, Mr. Thomas G. Cook, Dr. T. T. Montgomery and Mrs. Garfield Buell, Directors whose terms had expired, be reelected for a term of five years. Mrs. Frank Korn seconded the motion which passed.

Dr. E. E. Dale nominated Dr. John Wesley Raley, President of Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee, Oklahoma, to succeed Mr. N. G. Henthorne of Tulsa. Dr. T. T. Montgomery seconded the nomination of Dr. Raley. Judge Baxter Taylor made a motion that the rules be suspended and that Dr. John Wesley Raley, President of Oklahoma Baptist

University at Shawnee, Oklahoma, be elected as a Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Thomas J. Harrison seconded the motion which passed.

Dr. E. E. Dale advised that he would be in Australia until the latter part of 1953 and asked to be excused at the meetings of the Board held during his absence. Judge Edgar S. Vaught made a motion that Dr. Dale's absence from any Board meeting for the next nine months be excused. Mr. W. J. Peterson seconded the motion which passed.

The following applicants for membership were presented:

LIFE: Edward P. Allen, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Wynema Posey Blaine, Phoenix, Ariz.; Coyne H. Campbell, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Amelia W. Capshaw, Norman; E. Evans Chambers, Enid; Mrs. Hugh B. Hodges, Tulsa; Robert D. Looney, Oklahoma City; B. H. May, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Velma Nieberding, Miami; Pearl E. Pemberton, Oklahoma City; H. Milt Phillips, Seminole; Tom R. Phillips, Holdenville; Glen E. Robberson, Oklahoma City; George H. Rule, Oklahoma City; Elmer J. Sark, Bartlesville; Mrs. Leonard W. Schaefer, Alva; Mrs. Emily C. Scott, West Vancouver, B. C.; Richard D. Stone, Waurika; C. A. Vammen, Oaks; Frank L. Van Eaton, San Francisco, Calif.; M. Anita White, Tulsa.

ANNUAL: Edward A. Abernethey, Altus; Rhoda E. Allen, Okmulgee; Jerry B. Allford, Norman; Myron E. Andrews, Washington, D. C.; Thomas Atkins, Weatherford; Virginia Austin, Newkirk; Guy L. Berry, Jr., Sapulpa; H. D. Binns, Coalgate; Floyd Bolds, Tulsa; Mrs. Emma Bradley, Oklahoma City; Frank L. Bradley, Talihina; Blanche C. Brennan, Tulsa; John F. Burton, Oklahoma City; Letha Campbell, Muskogee; W. A. Chapman, Olustee; W. C. Chestnut, Miami; Ralph O. Clark, Oklahoma City; Kenneth C. Cramer, Cleveland, Ohio; Minnie Dawson, Wanette; Hollis Faulkenberry, Coalgate; Julian Fields, Enid; Lavern Fishel, Coalgate; R. Gordon Gray, Tulsa; Henry Green, Coalgate; Luther Gregory, Ketchum; Charles E. Grounds, Seminole; Mrs. C. I. Hannis, Tulsa; Thomas J. Hartman, Catoosa; Casper A. Hicks, Holdenville; George Hill, Coalgate; Joan Hill, Tulsa; Roy M. Hunter, Tulsa; Cecil James, Pittsburg; Howard R. Jarrell, Tulsa; Ed. Jones, Coalgate; Albert G. Kulp, Tulsa; Bertha M. Levy, Oklahoma City; Floyd Landon, Coalgate; J. R. Lawrence, Tulsa; A. C. Lisle, Jr., Oklahoma City; John O. Littleton, Santa Fe, N. Mex.; Gladys Ludwig, Oklahoma City; H. G. McDonald, Frederick; Mrs. A. Marvin McInnis, Oklahoma City; H. K. Maxwell, Okemah; J. S. Maytubby, Clarita; J. J. Miller, Coalgate; W. O. Millican, Jr., Ft. Worth, Texas; John W. Morris, Norman; Mrs. G. A. Moyer, Gage; Sarah Clarke Paris, Chelsea; Mary Lou Parks, Tulsa; Helen Jean Poulton, Stillwater; Donald E. Powers, Washington, D. C.; Thelma Hall Quast, Deer Lodge, Mont.; Mrs. George Clark Rogers, Jefferson City, Tenn.; McLain Rogers, Clinton; Mrs. W. C. Seago, Oklahoma City; Horace H. Shelton, Austin, Tex.; J. D. Smith, Coalgate; A. R. Sugg, Ada; J. C. Taliaferro, Seminole; Noel Thomason, Coalgate; Ralph Trotter, Mathis, Texas; Lee Wade, Coalgate; Ralph Alden Waggoner, Okemah; Riley Wilson, Coalgate; Ferris T. Wolf, Lawrence, Kans.; Mrs. Claude Wright, Tulsa.

Judge Baxter Taylor made a motion that each be elected and admitted as members of the Society in the class as indicated in the list. Mr. W. J. Peterson seconded the motion which passed.

President Key called attention to a letter recommending that a portrait of Joseph Huckins be accepted. Dr. Harbour made the motion that this matter be referred to the Committee composed of Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Judge Baxter Taylor and Judge Robert A. Hefner. Dr. E. E. Dale seconded the motion which passed.

Colonel George Shirk reported on the Worcester Cemetery project, in Cherokee County, Oklahoma, stating that a fee title had been given to the Oklahoma Historical Society by the county commissioners of Cherokee County, to this cemetery; and that Mr. Carter of Muskogee, Oklahoma, who owns the adjoining land has agreed to give twenty-six feet adjoining said cemetery for a roadway; that the county has agreed to build the road, but the society will have to build a cattle guard. He stated that Mr. Henry Bass and he will visit the cemetery soon to meet with the local committee, relative to cleaning the cemetery, resetting the stones, painting the old iron fence, etc. He said that he believed the Board of County Commissioners of Cherokee County should be extended a vote of thanks for giving the society a fee title to Worcester Cemetery. He reminded the Board that Mr. Bass was giving the funds to do the work, and stated that he felt the Society should erect a nice sign at the site.

Mr. Thomas G. Cook made a motion that the County Commissioners of Cherokee County, Oklahoma, be thanked for giving to this society a fee title to Worcester Cemetery. Mr. R. M. Mountcastle seconded the motion which passed.

Mr. R. G. Miller presented to the members of the Board a pamphlet, "Questions Oklahoma Answers," compiled by Mr. Miller, containing answers to a great many questions about the state of Oklahoma. It was unanimously agreed that this pamphlet was much needed in this state.

Judge N. B. Johnson stated that many questions were asked about the Indian people of Oklahoma, and that he felt a brochure should be published dealing exclusively with the Indians of Oklahoma, there being some three or four hundred thousands of Indians in Oklahoma. Dr. E. E. Dale suggested that the Secretary put out a Brochure on Oklahoma Indians, stating that he felt Miss Muriel H. Wright, Associate Editor, could do a wonderful piece of work on this brochure. Mr. Miller stated that that matter was being considered for the next brochure.

Judge N. B. Johnson stated that the entire Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes objects to the changing of the State Flag as recently proposed.

Dr. Emma Estill Harbour made a motion to adjourn. Mr. W. J. Peterson seconded the motion which passed.

WM. S. KEY, President

CHARLES EVANS, Secretary

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

THE PRESIDENT
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GEORGE H. SHIRK
THE SECRETARY

Summer, 1953

Volume XXXI **Number 2**

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EARLY OKLAHOMA ARTISTS

*By O. B. Jacobson and Jeanne d'Ucel**

INTRODUCTION

The paintings and drawings of the first white artists that came to the country of what is now Oklahoma are very important historically and, in some cases, possess artistic value, providing us with the only visual information concerning the country and the people before the invention of the camera. It is not generally known that there were white artists in the Indian Territory early in the 19th Century: George Catlin in 1834, John Mix Stanley in 1843 and Heinrich Baldwin Mollhausen in 1853. They were of course not residents in this region but were either officially or informally attached to special commissions or expeditions operating under the auspices of the United States government.

The importance of these artists is understood when one considers how much would have been gained if Lewis and Clark had had a competent artist with them on their western exploring expedition to the Pacific Coast in 1804 to 1806. A wealth of information was obtained from the fact that Prince Maximilian Wied-Neuwied had Charles Bodmer, and Sir William Drummond Stewart had Alfred Miller on their visits to the West in the 1830's.[1] The productions of Bodmer and Miller as well as those of Catlin, Stanley and Mollhausen constitute a valuable record of the native Indian tribes before they

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* Two magnificent portfolios were published in France in praise of the art of Oklahoma Indians: *Kiowa Art* by O. B. Jacobson (Nice, France, 1929; and *Les Peintres Indiens d'Amerique* [*North American Indian Costumes*, 1564-1950] by O. B. Jacobson and Jeanne d'Ucel (Nice, France, 1951). Dr. Jacobson, widely known artist and now retired head of the Art Department in the University of Oklahoma, and Jeanne d'Ucel (Mrs. Jacobson) are residents of Norman, and are collaborating on other manuscripts relating to Oklahoma art for publication.—Ed.

[1] The most valuable painting in the Oklahoma Historical Society collections is a large oil by Alfred Miller, entitled "Indians on Parade," on exhibit in the Museum. This scene of the "Grand Parade" of Indians in ceremonial regalia on horseback shows them circling their fine horses around several sacred "medicine" tepees. Some Sioux Indian visitors to the Historical Society have said that this painting depicts the well known Sioux "Horse Dance." Miller did this work in 1839 while attending an annual rendezvous of the Rocky Mountain fur traders on the Upper Missouri River in what is now Montana. The artist had been commissioned to paint scenes of Indian life by Sir William Drummond Stewart, a Scottish veteran of the Napoleonic wars who was a visiting traveler in America. This painting, "Indians on Parade," hung in Stewart's home, Murthly Castle, in Scotland for many years. It was purchased in 1928 by Hon. E. W. Marland who presented it to the Historical Society while he was Governor of Oklahoma in 1935. The beautiful volume *Across the Wide Missouri* by Bernard DeVoto (New York, 1947) gives a graphic account of Alfred Miller's visits in the West, as well as mention of those of other early artists, and is profusely illustrated with many fine plates of Miller's paintings and drawings, some of the plates in color.—Ed. (M.H.W.)

(Courtesy of George H. Shirk)

Wild Horses near Wichita Mountains in Oklahoma. Painting by George Catlin, 1834.

were affected by contact with the outgrowth of European civilization in America.[2]

GEORGE CATLIN

It is now more than a century since Oklahoma was first entered by a white artist. This was then the mysterious ''West,'' the fabled land of adventure and fear.

George Catlin, born in Pennsylvania in 1796 (died 1872) had become a lawyer, but yearned to be a painter. Studying art in Philadelphia he saw some Western Indians; he decided to go into the remote regions where red men were still unspoiled by contact with the whites, to paint them, learn their history and their customs, collect whatever pertained to their arts and life, and thus preserve the memory of these things.

Catlin's letters reveal him as a lovable fellow, full of buoyant energy, good humor, and a gaiety that enabled him to make light of hardships and dangers.[3] He could enjoy everything: the majesty of the landscapes, the symmetry of the Indians' bodies, the charge of buffaloes. He relished even the mishaps, the overturning of his bark canoe or a dismal night in a downpour. The only trials that taxed his equanimity were the mosquitoes of the Upper Missouri, and the terrible illness that struck him and many others on his Indian Territory journey.

It is a pity that his ability was below his aim and his vision. Too often his Indians look like fanciful goblins with heads much too large for their bodies. His color sense was also inadequate. Yet the innumerable paintings and drawings his energy produced have historical value, as they preserve a phase of Indian life that would otherwise be lost.

In 1832 Catlin launched forth in the wilderness, starting from St. Louis ''a thriving little city of about 15,000 inhabitants.'' Going up the Missouri he reached the mouth of the Yellowstone, visiting and painting many tribes then living in that region, doing some of his best work.

The winter of 1833-34 found him in Florida on an active vacation, for out of it came many paintings and portraits of Indians. Later he was to travel and paint along the Gulf coast, the Great Lakes and the Pacific Northwest. He even went to South America in search of aborigine subjects.

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[2] Some of Bodmer's works and a few of Catlin's are shown in *Across the Wide Missouri, ibid.*

[3] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* in two volumes (New York, 1842).

In the spring of 1834, having been granted permission to accompany a military expedition to the land of the Comanches, he arrived at Fort Gibson in the Indian Territory, then the extreme southwest post on the United States frontier. Catlin was eager to enter this region, the most dangerous in the West, the home of the savage "Camanchees and Kioways." The Comanches had murdered a Texan judge and his family, abducting the judge's son. The expedition organized to rescue this nine year old boy was known as the Dragoon Expedition or Leavenworth Expedition.

During two months while Army officers were organizing and equipping the expedition at Fort Gibson, Catlin visited the Osage country and painted a number of Osages, among them their Chief Clairmont, namesake of the old chief for whom Claremore is named; the nearly seven foot tall Black Dog, and three inseparable young warriors who insisted on being portrayed together. Catlin also painted the Cherokee chief, John Ross. The artist's beautiful paintings of the two Kiowa children captives among the Osages, now in the Smithsonian Museum at Washington, D. C., dates from this time.

When the organization of the expedition was finally completed at Fort Gibson, it consisted of nine companies from the First Dragoon Regiment under the command of General Henry Leavenworth accompanied by Colonel Henry Dodge, Lieutenant Colonel S. W. Kearney and fifteen other officers, including Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, fresh out of West Point. There were several bands of Indians from different tribes that went along, their leaders acting as interpreters, guides and scouts, among whom were the noted Jesse Chisholm (Cherokee) and Black Beaver (Delaware). Two Indian girls, a Kiowa and a Wichita, who had been ransomed from the Osages by General Leavenworth also accompanied to be returned to their people on the Plains of Western Oklahoma. Many pack horses and wagons carried needed gear, and there were over seventy head of "beef-on-the-hoof."

The mounted Dragoons and their train left Fort Gibson in June, 1834, traveling southwest to the recently established Fort Holmes at the mouth of Little River near present Holdenville, then south to the mouth of the Washita River, camping near the spot west of the Washita where Judge Martin had been murdered. Catlin found the well watered, undulating prairie with patches of timber, beautiful. In his published letters describing his tour, he mentions an abundance of wild plums, grapes, currants, wild flowers, buffaloes and antelopes seen along the way.

However, the journey became less idyllic when the train was stopped at the junction of the Washita and Red rivers, by a dreadful illness that attacked half the men, typhus or perhaps cholera, their horses also lame and sick. After waiting several days for their recovery, the expedition was reorganized and went on under the command of Colonel Dodge, leaving the sick in camp among them General Leavenworth. They headed west on the divide between the Washita and the Red rivers, at last entering the ''Camanche Valley'' and sighting some warriors. A ''talk'' was held, and the warriors agreed to guide Colonel Dodge and his men to the Indian chiefs.

Near the base of the Wichita Mountains, the expedition arrived at a Comanche village. Catlin mentions the picturesque cavalade of Dragoons and Indians as it wended its way through a country teeming with buffaloes and wild horses. He and the Dragoon officers were ''crestfallen,'' however, at the sight of the wild horses, having heard many tales of the ''splendid Arabians'' owned by the Comanches.[4]

The artist described these Indians as low in stature, heavy and ungraceful except on horseback. He praised the Comanches' superb horsemanship, and was impressed with their ability to protect themselves on horseback against enemy arrows. The Comanche rider could swing behind the body of his horse for a shield, or could shoot arrows from under his horse's head or body at full gallop. One of Catlin's canvases depicts this feat; another shows the first meeting between the Dragoons and the Indian warriors who sent a flag bearer whom the artist later portrayed.

Catlin also painted an incident of the advance when a herd of buffaloes, surprised at sight of the dragoons, broke the cavalcade in two, and held up the march until the last of the herd had passed. This is an amusing picture for never were such well disciplined soldiers to be seen! They ride by twos in parade formation across hillocks and valleys while the buffaloes form as orderly a line. A few Indians show a little action; six Dragoons have broken ranks and one has allowed himself to become excited, for his gun is firing itself in the air. But the rest of the scene is placidity personified. While in Comanche country, Catlin painted wild horses and the Indian technique for capturing and breaking them.

The Comanche head chief, ''Bow and Quiver,'' was portrayed as was Ta-wah-que-nah ''Mountain of Rocks,'' a huge man who, Catlin says, should have been called ''Mountain of Flesh.'' He painted several Wichita men and women, and some Kiowas whom he describes as fine looking, tall, erect, with an easy gait. A wise observer, he noticed that ''they have the fine and Roman outline of head that is so frequently found at the north''[5] thus anticipating the historians' knowledge of the origin of the Kiowas. His portrait of a Waco chief, ''He who fights with a feather'' is one of his best works, approaching more nearly an adequate rendering of the Indian face and character.

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[4] An account of the Dragoon Expedition with the complete Journal kept by Lieut. T. B. Wheelock while on the expedition is given in "Peace on the Plains," by George H. Shirk in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1950). This article has explanatory notes, some of Catlin's drawings as illustrations and a map showing the encampments and the route of this noted expedition in Oklahoma in 1834.—Ed.

Detained near the Comanche village by illness, Catlin was unable to accompany Colonel Dodge when he went on 80 or 90 miles farther to the North Fork of Red River and the village of the ''Pawnee Picts'' now called Wichita, where a big council was held and the kidnapped boy was rescued.[6] However, Catlin painted some pictures of the village and the country, from sketches made for him by his friend, Chadwick, who accompanied the expedition to the village on the North Fork.

More and more men were attacked by the disease, and hunger was felt as game was scarce. So the little force of Dragoons carrying the sick in wagons (Catlin was now one of them) started back for Fort Gibson northwest by way of the Canadian river, near which the Indians told them they would find buffaloes. They camped for three days near the present site of Norman. On the way news came to them of the death of General Leavenworth and several of his men, in the sick camp, west of the Washita and near Red River.

This increased their gloom for by this time they had lost a large number of horses and men. At last they arrived at the fort. Catlin had given up hope of ever reaching it. There he remained bedridden for weeks, and even when recovering, he was depressed because of the appalling number of dead and dying, as the garrison had also become victim of the disease brought by the travelers.

Catlin had been much impressed by the beauty of the land that is now Oklahoma; he had sensed its rich agricultural possibilities and even some of its wealth in mineral resources. He was able to visualize that the center of the United States would some day be the very heart of America, most typically American, and the most perfect blend of all the types that go to make America. How thrilled he would be, were he to see the dramatic changes that a single century has brought over his former haunts!

Most of Catlin's works are in the Smithsonian Institute. Other Catlin paintings are in the Gilcrease Foundation Museum, Tulsa. A copy of one of the first original Catlin portfolios published in London, in 1844, is in the Public Library in Oklahoma City.[7]

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[5] Catlin, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 74.

[6] See map in "Peace on the Plains," *op. cit.*

[7] The accompanying illustration from Catlin in this article was photographed from the rare portfolio of Catlin's works published in London, now in the Oklahoma Collection of George H. Shirk.—Ed.

JOHN MIX STANLEY

Another important early artist visitor to the Indian country, now Oklahoma, postmarked Arkansas Territory, was John Mix Stanley, who came to "paint accurate portraits from life of Indians of 43 different tribes, obtained at the cost of hassard and inconvenience of ten years' tour through the Southwestern prairies, New Mexico, California, and Oregon."[8]

John Mix Stanley was born in New York state, in 1814, and died in Detroit, Michigan, in 1872. An orphan at fourteen, he was apprenticed to a wagon maker. In 1834, he began painting portraits and landscapes, in Detroit. He became interested in Indians and made portraits of some of them at Fort Snelling. In 1842 he visited Indian Territory, sketching and painting Indians and Indian life. The Governor of South Carolina, Pierce M. Butler asked Stanley to accompany him to a council meeting of Indian tribes living west of the Mississippi. This meeting took place at Tahlequah, in June 1843, at the call of Cherokee Chief John Ross, to discuss ways and means of getting along with Texas, and other matters pertaining to Indian happiness. There were several thousand Indians from eighteen tribes in attendance. Governor Butler recently appointed Cherokee Agent, and General Zachary Taylor with other officials of the United States were present.[9]

Stanley, as an artist, was requested to paint a flag for the meeting of the Indian tribes at Tahlequah. He designed one with two hands, one white, one red, clasped on a while ground. (Shooting Star, a young Waco chief, wanted to add below the hands a bulldog, to bite either of the hands if it should prove treacherous!)

After the meeting Stanley visited Lewis Ross, brother of the famous Chief John Ross, at his home on Bayou Menard, in Indian Territory;[10] and some Creek Indians living at the fork of the Canadian River, where he witnessed and probably sketched the "Green Corn Dance." Many prominent Indians, like Jim Shaw (Delaware), Jesse Chisholm (Cherokee) under whose protection Stanley traveled, and others, sat for their portraits, after their fears of evil, mystic consequences were allayed. Later it even became an honor among Indians to pose for Stanley. The painter continued into New Mexico. This journey produced eighty-three canvases that he exhibited in Cincinnati and Louisville.

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[8] See Stanley's "Preface" to the catalog of his paintings, *Portraits of North American Indians with Sketches of Scenery, etc., Painted by J. M. Stanley, Deposited with the Smithsonian Institute.*

[9] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Pierce Mason Butler, The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952). This biography is illustrated with a photo of an original Stanley painting, "Cherokee Indian Council," owned by Mr. P. M. Butler, Nashville, Tennessee.

[10] During his stay in the Cherokee Nation in 1843, Stanley painted portraits of several members of the Ross family. (Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Park Hill* [Muskogee, 1948]).—Ed.

Stanley returned west the following year, painting all summer, then joined General S. W. Kearney's long, dangerous march to San Diego, California, and worked with Captain Emory of the Topographical corps. The artist seems to have taken part in the battle of the Gila river. In 1847 he went north into Oregon where he barely escaped the Marcus Whitman's massacre by the Cayuse tribe. He painted Mount Hood and a scene on the Columbia River. Missing a boat for the East in San Francisco, saved his life, as the ship foundered with all aboard. He spent 1848 in Hawaii; his portraits of King Kamehameha III and his queen hang in the Government Museum formerly the Royal Palace.

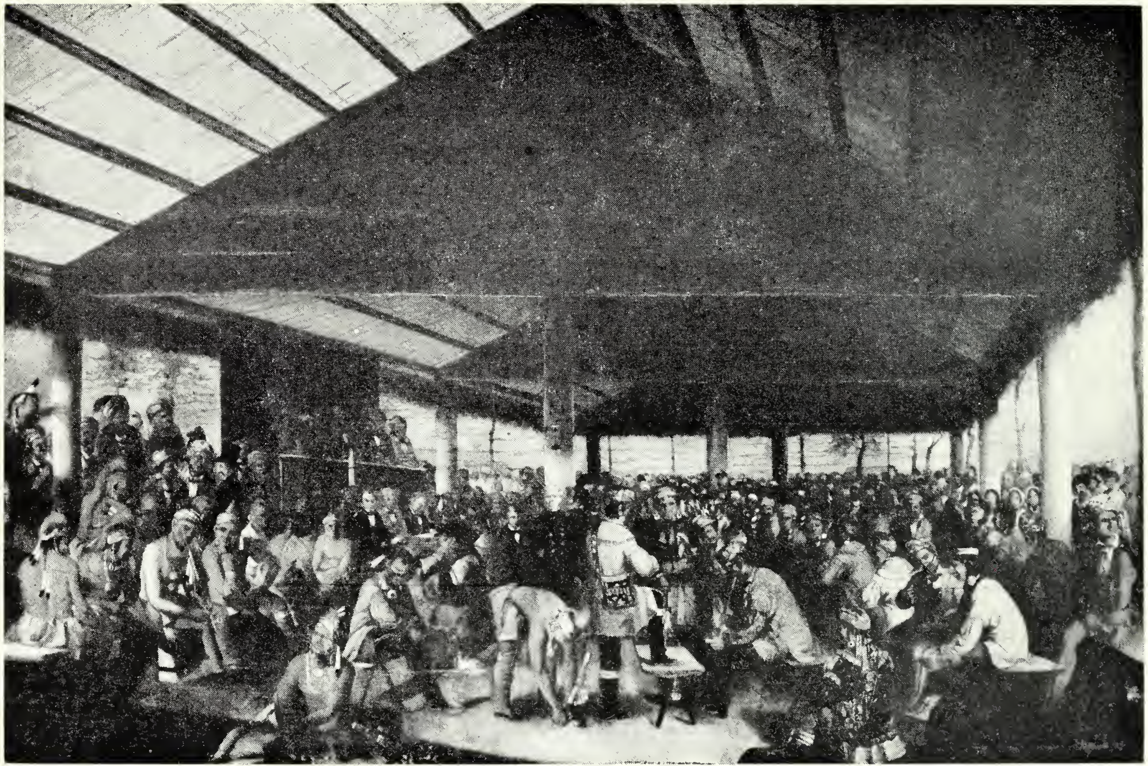
After another sojourn in the East, Stanley was appointed artist to an expedition sent by the United States to survey a railroad route to Puget Sound. There he painted and he photographed in daguerreotype the Northwest tribes.

His most important work in existence is the "Trial of Red Jacket" a Seneca chief accused of witchcraft by Cornplanter. It is a vast composition with one hundred figures in it. Practically all of Stanleys' paintings were lost in a fire in 1865 that destroyed the Smithsonian Institution Building where they were on exhibit. Five that were saved now belong to the National Museum of Art. They are of interest to Oklahoma because of their subjects: One is "The International Indian Council" at Tahlequah. Another is "Ko-rak-koo-kis, a Towoccono warrior" who may have been present at Tahlequah in 1843. The third is, "Osage Scalp Dance," a dramatic picture of an Osage chief saving a captive white woman and her child from death at the hand of a warrior. This painting has considerable artistic merit and shows in much detail Osage ornament and decoration. The other two are "Black Knife," apparently the portrait of an Apache chief, and "Buffalo Hunt on Southwestern Prairie," the locale of a scene difficult to identify.

A complete catalog of Stanley's paintings up to the time of the Smithsonian fire was published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1865. It lists portraits of many distinguished Indians. Alas! they were lost to the Nation because a building was not fireproof.

Heinrich Baldwin Mollhausen

The Oklahoma Historical Society recently acquired a number of drawings and water colors by Heinrich Baldwin Mollhausen, some of which are of particular interest because they were made within what is now the State of Oklahoma. There is a charming water color of the Canadian River, a well known scene near present Bridgeport in Western Oklahoma. One drawing shows "Camp Arbuckle," a site near present Byars south of the Canadian River.



(Smithsonian Institution)

Intertribal Indian Council at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, 1843, called by Chief John Ross. Delegates from seventeen tribes. Painting by John Mix Stanley.

Other drawings and paintings portray Choctaws, Shawnees, Kiowas, Wichitas and Indians belonging to other tribes then living in Indian Territory. Mollhausen's studies of wild plants are very sensitive and accurate, many of his drawings and paintings of plants, fishes and other subjects in natural history having appeared in later publications by the Government. His first interest, however, was in American Indians and their mode of living. These Mollhausen originals are a part of the fine Whipple Collection of original journals and documents donated to the Historical Society by the descendants of Lieutenant Amiel Weeks Whipple who was in command of the Pacific Railroad Survey in 1853.

When Mollhausen made these works, he was artist and topographer to the Whipple Expedition organized under the auspices of the War Department to survey a possible railroad route along the Thirty-fifth Parallel from the Mississippi River to the Pacific. The expedition left Fort Smith on the eastern border of the Indian Territory early in July, 1853, traversed the whole of the Indian Territory, then continued on to Albuquerque, New Mexico passed by the San Francisco Mountains in Arizona and crossed the deadly Mohave Desert on to the Coast, eventually arriving in Los Angeles on March 1, 1854.

Mollhausen made extensive notes on this expedition from which he produced a book, *Diary of My Journal from the Mississippi to the Coast of the Pacific with the United States Government Expedition of 1853.* This book was produced in Germany, and later translated into English by Mrs. Percy Stinnett and published in London in 1858. Lieutenant Whipple's official report, briefed from his original Journal now owned by the Historical Society,[11] was published by the United States government under the title, *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, 1853-54,* Volume III, (Washington, 1855). This volume is illustrated by many fine, tinted lithographs[12] of Mollhausen's works, the originals of some of which are a part of the Historical Society's Whipple Collection.

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[11] Twenty-eight notebooks form Lieut. Whipple's original Journal of the Pacific R. R. Survey, four of these notebooks covering the Oklahoma section. This Oklahoma section (transcript of the four notebooks) was published as "The Journal of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple," with introduction and notes by Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk, in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1950) illustrated with Mollhausen drawings made in the Indian Territory, some of them never before appearing in print. A biography, "Amiel Weeks Whipple" by Francis R. Stoddard also appears in this same issue (*ibid.*) Mollhausen's "View of Fort Smith" in 1853 illustrates "Official Reception of the Whipple Papers" by Charles Evans, *ibid.* No. 4 (Winter, 1950-51). This drawing in the Whipple Collection is the original from which the fine lithograph of Fort Smith was made that illustrates the rare Volume III, Pacific R. R. Survey, published by the Government (1855) mentioned below.—Ed.

[12] Some of the lithographs in the Government's publication of Whipple's official *Report* (Vol. III) were used for illustration in Grant Foreman's *A Pathfinder in the Southwest* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), which reproduced Whipple's route from this early and now rare Government document. Dr. Foreman's book also cites references to Mollhausen's published *Diary.*

Heinrich Baldwin Mollhausen was a German, born in 1825, who, after being schooled in Bonn and after several years of military service, came to the United States in 1849. He lived in or near St. Louis, hunting along the river. In 1852 he was a member of an expedition organized by Prince Paul of Wurtemberg, which was abandoned early on account of Indian attacks and bad weather. The Prince was able to secure a stage and return to civilization, but Mollhausen had to remain in the wilderness where he almost perished from Indian attacks, hunger, cold and illness. He was rescued by friendly Oto Indians, and finally reached a trading post in Nebraska where he remained for three months. There he came near marrying a beautiful Indian girl and settling down, when he received a letter from another prince who asked him to go to New Orleans. This first adventure in Indian country gave Mollhausen experience as a frontiersman as well as an artist.

A little later he returned to Germany with a shipment of wild animals for the Berlin Zoo. He studied art and improved his technique. When he returned to America in 1853 he was appointed to the Whipple Expedition.

In 1857 Mollhausen made a third American trip as a member of a military exploration party of the Colorado river and the Grand Canyon, under Lieutenant J. C. Ives. Starting from San Francisco this expedition was very exciting though it is outside the bounds of this work.[13] Mollhausen made several drawings and paintings of the great Colorado for the Ives report.

It seems that he made more than 100 sketches and many water colors and drawings on his American trips; some of these were preserved in Germany and were in existence until 1939, but they seem to have been destroyed during the conquest of Berlin in 1945 during World War II.

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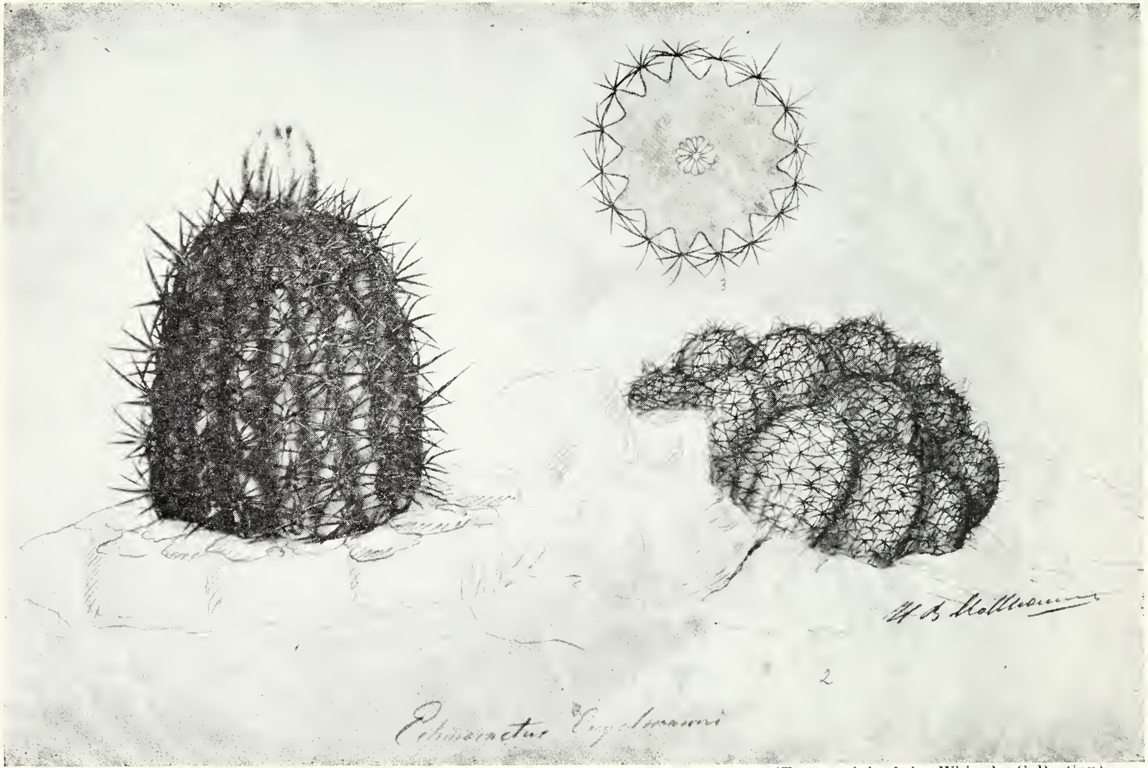
[13] A special study of the life of H. B. Mollhausen and his works as an artist has been made by Dr. Robert Taft, Professor of Chemistry, University of Kansas in "Heinrich Balduin Mollhausen" which appears as Part VI in Dr. Taft's "The Pictorial Record of the Old West," published in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 3 (August, 1948).—Ed.



(From original in Whipple Collection)

Cactus in Oklahoma. Painting by H. B. Mollhausen, Whipple Expedition, Pacific Railroad Survey, 1853.

PERRY DUKE MAXWELL

By Charles Evans

It has been said that golf is the sport of kings. Be that as it may, moving through a period of several hundred years from its ancient home in Scotland, it has arrived at this point of time to include more individual players than any sport among men. If Perry Duke Maxwell had done nothing more than to achieve recognition and acceptance as one among three of the most skilled and renowned golf architects of the United States, it would place him among the largest benefactors of his day. Thousands and tens of thousands of Americans have enjoyed and still enjoy the charm and zest which come from playing upon the golf courses shaped and beautified by his genius.

Beginning with the Dornick Hills golf construction between 1906 and 1911, Mr. Maxwell immediately won recognition as a golf architect. He designed the two famous golf courses of Oklahoma City, Twin Hills and the Oklahoma City Golf and Country Club. He was invited into the states of Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Kentucky, Kansas and Nebraska to fashion some of the remarkable golf courses of those states.

Golf courses, like people and horses, have their thoroughbreds. Mention the National at Augusta, Georgia, and you immediately think of Bobby Jones, the most renowned golfer in the world, and at this hour, the National is a place of retreat for Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States. Speak of the Melrose Course in or near Philadelphia, and Caucon Hill, Bethlehem, Pennsylvana, and the sports world in Los Angeles, New York, London, or Tokyo, will know that these mean golf, restful play among the most beautiful surroundings to be found in the world. On all of these courses, Perry D. Maxwell was invited to lend his genius in shaping certain greens and fairways.

In such surroundings and work as this he came in contact with the finest minds of America in the spheres of business and learning. Through his friendship with university men, he was invited to build the Country Club University course of Michigan University; likewise, he designed and developed courses at Ohio and Iowa universities. He always took great pride in looking upon the Southern Hills course at Tulsa which won him renown in his marvelous career as golf architect.

It should be said at this point that in the first days of his Ardmore living, 1904, he linked himself with the banking interests of the city, becoming Vice President of the Ardmore National Bank.

This bank had for its President, Honorable Lee Cruce, afterward the second governor of the state of Oklahoma. In this banking world, Maxwell won the esteem, honor, and confidence of all that met him. But in his reading, travel, and creative thinking, he learned to know that not only for all his mental health and happiness, he must turn to Nature, to the God of the Great Outdoors. Loving life as revealed in sports he had learned to enjoy tennis and golf. In both of these sports he won, as a player, more than a local reputation. Tennis being somewhat severe, he turned more and more to the golf world. His ability to love and understand the natural world, the roll of the land, the character of ravines, the trees, shrubs and grass even to the high points of their scientific growth, grew and deepened until he became an authority on the origin, selection and adaptation of grasses. Possessing a highly artistic temperament it naturally followed that his use of these for decorative and moulding values soon made him a skillful architect in developing intriguing greens and elusive fairways. His first work upon the Dornick Hills golf course of Ardmore attracted immediate attention over the state and subsequently the United States. Thus began great demands for his skill and power as a golf architect.

Last summer, when I read with deepest pride and satisfaction how a splendid citizen, a real philanthropist, was bringing to Ardmore, my old home town, the great golfers of the world, I rejoiced above measure. But the finest satisfaction of all was the knowledge that the man who was largely responsible for the Dornick Hills golf club upon which noted magicians of the golf world played, was, that my first high school graduate, Perry Maxwell, had made all this possible more than any other man. No wonder that Mr. Waco Turner, who made this golf tournament national, paid Perry Maxwell the highest tribute.

His latest work was when Oklahoma City sent for him in 1950-51 to build for it the Municipal course along the sweeping shores of Lake Hefner. The last time I talked with him he met me in the Skirvin Hotel and said with a zest and joy which a child might display with a new and pretty toy, "Dr. Evans, let me take you out to my new course along the edges of Lake Hefner." I went with him and while his work was not finished at that time, he described what was to be done in such accurate yet fascinating terms that even a dull imagination could picture a beautiful and wonderful sports field. No wonder then that *The Daily Oklahoman* this year presented a statement of some eminent golf architects, that "the greens and fairways created by Perry Maxwell on Oklahoma City's Municipal Golf Course were the finest they had seen in all their experiences."

I shall not leave his influence on the entire realm of this noble sport before I recount the meeting with Scotland's and the world's greatest golf architect, Mr. McKenzie, to whom Maxwell introduced me in the Biltmore Hotel in Oklahoma City many years ago. Max-

PERRY DUKE MAXWELL

well praised McKenzie, for his world renown in golf. The Scot, with true brogue, turned to me and said, "Mr. Maxwell speaks of my ability to make a good fairway or develop a worthy green, but I wish to tell you that in laying out a golf course and to give it everything that the science and art of golf demand, Mr. Maxwell is not second to anyone I know." I believe the grand old man of golf knew and meant what he said.

Lineage

Perry Duke Maxwell was born in Princeton, Kentucky, June 13, 1879, and died in Tulsa, Oklahoma, November 15, 1952. He was the son of Dr. James A. Maxwell and Caroline Harris Maxwell. The Maxwell's came from Scotland, and his grandmother, Isabella Adamson, was a descendant of the famous Dishington family of Anstruther, Scotland.

He traced through his mother direct descendancy from Captain Thomas Harris who came to the Virginia Colony in 1611 and settled in Henrico County, Virginia. Captain Harris received grants of land in 1635 and 1638 and was a member of the House of Burgesses in 1623 and 1639 and was elected again in 1646. Perry D. Maxwell was of the ninth generation from Captain Harris.

Education and Marriage

Maxwell entered school life as a child in Marion, Kentucky, schools. He completed his high school with honors in 1896 in Marion schools. As Superintendent of Schools of Marion at that time, I taught several classes. He immediately caught my attention by his all around powers. He was good in all courses, and very precocious in several. All mathematics, he devoured with relish and mastery. He loved English, especially the poets and his powers of speech were impressive. I recall after entering Kentucky University he came home to Marion and while there he told how his college had selected him to compete with Old Center, Vanderbilt, Georgetown, and Transylvania in the famous Declamatory Contest. He said that he had chosen for the contest a scene from "Quo Vadis." He wondered if he could give this a proper reading. I said to him, "Of course you can." He won the contest.

His hopes for a complete University career were blighted in his first year at Lexington by poor health. His family persuaded him to take the next year of University life at Stetson University, Florida. Though he gathered honors at Stetson, his health did not improve so he spent the next two years in travel. Maxwell never entered school again. However his love of learning, a profound interest in the arts, and a scholarly reverence for classic literature and the company of America's leading thinkers and scholars moved him throughout life. Education has a thousand definitions, but none are very good. One thing is known: diplomas, degrees, years spent in centers of learning do not define education. If this were not true, what would we call the Washingtons, the Andrew Jacksons, and the Lincolns? Maxwell met the measurements required of truly educated men as well as anyone I have known. Dean Julian C. Monnet, of the University of Oklahoma, once said to me, "I have just had a long visit with Perry Maxwell. Do you know that the more I am associated with him, the more thoroughly I am convinced that he is one of the most learned men I have met."

In school, as a boy, he found his life-mate, Miss Ray Woods, a brilliant and marvelous spirit. They were married in June 1902. The Woods family came to Livingston County, Kentucky, from Virginia in Revolutionary days, settling on a plantation a few miles from the village of Salem. Henry Woods, the grandfather of Ray Woods, married a Miss Patterson, a Virginia belle, and they dispensed such hospitality in their cultured southern style, the home became a center of refined society throughout Western Kentucky. Henry Woods and wife had four sons, Press, Henry, John, and Clifton, and two daughters, Sally and Ada. Press was the father of Mrs. Perry D. Maxwell. The mother of Mrs. Maxwell was Miss Dora Crumbaugh, whose father came from Hagerstown, Maryland to Western Kentucky about 1808. The mother of Ray Woods Maxwell was one of the clearest thinkers and most highly educated women this writer has known. Through more than forty years I visited her home which became, because of her intellect, beneficence, and religious devotion a center of goodness and light in every village and city in which she lived. To Perry Maxwell and Ray Woods Maxwell were born four children, Elizabeth Maxwell Killion, Mary-Belle Maxwell Deskins, Dora Maxwell Harrison, and Press Maxwell.

Religion

Maxwell took his religion as he took his blood or breath. With a Scottish Presbyterian ancestry without a break stretching down through more than 200 years, it was as natural for him to practice all those simple moral principles set forth by John Knox as it is for a bird to fly or a star to shine.

Through the more than 65 years I watched his life, I never saw him perform a deed, or speak a word that was not as clean and pure as sunlight. He kindly but firmly refused to engage in, or listen to conversation seasoned with risque stories or vulgarity.

In Ardmore he settled down as father, husband, and citizen, and was soon honored by positions of leadership in the Presbyterian Church and all moral and religious movements of the Community.

So, it was no wonder then in the Ardmore years he entered into every phase of church development and finally bringing about him many noble men and women of his faith, he drew a vision of a church building worthy of the splendid citizens of Ardmore. As his body rested there the other day I looked up and saw groined arches and sustaining beams, a small but beautiful presentation of the noblest of church architecture, and I said, "From foundation to the chimes above, this is one of the expressions of love for good he helped to give in the largest way to Ardmore."

Out of this church, the chimes he had placed there tolling, they took his body to the Dormick Hills and there where Ray has slept for 30 years, they placed him by her side, under the great oaks.

CHARACTER

While it can be seen that this man was born well with clean Scottish blood in his veins, and was nurtured from his birth in an environment of wealth and high ideals, still it must be said that his life was greater than his heritage.

There was no cessation or period of vacant rest in this man's life. He early learned how to know that the best definition of rest is divine activity. He filled every day full to the brim. After a ceaseless round of labor which took him out into the fields and hills at the first dawn of light, he seldom stopped until the shadows falling eastward told him that the day was done. Then began some of his most wholesome and creative hours. If at home and near his library, he read, read incessantly, and there he talked with earth's greatest men and women. Maxwell was one of the best and most discerning readers that I have ever known in all my life. Whether it be a play of Shakespeare, or the modern philosophy of Will Durant, whether it was a Tennyson or a Robert Frost, Maxwell often sat by my side and read and I came to know these thinkers of the world better because he often interpreted them far better than I could. His library was never large, perhaps, in number of books, but it was as large as all time in his choice of world wide and diversified authorship. He became such a man of learning that when he visited the great universities, the noted libraries of the world, or found himself in certain centers of learning as at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Ann Arbor, all these welcomed him and made him a friend. Often he would return from a trip to the East, bringing a fine volume of the modern classics with the author's name written upon the fly-leaf, and then he would tell me of the hours of conversation held and the views this scholar had given him along with the book.

So ran the full stream of life for this fine soul. He built a home on top of the high rolling ridge not far distant from where he shaped, with Ray helping him, the beautiful Dornick Hills. But fate dealt him an all but killing blow in 1919 when it took from his side his adored wife. She had understood him when others thought him a visionary. She had given him faith, complete faith in all his endeavors. Her spirituality equalling, if not superior, to his, gave him always an atmosphere of refinement and culture which his nature demanded. I heard from an old Oklahoma City neighbor of his severe sorrow and loss. I immediately took a train for Ardmore and I met him at the gate of his home. He said to me, ''I knew you would be coming. I have told the minister that he could speak of the church life of my wife but that I wanted you to tell of her loved ones, and of our home life. I am going to place her form out yonder on the Dornick Hills golf course which we shaped in love together, high up on the long ridge bordered by oaks, she will rest and I shall build an archway there, perhaps a nameless one, but it will tell of my silent and everlasting devotion.'' So, on that June day, I stepped to the side of the grave and with a number of those who loved her, stood beneath a wonderful blue sky and great green oaks, and with God's open spaces reaching far out to the top of the Arbuckles, I told the story of the life of two fine souls I had seen mate and pass from my school room out into the world. I have experienced many occasions in a long life where I was called upon to interpret the deeds of men and women. Never have I known an exultation surpassing that, wherein I felt that every word I said was used in defining two lives as good as any I had known.

It took years to cure the distress of a life alone. Work, constant work, travel, were poor substitutes for the strength and joy she had brought him. Out of the rich experiences of the early friendship the Maxwells had met some very cultured companions. In this group, one rare friend had married and had moved on to widowhood. In the last fine years of his life, Perry Maxwell learned to lean upon this good heart for peace and faith. A quiet call of seasoned and noble love brought them together as man and wife. Perry said to one of his closest friends in Ardmore in one of the last visits he made to that city, ''Say, my friend, has not God been good to me? Through His Grace, I have been permitted to live with two of the noblest women man could be given to know.''

So the story runs of his wonderful life. Let no man or woman who may read this think for one moment that anything said here smacks of overemphasis. I end this brief offer of my love to Perry D. Maxwell as I began it. He, in truth, was one of the greatest men Ardmore has ever known. The entire home, school, church and cultural life of Ardmore, out to the very edges and on through the state and nation have been enriched by the work of this man.

Ruskin says, ''the finest of all fine arts, is the art of right living.'' If this be true, and it is, this man was one of the cleanest, noblest artists I have studied. High aims, walking only with those of clean thoughts and worthy living, sought by men of low and high estate alike, it must be said of Perry Duke Maxwell, he met every test Tennyson sets forth in his Knights of the Round Table, where he says:

> ''His glory was redressing human wrong;
> He spoke no slander, no, nor listened to it;
> He loved one only and he clave to her.''

RESTORATION OF THE WORCESTER CEMETERY, OLD PARK HILL

By T. L. Ballenger

The Oklahoma Historical Society has promoted a number of notable projects, in recent years, for the preservation of history and of historical things in this state. A commendable work has been done in the statewide erection of historical markers. Much new material has been added to the Society's home collection: documents, letters, paintings, pictures, and relics. The Society has done much in recent years to awaken an interest in history and to make Oklahoma people history-minded. One of the Society's latest accomplishments is the acquisition and preservation of certain historic places that would otherwise go to wreck and ruin. The Worcester Mission cemetery at Park Hill is one of these places.

The Worcester Mission was established near Park Hill, in the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, in December, 1836, by Dr. Samuel Austin Worcester. He was the missionary who was imprisoned in Georgia, along with Dr. Elizur Butler, for preaching to the Cherokees against the decree of the State of Georgia. After serving a portion of his sentence he was pardoned and immediately came to the newly created Cherokee Nation to teach and preach among the Old Settler Cherokees.

Dr. Worcester had been instrumental in assisting the Cherokees in setting up their printing press at New Echota, Georgia, in 1828, the first project of the kind ever to have been launched by an aboriginal tribe. When he came to the Cherokee Nation, in 1835, he brought with him a printing press with a full assortment of type, paper, and other necessary printing equipment. The boat upon which he came up the Arkansas sank, down near Fort Smith, and all of his printing supplies remained watersoaked for some time. Eventually the press and some other parts were salvaged and stored temporarily at Dwight Mission, while he waited for more paper and other supplies to replace those that had been ruined.

In the latter part of the year 1835 he set up his press at Union Mission and here was initiated the printing business in Oklahoma. He was published the first edition of the *Cherokee Almanac;* also some textbooks and a considerable number of religious tracts. But on account of the declining condition of this mission a new location was found desirable. Hence, in the fall of 1836, Worcester moved his press to the recently established community of Park Hill and organized a mission that became famous and had an uplifting influence among the Cherokees for many decades. Elias Boudinot served as his able interpreter and assistant until his assassination in June, 1839. After Boudinot's death Edwin Archer, Samuel Newton, John F. Wheeler, John Candy, and the Reverend Stephen Foreman, worked here with Dr. Worcester as printers, teachers, interpreters, temperance workers, or preachers. Here were printed thousands of religious tracts. The New Testament and parts of the Old Testament were published in the Cherokee and in Cherokee and in the Creek language. The *Cherokee Almanac* was published here regularly for years. Thus the Worcester Mission, with its many educational and religious activities, with its farmers, horticulturists, and physicians, had perhaps a greater influence among the Indians than is commonly accorded to it. The late Miss Alice Robertson of Muskogee said of this mission burial ground: ''There is no acre of earth in Oklahoma which means so much to the history of this state.''[1]

Worcester died and was buried here in 1859. His grave lies alongside that of his first wife, Ann Orr. His second wife, Erminia Nash, was buried at the foot of her husband's grave. Two of the daughters, Mrs. D. D. Hitchcock and Mrs. William S. Robertson, are buried near by. Years afterwards some of the relatives erected around this burial ground a woven wire fence inclosing a plot about one hundred feet square. Caleb Covel, a friend of Worcester's and the grandfather of Miss Ella Mae Covel of Tahlequah, who died at the early age of thirty-three, is buried here. Some five or six unmarked graves are in the group. Outside of this enclosure, scattered here and there at random, are a number of graves, some of them entirely unmarked, some marked only with rough stones, and a few containing inscriptions. The remains of the Reverend Hamilton Ballentine, long-time missionary to the Creeks and Cherokees, lie at rest here. His tombstone was broken into pieces and lay this way for twenty years or more.

This weird cemetery was perhaps started with the burial of the noted Elias Boudinot who was assassinated about three hundred yards south of the site in 1839. His grave lies beneath an immense rough slab though unenscribed. The factionalism, at the time of his death, was so tense and bitter that his friends probably thought it inadvisable to inscribe his tomb. Two other unknown graves lie alongside of his, originally marked with similar stones, though the covering slab of one has long since been carted away by some vandal, perhaps to serve as a hearthstone or for some other utilitarian purpose.

Berry Turner, the grandfather of Mrs.. Homer Gilliland of Welling, is buried here in an unmarked grave. Charles M. De Lano, a charter member of the Masonic lodge of Fort Gibson and once superintendent of the Cherokee National Female Seminary at Park

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[1] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Park Hill*, p. 177. Quoted from the *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, October 18, 1928, p. 1, col. 4.

Hill, is buried here, though the stones have been removed from his original grave and set up in another place. About 1870 an epidemic of cholera swept through the mission community and a number of children died and were buried promiscuously over the plot, all the graves unmarked save by rough stones. Even some of these rough stone markers have been misplaced.

Soon after the mission was established, the Cherokee Nation set aside a certain acre of ground to be used for burial purposes. But this acre was never fenced. During the past century the plot was overgrown by a thicket of blackjack, hickory, red oak, and sassafras saplings and trees, all entertwined with wild grape vines, while the ground underneath was cluttered up with dead limbs and an undergrowth of stunted buckberry bushes. The acre lies in the middle of cultivated fields and pasture lands. For many years cattle and hogs roamed over it at will. Many people who have lived here for half a century or more do not know that there is such a cemetery.

Several years ago when Miss Eula E. Fullerton of Oklahoma City was teaching Oklahoma history at Northeastern State College, she and Dr. Ballenger took a group of history students out there, with hoes and axes, and cleaned off the small fenced enclosure, but it is surprising how fast wild vegetation grows when left alone.

Finally the Oklahoma Historical Society, always on the alert for the restoration and maintenance of historical sites, found an opportunity to have this site restored and made available to students of history. Through the assistance of Dr. T. L. Ballenger of Tahlequal the legal records were traced on the property. Set aside by the Cherokee Nation as a burial plot, at the end of the Cherokee government before the statehood, the site was deeded by Cherokee Chief, William C. Rogers, to the county commissioners of Cherokee County. Justice N. B. Johnson, member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, secured the deed to this acre of land for the Historical Society in 1952. Through the generosity of a private donor of Enid money sufficient for this work was placed at the disposal of the Society. On January 25, 1953, a committee consisting of Mr. H. B. Bass of Enid, Colonel George H. Shirk of Oklahoma City, and Miss Muriel H. Wright of the Historical Society, came to Park Hill, made an inspection of the property, decided what would be necessary to put it in satisfactory condition, and let a contract for the work of restoration. The work was to be done by Mr. Jesse Downing, a man of Cherokee lineage, under the supervision and direction of Dr. Ballenger.

The weatherman being propitious, most of the months of February and March was spent on this task. First the county surveyor ran the lines and determined the exact boundaries. The underbrush and small timber were removed from the entire area, all dead timber, limbs, and leaves were burned, trees were trimmed, the grave mounds and grave stones were repaired and reset, the fence around the small enclosure was repaired and painted, and the entire acre was enclosed by a strong wire fence.

Mr. Shorey Ross, who attended school in the old Stephen Foreman church of this vicinity in 1884 and 1885 and who is well informed on early local history, gave helpful information and suggestions about the cemetery. The owner of the surrounding land, Mr. Von Carter of Muskogee, generously contributed to the Historical Society a strip off of his land wide enough for a road. The county commissioners of Cherokee County[2] then built a road leading from the County Highway to the cemetery, approximately an eighth of a mile, together with a circular drive by which cars and busses may conveniently drive through the cemetery and turn around. Parking space has been arranged. The entire road from the highway to the cemetery is also fenced, with a substantial metal and wire gate at the entrance. Signs have been painted and posted for the edification and direction of visitors to the area. A plaque has been posted on the cemetery grounds giving the names of all graves that can in any way be identified, along with other data that might enlighten the interested visitor. The task of restoration has been greater than the stranger might imagine but the promoters of it feel that it has been well worth while.

ROSTER OF PERSONS BURIED IN THIS CEMETERY

Dr. Samuel Austin Worcester.

Ann Orr Worcester, his first wife. Buried alongside Worcester.

Erminia Nash Worcester, his second wife. Buried at the foot of Worcester's grave.

Caleb Covel, friend of Dr. Worcester's and grandfather of Miss Ella Mae Covel of Tahlequah.

Sarah W. Hitchcock and Infant, daughter of Worcester and first wife of Dr. Daniel Dwight Hitchcock.

Nancy Brown Hitchcock, wife of Reverend Jacob Hitchcock. Grave not marked.

R. B. B. (?)

John Orr and William Henry Robertson, Twins.

William S. Robertson. Grave not marked.

Mrs. A. E. Robertson. Stone not inscribed. These are the parents of the late Miss Alice Robertson.

Dora Platt Robertson.

J. M. Helton.

L. C. Cannon. Buried about 1885. Grave not marked.

Ham Martin. Buried 1885. Grave not marked.

.... Henson, 1891. Grave not marked.

Austin W. Foreman, 1885, son of Reverend Stephen Foreman. Grave not marked.

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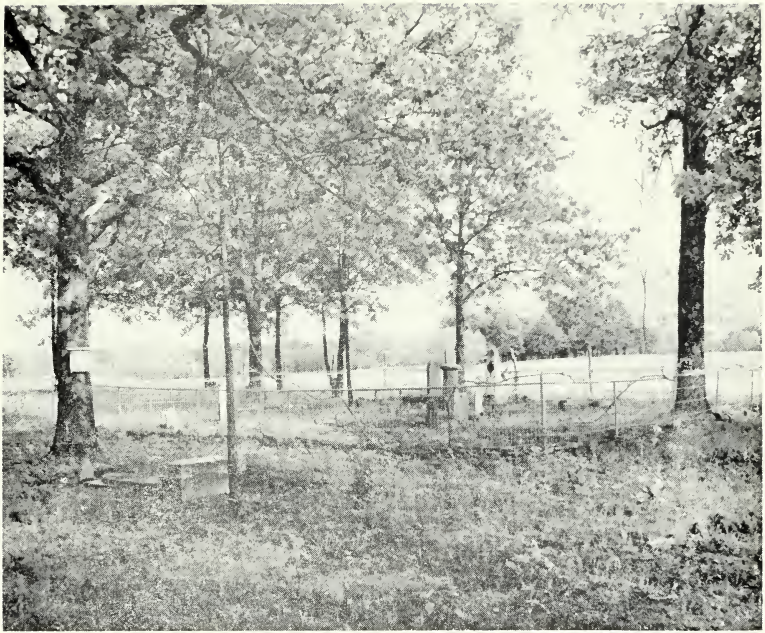
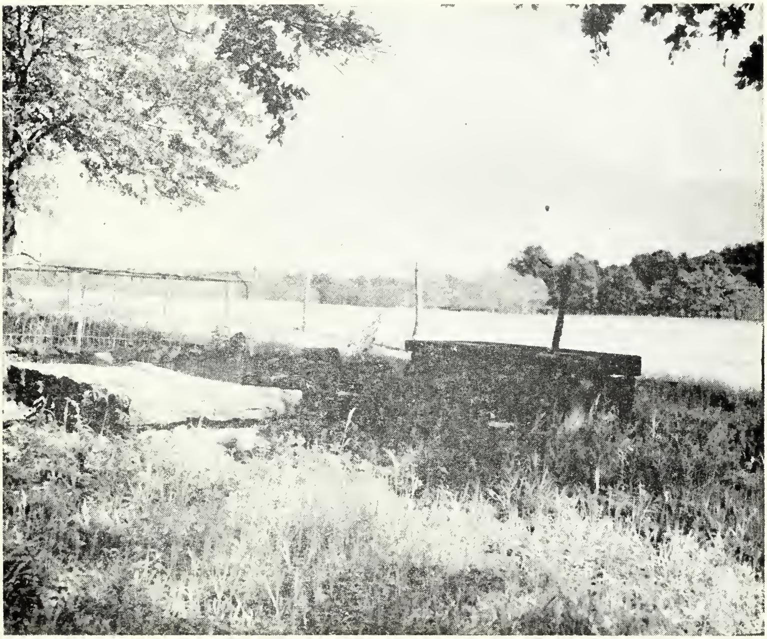
[2] The members of the Board of County Commissioners are: Jack Ballew, chairman, Buck Thorne, Berry Littlefield. These officials by their interest and help have rendered great assistance to the project.



(Photo May, 1953)

Worcester Cemetery, Park Hill, after restoration 1953.



(Photo May, 1953)

Old unmarked graves outside fenced enclosure, Worcester Cemetery. Far right in shadow: Grave of Elias Boudinot, Cherokee, assassinated in 1839. Center grave unidentified. Left in sunlight: Grave said to be that of Oo-wa-tie (Christian David Watie), father of Elias Boudinot and Stand Watie.

Erminia Nash Foreman, 1858, daughter of Reverend Stephen Foreman. Grave not marked.

Ballard child. Grave not marked.

Nancy Thompson, teacher at the Mission. Grave not marked.

Charles M. De Lano.

Reverend Hamilton Ballentine.

S. S. Boynton.

Berry Turner, grandfather of Mrs. Homer Gilliland of Welling. Grave not marked.

Elias C. Boudinot, assassinated here in 1839.

Seventeen or more other unidentified persons. The last burial here was about 1898.

A TRIP TO QUAPAW IN 1903.

By Sister M. Laurence, Order of Carmelites

TRANSCRIBED FROM THE ORIGINAL JOURNAL AND ANNOTATED

By Velma Nieberding

Foreword

Writers delving into the factual past seldom listen to the individual heart-beats of a people. They must eye effort and analyze accomplishment, circumscribed within a rigidity of date and data. The result is a smooth, unsparkling surface on the facet of truth, called *history.*

But the poetry and legend of the Indian has a way of insinuating itself into the most prosaic reports. This happened in the account of ''A Trip to Quapaw'' by a Carmelite Nun, Sister M. Laurence. After three years in the Indian Territory the sheltered aura of the cloister still surrounded Sister Laurence when, with the sweet dignity that bespeaks convent training, she detailed the events of a visit to the Indians.

In June 1903, a group of Carmelite Nuns were invited to spend a few days visiting the mission and school of ''St. Mary's'' located in the Quapaw nation. The Sisters were from the Motherhouse in New Orleans, Louisiana. They had conducted schools from 1899 to 1903 in the Territory. In Tulsa they taught at St. Theresa Institute (later Holy Family) and in Vinita, at the Sacred Heart Academy.

Sister M. Laurence set down with exquisite attention to detail and with naive wonderment, the incidents of this trip. Occasionally the account, particularly the early history of the mission, is sprinkled with inaccuracies. Nevertheless the Journal is historically important. The Indian legends, the account of tribal ceremonies and above all the events occurring during the visit of two great Catholic missionaries to the Quapaws, are worthy of note.

No historian, searching the records for Catholic contribution to the civilization and education of Indians and to the formation of Oklahoma, will ever fail to thrill to the accomplishments of Bishop Theophile Meerschaert and his first-ordained priest, the Reverend William Henry Ketcham. The writer, never intending that her Journal would be read by other than a few Religious, has managed to bring into sharp focus the simplicity and sincerity of those two great men.

For many years the original record herein annotated has been in the files of the Diocesan Historian, Dr. Urban de Hasque. It was found during a routine search for material on another project. It is herewith presented as a contribution to the early history of Oklahoma.*

—*Velma Nieberding*

JUNE 1903

Quapaw is a small town of the Indian Territory—named so perhaps on account of the tribe of Quapaw Indians which occupy its locality and its vast stretches of solid ground covered with all kinds of oak, maple and many other trees. Under these trees, fat and healthy cattle herds, horses, mules, sheep and hogs are raised and are the riches of the civilized Indians living there.[1]

The log houses standing yet are a curiosity to the visitors; but on most of the farms, throughout the whole country-places of the Territory, nice and comfortably-built houses are to be seen.

Quapaw Station is about seven miles northeast of Miami (Indian Territory) but the Quapaw Mission is about three miles from the station. There, on the very top of a beautiful hill stands St. Mary's Church; near it the presbytery, and about one hundred feet further, the school-house built some ten years ago for the Sisters of St. Joseph who were brought there by Rev. A. Herenthals.[2]

Two years ago Rev. M. D'Haenens reopened the school with a lay teacher with the hope that the following year we Sisters of Mt. Carmel would take charge of it. But he was very much disappointed as we had to leave our dear missions of Vinita and Tulsa, Indian Territory.[3] Actually he has again lay teachers and expects Sisters of Divine Providence next year. As they are now to be in charge of the missions of Vinita and Tulsa it is much better for the same community to be also in Quapaw—it being a distance of about twenty-five miles from the former. Communications are facilitated by the M. K. and T. Railroad as by the Frisco, up to the station; from the station to the mission one must go either on foot or in a conveyance.

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* The text of the Journal is here presented as in the original with the exception of the deletion of a few sentences that involve tedious detail and repetition. Changes in punctuation and new paragraphing have been made in some places for clearness.

[1] It was not until 1912 that the ore strike was made near Quapaw, in Ottawa County, on the lands of Benjamin Quapaw, tribal elder. This strike led to the thorough development of the Picher Mining field in Oklahoma. It is one of the richest lead and zinc fields in the world. Drilling had begun as early as 1901 but at the time this *Journal* was written, the Quapaws never suspected the wealth that lay only a few feet beneath the grassy lands of their allotments.

[2] The Reverend William H. Ketcham built St. Mary's Mission and school and brought in the Sisters of St. Joseph for teachers.—Velma Nieberding, "St. Mary's of the Quapaws", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI, No. 1 (Spring, 1953), p. 2-14. See, also, Sister Mary Urban Kehoe, C.D.P., "The Educational Activities of Distinguished Catholic Missionaries among the Five Civilized Tribes," *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (Summer, 1946), pp. 174-9.

[3] Records of the Motherhouse of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, New Orleans, Louisiana, show that Carmelite Sisters conducted schools from 1899 to 1903 in Tulsa and Vinita. In Tulsa, they taught at St. Theresa Institute; in Vinita, at Sacred Heart School. The schools were given over to the Sisters of Divine Providence, San Antonio, Texas, because this Order was specializing in the teaching of Indians.

Now I will relate what I have seen and learned regarding the Mission of Quapaw, also the interesting details and legends in connection with photos of that place, which were given to me by Rev. Father M. O. D'Haenens.[4]

Members of our party were the four Sisters of Vinita, Sisters Clare, Mechtilda, Maurice and Laurence; Mother Ambrose, Sister Superioress of Tulsa, a good friend of ours, Mrs. C. Skelly with her two sons, Charles and Joseph; one of our boarders, Annie Davenport, whose papa wanted her to be with us as long as we remained in the Territory; two of our altar boys, orphans to whom we were attached. Other friends were to accompany us but being in business were deprived of that pleasant trip.

As we boarded the train we joined our Sisters M. Agnes and Leo of Tulsa, with their little helping girl. . . . . The priest of Tulsa, Rev. Theo Van Hulse was also of the party. At Afton Station about twelve miles east of Vinita we had to change train. It was about 7:30 when we reached Quapaw Station.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF TRAVEL IN 1903

There two hacks were awaiting us. In one of them was our old Mr. Bowlling, who used to work for Reverend Father A. Versavel and also for us before he went to stay with Father D'Haenens at Quapaw. As soon as he saw us, he came to welcome us. We had a trunk full of provisions, and gave him the check to get it as soon as it would have been taken from the baggage coach. . . . . As Mr. Bowlling's hack was the largest, the greatest number went on his; in the other were Mother Ambrose, Sisters Maurice and Laurence. Mrs. Skelley went in front by the driver, an Indian boy named Frank Buck.

We started the small hack ahead. As rain had fallen incessantly for several weeks, the roads were almost impassable. We were no sooner out of a mud-hole than we were thrown into another. In some we would sink so deeply that we'd scream out for help, but this was only fun for the whole crowd. For a while we had a fine road but that did not last long; as we were reaching its end, we sighted a large creek. We trembled as we approached it. Our fears redoubled as our careless Frank instead of exciting the horses to prevent them from stopping let the bridles go loose. The little ponies were not strong enough to pull us out. They began to jump and kick and the water was almost touching the seats and we could not jump down. . . . . Mr. Bowlling . . . . unhitched both teams, put his strong horses on our hack and with a blow made them pull us out of this dreadful hole and go up the worst of that steep pass.

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[4] Father Maurice D'Haenens, an alumnus of The American College, Louvain, Belgium, had been sent to the Indian Territory in 1900. He was commonly called "Dannis" by the Indians and in later years signed his name with the simplified spelling.

We were not yet very far when we saw the big hack with difficulty crossing another mud hole. What were we going to do? Thanks to the ability of Mrs. Skelley who had taken the reins from the Indian boy, we crossed without incident, although I already saw myself thrown in the mud and all the others with me.

At last we had only one more small creek to pass. The rest of the trip was on rocks so it made a big change. Now the inconvenience was altogether different. We were awfully shaken, knocking and bumping each other.

It was about nine o'clock when we perceived lights in a house. As we approached we knew we had arrived by the sounds of the voice of our Dear Bishop Meerschaert who, with Father D'Haenens came to meet us and even helped us to get down and bring in our bundles and trunk. . . . .

While we were cleaning and refreshing ourselves, Father D'Haenens was helping his housekeeper and school-teacher to prepare our supper. Bishop was back with Father Theophile and the boys before we came down. We hurried so as not to make them wait for us. We were yet covered with mud and ashamed to appear thus in a dining room before a Bishop and priests, but we soon forgot this. Bishop placed us at table and waited on us while Father D'Haenens waited on the youngsters. The long and jolting ride had acted as an appetizer, so we put all shame aside and did honors to the copious supper.

While eating we related all the frightful incidents of our trip. Bishop enjoyed very much our narration to which we added fresh exclamations at the mere thought of the trip. He said he was very grateful to God for having inspired him to take the other road for stout and heavy as he is, no horse-power could have taken him out of the mud holes. He then compared the dangers we had run to the dangers of this life and as our perseverance on the way to Quapaw was crowned with a safe and happy arrival, so if we persevere in virtue, in courage when we are tried, in prayer when tempted, we will get to Heaven.

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The next morning while we were working [after Mass and breakfast] our attention was drawn to the thrilling of a drum. Father

D'Haenens told us it was the Medicine Man giving the signal of his presence at the Medicine house. Generally the Indians assemble there every Saturday and eve of Feasts. At six or seven o'clock in the morning they all go in procession into that house. After having lighted the traditional fire they take place all around the tent and receive their ration of opium from the Medicine Man who is considered by his tribe as a man of great power and who exercises among his fellowmen a mysterious influence.[5] As soon as all are helped with opium singing begins; they mark time by the beating of the drum and this is what we had heard.[6] But of this I will speak again later.

We asked Father if we could go there. He told us yes, that we could. But he would not take any responsibility on himself as he could not answer of our lives once there. . . . . By the way Father spoke we understood he only wanted to frighten and tease us. We made up our minds to go after dinner.

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Though the sun was terribly hot, we did not go back on our determination. Soon after dinner we were on our way to the woods. . . . . Mother Ambrose, Sister M. Agnes, Sisters Clare, Maurice and Laurence. Father wished us ''good luck'' and said we'd find ice cream if we were smart enough to come back. We laughed and went on, daring his warnings.

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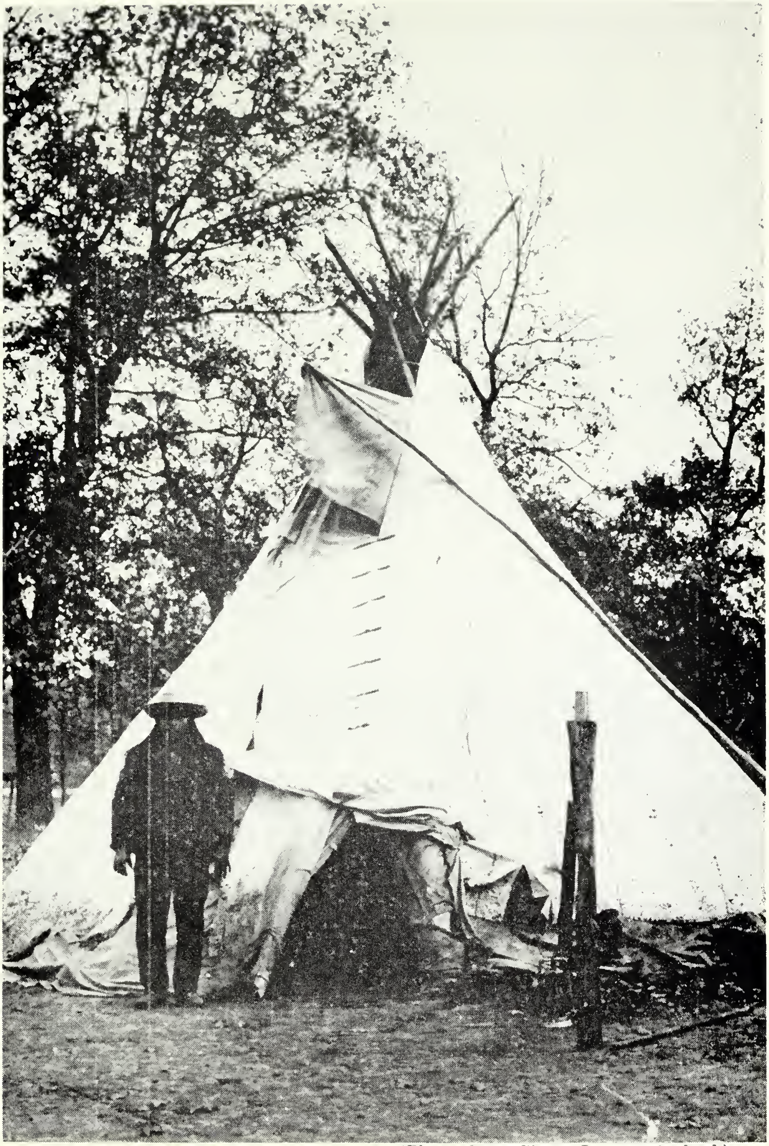
[5] This writer finds no evidence of drug addiction among the Quapaws, other than the taking of the narcotic *peyote* as a sacrament of the Native American (Indian) Church. The account of the ritual witnessed by Sister M. Laurence agrees with the accounts of peyote rites by other authors.—Frederic W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Bulletin 30, Bureau Amer. Ethnol. (Washington, 1910); Robert Hamilton, *The Gospel Among the Red Men* (So. Baptist Convention, 1930).

Peyote is a small cactus, botanically identified as *Lophophora williamsii.* The plant grows abundantly in a wild state along the Rio Grande and southward and is gathered by the Indians who use the dried top called a "button."

Peyote worship was introduced to the Osages in 1898 by Moon Head, a Caddo-Delaware. The Quapaws, according to Victor Griffin their present Chief and a "peyote priest" were using peyote "ten years before the Osages." (Personal interview, March 15, 1953)

[6] Early missionaries were opposed to the drug, not so much for its physiological effects upon the Indians but for its connection with certain superstitious rites connected with their primitive religion. Eating the peyote was declared by the early padres to be almost as grave a sin as eating human flesh. In a little religious manual published by Fray Bartholololome Garcia in 1760, for the use of the missionaries to the Indians of San Antonio, Texas, the following questions to be used in the confessional are printed: "Has comido carne de gente?" (Hast thou eaten flesh of man?) and "Has comido el peyote?" (Hast thou eaten the peyote?). —(Fray Bartholome Garcia, *Manual para administrar los Santos Sacramentos*, 1760, p. 15).

"The effects of the drug have been compared to those of Indian hemp (cannabis indica) which has found its way from the Eastern hemisphere to Mexico and the southwest United States where it is known as *marihuana* but instead of the exciting effect of the latter, Lophophora produces rather a state of ideal content with no tendency to commit acts of violence" (S. J. Safford, "An Aztec Narcotic", *The Journal of Heredity*, Vol. 6, No. 7, p. 302).



(Photo from Sister Laurence's book)

Sig-a-da-Wankantah (John Quapaw), Medicine Man in 1903. Data from Victor Griffin, Chief of the Quapaws, in interview March 15, 1953.

At the limits of the school ground we had to go down the hill which was steepy and rocky. At the foot, under solid rocks was a spring of the finest and clearest water. Now we had to get to the other side but Rock Creek was between the two hills. . . . . After walking some hundred steps we found a place where it was narrower. We rolled a big stone and pushed it into the water; thus it was easy to cross over. We were as merry and happy as school children. We'd run up and down the hill to gather wild flowers, here bending in two so as to pass under low trees; there stopping to take a cool drink at a spring, trying not to lose sight of our guides, Miss Halping and Miss Mary.

* * * * * *

Though we had trodden already a long distance the sounds of the drum seemed to be just as far. Our guides told us it was because we were down the hill while the Medicine House was up the hill and far from the creek.[7] After walking again for about half a mile we came to a kind of path ascending gradually to the summit of the hill. We followed it, and soon found ourselves on a plateau. . . . . We perceived smoke rising into the air and some persons moving among the trees. Miss Mary told us we were near the end of our walk. . . . . We met with a kind of prairie schooner full of Indians coming from another way but falling into ours. At our sight they seemed scared to death. They kept staring at us and we at them!

In a few minutes we arrived at the wire fence which protects a large place where our Indians had set up their camping tents. Under one of them we could see a whole family—men, women and children, some running, some sleeping on a blanket on the ground. Here and there some men wrapped in blankets were lying under trees and seemed to be sleeping. These had already been in the Medicine house and were under the influence of Opium.

From that family tent a big, stout woman seeing us stood at the entrance. Her breast, neck and arms were covered with nickel-plated pins and beads of all kinds. She looked at us with her savage air. We were afraid to go any further but Mrs. Skelley and myself decided to pass under the wire. . . . . The nearer we got the fiercer the woman appeared to us. . . . . When we were from her at a distance of about thirty or forty steps she disappeared, running as fast as she could into the tent. When she came back a stout man came too, his long black hair was floating on his shoulders. It was divided on the head with a red stripe about one and one-half inches wide; his cheeks also were painted red, but he was so red from the heat that we could hardly distinguish the paint.

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[7] On October 10, 1918, a charter for the incorporation of *The Native American Church* was obtained from the state by Oklahoma Indians. The articles specify the use of peyote as a sacrament, "as commonly understood and used among the adherents of this religion in the several tribes of Indians in the State of Oklahoma." The organization had as its purpose to establish a central or General Church at El Reno, Canadian County, Oklahoma, with branch churches to be organized in each of the Indian tribes of Oklahoma.

According to *Time Magazine* (June 18, 1951) the Bureau of Indian Affairs, wary of a "religious freedom" issue has refused to interfere in peyote rituals. In a statement to *Science* magazine (November 30, 1951) five anthropologists issued a protest against current propaganda to have peyote declared illegal. "Peyote is used sacramentally in a manner corresponding to the bread and wine of Christians" they stated.

He had long beads on his neck and arms. Around his waist he had a belt made with little cases all around it for shots. He got ahead of her and came straight to us. Though of real Indian type his face had something milder than the woman, his wife. He smiled with us and as he got near enough he handed us his right hand and we handed him ours. But what was not our astonishment when we saw him pass only the inside of his fingers over ours, then raising his hands at the level of his head he opened it wide before us, then turning it to him he passed it all over his face, straight down to the abdomen, then finished by opening it again towards us. We were told afterwards that this was a sign of welcome.

After doing this he turned to the woman who imitated his example. He then brought us near his tent, told us that these children were his and the stout woman his wife. On his sign they all came in and touched our hands as said here above. The other Sisters were still watching. We made them sign to come so they did. We were not over our fright. . . . . We tried to conceal it by petting the babies who were anything but attractive. We coaxed the grown folks and soon we were surrounded by every one of those we had seen around.

Suddenly the thrilling of the drum resounded to our ears and seemed to come from a large round tent opposite where we were. We asked if that was the medicine house. They answered yes, but we hesitated to inquire whether we could go in or not. We had made friends with all but the stout woman who did not seem to approve of our presence there. The man had gone back under the tent. It was he who was beating the drum. His daughters spoke English pretty well, they had learned it with the Sisters of St. Joseph, who, two years previous had the Quapaw school in charge but had to abandon this field for want of means.

Those young girls took us around, to show us different ways of getting to beautiful places of this country. Tired of walking, we did not go far. We came back and sat down on the grass; their conversation was quite interesting.

After awhile we expressed our wish to see the medicine house. They told us that it was exclusively for the Quapaw Indians. They had never seen any white people entering there. Still, the eldest one got up and went to speak about it to her Mama, but the latter seemed to be still more doubtful whether her husband would consent or not. To our great surprise she looked very glad of our request. Her face brightened and cheered up. She made us sign that she was going herself to ask the Medicine Man, her husband, for the favor.

As she heard the last words of the song—they were singing their ''great song to the Almighty'' she raised a corner of the tent and penetrated inside. We were very near and could hear a man's voice. One of the girls told us it was her father asking the others if we could enter. Though he was some kind of a chief, being medicine man, they all had to sanction his permission. It was soon done and the medicine man came out with his wife to get us. Mother Ambrose had remained out of the premises. She was watching us from far, probably praying that nothing might happen to us. Now the man raised the same little corner of the tent and made us sign to get in. His wife passed first, then Mrs. Skelley, myself, Sisters M. Agnes and M. Clare, Miss Halping and Miss Mary. The man after getting in put down the tent and tied it down, like all the rest, on the poles. Then our hearts began to beat hard and fast.

In the center of that tent was a kind of square made of clay, in the middle of which was a hole about eight or ten inches deep, made for the purpose of building a fire. This fire was made of branches as we use in our stoves and was sprinkled with some aromatic herb-powder.[8] The interior of that tent was about 16 x 16 ft. at the base, diminishing in size gradually until the very top was hardly 6 x 6 inches, leaving a small opening for the smoke.

All around the tent were the Indians, men, women and children, all seated on blankets or on their clothes thrown on the ground. Some had valises by them; other had bundles, others little baskets. Some were barefooted, others had leggings and mocassins trimmed with beads; some of them had a little pack of candy—some stick candy, others home-made candy, etc.[9]

There were small bags full of beads, crucifixes of different sizes; some men had their shooting arrows and bows—all that was by each one's side. The men had their long hair divided on the forehead by a thick stripe of red paint and hanging down on their shoulders. All had also, like the medicine man, their cheeks painted.

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[8] Sometimes cedar, sometimes sage. This Indian sage is also known by the common term of "horse mint" and has an aromatic odor. The use of sage seems to have a symbolic meaning. When the meetings are held in a tipi, the earth is first swept clean, then a layer of hay is put down followed by a layer of sage. This is covered by a layer of canvas on which people sit. (Interview with Joe Fritts, loyal Shawnee, Quapaw, Oklahoma, March 15, 1953)

[9] "Anything good, like candy or fruit, can be taken into the peyote meetings" according to Mrs. Lillie Tyner, Quapaw, who stated that she has been taking peyote for 52 years. *Time Magazine* (June 18, 1951) states that canned peaches and candy help straighten the Indians out after "peyote jag" otherwise they would have a dismal hangover.

A perfect silence was reigning there. The medicine house is regarded by the Indians as very sacred. In front of the fire opposite the entrance there was a crucifix standing on the ground.[10] Every Indian who entered there and as many times as he re-entered, had to stand by the fire, facing the Crucifix. Then the medicine man or his assistant came with big feathers and passed them from head to foot over the one who was standing, so as to shake all the dust off. This dusting is done in the same way over anyone who leaves the tent. By this action they firmly believe that they are purified and that they render honor to God. Everything they bring there has to be held over the fire while they make a few motions with it toward the Crucifix.[11]

Once in, we sat like them on the ground but the nearest possible to the entrance. Some of those people seated at the extremity made us sign to go by them but none of us dared to go as far, though we were not safer where we were as everything was shut. They were all looking at us with a curious, but peaceful look. The medicine man took his place at the right side of the entrance. We were at the left. He sat down and took what we thought to be a drum, but it was a stone or earthen jar, half-filled with water, covered with sheep or buckskin (I don't know which) and trimmed with bird and fowl's feathers. This kind of instrument gave a sound similar to that of a drum when beating on it with the sticks.

By the medicine man a fellow of high stature with a small bearded face, little eyes shining like diamonds, took in his left hand a long rod trimmed with game heads and feathers, also with some kind of fish-like skin.[12] In his right hand he took a little racket on which handle were attached a few small toy bells. Then he bent one knee to the ground and both blew on their instruments. The medicine man shook his jar three different times while the assistant made the same motions with his gourd. Both started in a very low tone the *Uba-ist-Tal-lo-a* or "Song to the Great Spirit."[13] It was so low that with all our attention we were unable to catch a single word. All the others were listening attentively, their arms folded, their eyes fixed upon the fire or the ground. Not a word, not even a whisper was heard. After each stanza our two chorists blew on their instruments and shook them as before beginning.[14]

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[10] The Quapaws, as well as other Indian Tribes, having been christianized by Catholic missionaries, adopted many of the sacramentals of the Catholic Church into the ritual of the native church. The crucifix is used today according to Indians who attend the peyote rites. Anoher use of a Christian symbol is the cross surmounting the "Medicine House" where peyote rites are held.

[11] The tending of the fire is very important and the fire-tender is given a special blessing. The fire is kept burning enclosed within a crescent-shaped mound on the top of which is placed the sacred or "king" peyote.

[12] The objects used in connection with the peyote worship have a distinct, decorative character of their own. The most typical color is yellow, with which their wood and skin portions are almost always painted. The feathers most frequently used are those of the yellow hammer and other species of woodpeckers.—A. L. Krolher, *Bulletin Am. Museum of Nat. Hist.*, Vol. 18, pp. 398-409)

[13] Within the pages of her Journal here, Sister Laurence has added as a separate short leaf an eight stanza poem entitled, "U-ba Ist Tal-lo-a (Singing to the Great Spirit)" by Jessie E. Sampter, New York City, apparently printed in a church magazine, probably *The Indian Magazine*, early in the 1900's. The "U-ba Ist Tal-lo-a" in the title of this poem is Choctaw, properly "Vba Isht Taloa," an expression mean-

At the third one the assistant asked for a glass of water. The medicine man filled a glass from a large jar which was behind him and passed it to his companion, who drank it only after having held it over the fire, which at that moment he kindled adding branches and sprinkling the aromatic herbs. He knelt again and the singing continued. We thought it would never end. We were almost roasted not only by the heat of the fire but also that of the atmosphere which was intensely hot. Big drops of perspiration were rolling on all present there.

After awhile we made a motion to get up but the woman near us told us we could not get out before the song was finished. It was to be soon over. We found that time terribly long but at last we heard it was all and saying this the medicine man took a glass of water, performing the same ceremony as the one before. A woman placed at the other end passed a stick of candy to the two singers. Both held it over the fire before biting on it.

The medicine man got up and made sign to the others to do the same and invited them to come and touch our hands, which they all did, even the babies whose mamas held the hands to make the traditional signs. It took a little while before those twenty or twenty-five Indians could do this. All expressed by signs how glad they were to have us under their tent; it was a great honor for them. They looked upon us as angels fallen from Heaven and kissed not only our hands but our dresses. As we were ready to get out a man entered. The chief asked him if he had slept enough; he answered

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ing a *hymn* found before each song in the old Choctaw hymnals of missionary days. For example, "Vba Isht Taloa 9. L.M. *God's mercies are renewed every day,*" is found as the heading of a five stanza hymn in Choctaw that appears on page 9 in the *Choctaw Hymn Book* (6th ed. Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Richmond, 1872). It may be that Father William Ketcham indirectly had something to do with Sister Laurence's interest in the poem with its Indian and parenthetical English title for he became a fluent speaker and a translator in the Choctaw language as the founder of St. Agnes Mission at Antlers, Choctaw Nation, in 1897. Sister Laurence unaware of the differences in Indian languages was impressed with the poem she had read and used the title as that of the chant which she heard during the ceremonies in the Quapaw Medicine House. This note is made as an explanation for the appearance of a Choctaw expression in her description of the visit among the Quapaw Indians. It may be added, also, that the Choctaw Indians have never been known as devotees of peyotism with its ceremonials such as were witnessed in the Quapaw Medicine House.—Ed. (M.H.W.)

[14] The sacred or "peyote" songs. Each man sings four songs to the accompaniment of drum and rattle. It is quite probable that because of the presence of visitors that the whole ceremony was not finished. In a regular peyote meeting the tea made from brewing the "buttons" is drunk after singing and the buttons themselves are passed around and chewed.

"yes" then stood by the fire. We went out as the tent was opened, glad to breathe the fresh air and be out of that hot oven!

It was after half-past five. As we had a long walk to reach home we did not remain any longer. The stout woman had come out of the tent with us. Now she was all smiles. She promised to come see us at the school and told us to call again the next Saturday. We left her and the others as happy as they could be to see us so intimate with them. All our fears had vanished.

We could not get home quick enough to relate all to Bishop Meerschaert and show Father D'Haenens we were living yet.

It was near seven o'clock when we reached the school ground. The Ice Cream was made, and Father was waiting for us to serve it. The children were back long before we came, very much displeased because we had not told them where we were to go; they, too, wishing to see the medicine house. We succeeded in quieting them by telling them they could go some other Saturday while we had no more chances. We all entered the school room and soon Sisters, ladies and children were feasting on the cool treat. . . . .

Though very tired we had yet to go rehearse our singing. We took our books and music and directed ourselves towards the church while the others attended to the clergymen's supper. It was pretty hard to make the organ give its sounds as since over two years no one had played on it. Our good Father D'Haenens heard us and fearing it would be too hard a work came up in a hurry to blow the organ for me while I was playing, putting all the strength I could in my fingers to get the instrument in a better vibration. After more than an hour of practice we stopped. . . . . At that time one of the little boys came to get Father D'Haenens for supper and while the clergymen were taking supper we remained in Church to say our office and night prayers. . . . . After that we went home to supper, too. . . . .

We were hardly seated at the table when we had a big and agreeable surprise. All at once we saw at the door Rev. Father William K. Ketcham with our dear old friend, Mr. Rea and Felix Miles, brother of our little Johnnie and Eddie. The feast would have been complete had dear Father Versavel only been with us. He had gone to be a Jesuit and was as happy there.

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At six [next morning] Masses began. We divided ourselves so that all would have a share in the devotions as well as the work. But for the Bishop's Mass all Sisters managed to be present. We Sisters and all our band had communicated at the first Mass. The children were to be confirmed that day. At nine o'clock all the priests were to take breakfast, except Father Ketcham who was to officiate at High Mass and Father Theophile who did not feel well enough to take breakfast with the others.

We all helped in the kitchen, dining room, etc., so as to enable every one to assist at high Mass. We would have worked much quicker had we not been attracted outside by the full-blooded Indians arriving from all directions for Mass. We recognized those we had seen at the medicine house, the Medicine man was there with his wife and children. At 9:30, ... we went out to see those poor people closer. As soon as they saw us all came to touch hands (not shake hands) with us and hold their children's hands to do the same. We petted the babies but could not decide ourselves to kiss them. . . . .

I had brought with me a box of colored pictures to give them but as it was near ten o'clock I told them to come back after Mass. Those who did not understand English and they were many, were told by the others what we had said. We made them sign it was time to go to church. Immediately they fixed themselves and went ahead of us then stopped at the church and signed themselves as we passed by as if we were Gods.[15]

A few minutes after the bell rang and all entered the church. Then the clergy and the altar boys came in procession by the back door. As they entered the Church the organ pealed forth its sounds. Then those poor people were like electrified by the music and by the sight of their beloved first pastor, Rev. Father Ketcham who founded this mission and christianized most all of the old ones who were present. Some were weeping, others laughing but all expressed their feelings out loud in Church. They were not as recollected and as quiet as in their medicine tent.

Men and women had their hair plaited; some of the latter had it twisted around on the head and had a colored handkerchief fixed somewhat like the old colored women. . . . .

Two of those Indians were to make their first Communion, a man and Frank Buck, our famous little driver. Many others who were also for the first-Communion were obliged to give it up on account of sickness. Most all of them had had smallpox which is always harder on those people. Others had the measles not less dangerous.

For the first time there was a Mass with Deacon and subdeacon. . . . . [The Bishop] spoke on *Holy Communion* and *Confirmation* which Sacraments the children were about to receive.

Immediately after the last gospel, Bishop took his place kneeling at the foot of the altar while we sang the ''Veni Creator.'' After the last stanza, he sat on the chair prepared for him on the highest step of the altar. The little gates of the holy table were opened wide and two by two our young folks ascended to the Minister of God to receive from him the Sacrament that was to make them perfect soldiers of Jesus Christ. Many of the grown folks followed the little ones. Bishop told Father D'Haenens, who was trying to dissuade them, to let them come. He gave them his ring to kiss and had a kind word for each one so they were all satisfied. At the end of the ceremony Bishop rose and told them that they all had to be back for the evening service at 3 p.m. . . . . consisting of the recitation of the rosary and Litany of the Blessed Virgin, a sermon by Father Ketcham and Benediction. Then he dismissed them all.

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[15] The Sign of the Cross.

We waited until the last one was out to come downstairs. But what was not our surprise to see them all by the church. They were watching on both sides for fear Father Ketcham would escape them. But he himself loved them too tenderly to play them that trick. Most all of them stopped us again to touch our hands. Though few only understood what we said, all would nod their heads and smile as a sign of approval and contentment. . . . .

At last we witnessed a scene that we very seldom do in civilized countries. Father Ketcham appeared on the church doorstep. It was like magnetism. In a moment the whole crowd of about one hundred and fifty men and women were at the feet of their beloved Father. We could read the emotion of that powerful man whose heart was powerless against the demonstrations of his first spiritual children. As a good Father he let them take his hands, pull on his cassock. He was almost as happy to see them as they were to see him.

We were so much touched at that scene that tears were rolling on our cheeks. How happy we would have been to be commanded to make our dwelling there! What good could have been accomplished by those ignorant but affectionate, loving and grateful hearts! But this was not for us.

We went home though we could have remained there longer. This scene was the subject of our conversations that day.

At about 12:30 Bishop, the priests and Mr. Rea came for dinner. Bishop told me to make the Sisters take dinner also as he wished to give them a little conference right after. He was to leave that day at 5 p.m.

All was done as he had said; the ladies and the children dined while the Sisters were with his Grace. Afterwards all were called in for a little while. . . . .

Perfect happiness does not belong to this world. Clouds of sadness passed over the sun of joy and peace that had filled our souls during these previous hours. We realized then that this was our last meeting with our dear and beloved Bishop, that perhaps it would be the last time we would see him until we reached the eternal shore where ''we'll know our own.''

The many and strange events of that day had thrown in our hearts such emotions that, as Bishop left, we gave vent to our feelings and all of us Sisters had a good *crying* before going to church. To hide it all, we had to almost drown our faces in the bowls of water.....

At 3 p.m. sharp the bell rang. All those present in the morning had obeyed Bishop by coming back.

Bishop recited the rosary and litany after which we sang one or two verses of the beautiful hymn ''Holy Spirit God of light.'' Rev. Father Ketcham then ascended the degrees of the altar to address the audience, particularly and naturally his Quapaw Indians.

Briefly he related how he had gone to Bishop Meerschaert to become a priest how after his ordination Bishop had sent him to the vast Indian Territory where only two or three priests had come to announce the Gospel of God; how Bishop pointing to the hills northeast of the Territory had enjoined him, Father Ketcham to go there to those good Quapaw Indians to teach them how to know, love and serve their Creator.[16] He had answered the Bishop's desire and had come to that hill of Quapaw. Many present now in church were there when he first came.

They were not long to see that he wanted to do no harm but all the good he could. Soon he had won all their hearts. They looked upon him as a good, kind father and he received and treated them like his children. Then he reminded those old people how they came together to listen to his instructions and with what eagerness they asked him to speak again about the Great Creator.

But there came a big sacrifice for the pastor and his flock. One day he, Father Ketcham, received a letter from his Bishop commanding him to go and take charge of some other Indians at another part of the Territory. Another priest was to come to Quapaw where already Father Ketcham had a nice church built and also a presbytery.[17] He had worked hard with his Indians to have that much done.

It was with sorrow that he read that order of the Bishop, who no doubt wanted to reward him and give him a better place. He had to obey and abandon his faithful children who wept bitterly on hearing the sad news. Since then he had never returned to Quapaw until that happy day, June 7, 1903, where he met at his surprise, Bishop Meerschaert and us Sisters.

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[16] Actually, the Quapaws had been ministered to by Jesuit and Benedictine priests from the time they came to their present home in Oklahoma in 1833.

[17] Father Ketcham was transferred to Antlers, in 1897, to work among the Choctaws.

Then he begged those Indians to continue to be good and faithful as they had been since and to love and obey their devoted pastor, Father D'Haenens as they had loved and obeyed him, their first pastor, this being the best proof of gratitude they could ever give him and the Bishop.

This is about what Father Ketcham said in his simple allocution to those people who were afraid to move for fear of losing a syllable of what he was telling them. We were in admiration seeing them so attentive.

After this Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was given by Right Rev. Bishop Meerschaert and the service was over.

Then all again waited outside to see their first Father. Bishop too came and told them "good-bye." Soon after both came to bid us also "good-bye." Bishop gave us his blessing and left us with the hope of meeting us again some day in Louisiana. All hearts were made heavy by the thought of our departure, the hour of which was to strike too soon.

On leaving us, Bishop forbade Father D'Haenens to let any of us leave before the coming Wednesday. Father had told him that Mother Ambrose and I wanted to leave the next day, Monday. We had to submit and remain until Wednesday.

Bishop added, "Father spare no expenses, give them all the treats you can; and if you get short of money, draw on me. I will pay all." He had already given fifty dollars the first day. How many Bishops would be so generous, so kind to sisters? He may be the unique one.

Father D'Haenens came back to us as soon as he had shut the big gate on Bishop Meerschaert and Father Ketcham. We saw the carriage go off and our eyes followed it until we could not see it any more. The thorn of separation was cruelly stinging our hearts. Father D'Haenens knew it, hence his haste to come to us; he called us all down,—we had gone up stairs to be able to see the Bishop better on his way to Baxter Springs. We came down, trying to smile. Father had pop on ice and hurried to pass a bottle to each one,—he knocked the stopper off before we had time to get a glass—so as to dispel all sadness. He succeeded for soon the echoes of the children's screams, the exclamations of the grown folks, resounded through the whole house. Now to crown all, Father suggested a big picnic for the next day at the "Devil's promenade." There was no excuse to be given; it had to be and we had to make the best of it. He had bought lots of chickens from the country people, and was to send, early the next morning, the old Mr. Bowlling at Baxter Springs for bread and fresh meat, so that we could have it cooked before leaving. All the arrangements were made; we prepared as much as we could that night, and left the rest for the next morning.

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The remainder of Sister Laurence's Journal is taken up with an account of the picnic to the ''Devil's Promenade'' on Spring River about two miles and a half southeast of Quapaw, in Ottawa County. Seventeen of the students and the Sisters before mentioned in this article, were on this picnic. The account follows:

The next morning we were up before five o'clock. We hurried up and while some saw that everything was put in order in the sleeping rooms, the others attended to the preparations for breakfast and the picnic. At six o'clock we all went to Mass except Miss Mary and Mrs. Skelley, who stayed on account of the cooking.

At seven all took breakfast; then Father and the boys went to see about hitching up the buggy, as Father did not want me to walk so far. At the same time it was a means of carrying the baskets and all that we wanted.

At about 8:30 the little caravane [*sic*] was ready to start, seventeen in all. The school teacher having to teach on that day was obliged to stay home, also the old Mr. Bowlling.

We took the baskets and a case of bottles of soda in the buggy, then Mother Ambrose not able to walk much either, got in with me and we followed those that were on foot. Father D'Haenens walked along side of us so as to watch where were the best places for us to pass as the roads were almost unpracticable. We had to go through timbers and creeks, or be terribly shaken on the big rocks that we met on the way and which could not be avoided.

After we had traveled over a mile—pretty near two—we were blockaded altogether by the thickness of the low branches of the big trees, and by many small trees. We passed a nice little Indian log-house. Father knew who lived there and told us to wait a few minutes while he went to the house. We were very much surprised to recognize the daughter of our famous stout woman. She came to us and told us this was their home and as she brought us, in the buggy, nearer the house we saw her papa, the Medicine Man, and the whole family. They told us that it was impossible to go any further in the buggy but to leave it there that it would be well taken care of, as well as the ponies.

Those who were on foot were far ahead of us; but Father had told the boys to mind when he would whistle, that would mean for them to look for him. He then whistled, the echo answered and a few minutes later our five youngsters were in sight and came running to Father D'Haenens, who showing them the baskets told them why we had stopped.

They understood quickly what that meant and taking first the dinner provisions ran again ahead of us. We had about one-half or three quarters of a mile to walk but had such a nice breeze that we did not feel any fatigue. The boys had already brought their load to the place of the picnic shown them by Miss Mary, who with Mrs. Skelley and the Sisters and girls was walking fast too.

Now our five little men were going back to get the pop and the ice and a few other bundles. They passed us again coming back as they wanted to be the first ones to reach the place. They had that satisfaction too, as they got ahead of all. They sat on the rocks waiting for the whole band, as glorious as soldiers sitting on the cannons after a victory.

We all met pretty soon. The first thing that struck our curious looks was an immense rock much higher than all the others. Father saw how we were admiring it so he told us to climb up with him, but forbade anyone to take another way of climbing up or go ahead of him, as it was very dangerous. The rocks being covered with moss and creeping plants one could slip down to the very bottom into the Spring River, where he could not be found were he or she drowned in it. We arrived at the summit which is not less than one hundred and fifty feet above the Spring River. Father threw some big stones into the river to show us more the height of the rock. He then repeated to us the legend attached to the rock. He had heard it himself from the old Indians of that place.[18]

The Legend Attached to the Rock Known as "Lover's Leap"

Many, many years ago, two young Indians fell in love and asked their parents permission to get married. But as the young girl was not of the same tribe as the young boy the parents could not consent and offered other parties to each one. Their love for each other was so strong and reciprocal that no other seemed to be able to replace the beloved. After many sollicitations [*sic*], seeing that they could not get the consent of either one's parents, they went to the chief of their respective tribes, but were not more successful. Then disappointment gave place to despair. They resolved to finish with life; they went home put on their finest dresses and adornments, probably all trimmed with beads and feathers. They were to meet on the rock where we were seated then, listening to Father D'Haenens, as the moon would enlighten the earth with its full light. Both met at the appointed time; they climbed up at the very top and there, swearing fidelity to each other, tied themselves together with a rope and holding each other's hands leaped down into the river as their parents were reaching the summit of the rock. When the latter reached the top they looked down and saw both bodies [fall] into the water. It was too late! No one would nor could dare to dive there, it was too dangerous on account not only of the rapidity of the current of the river but principally because it was full of pointed rocks, on which one would be killed if striking on them while plunging into the water.

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[18] A similar legend is common among the Osages. —Arthur H. Lamb, *Tragedies of the Osage Hills* (Pub. by The Osage Printery, Pawhuska, Oklahoma).

The poor old parents spent the night on the rock. They called it afterwards ''Lover's Leap'' in remembrance of the young couple. They did not want to believe their children when they said they would be united in death if not in life but both had remained faithful to each other.

The next morning as the sun sent its first rays over the river the faces of the old Indians were bent over the water and in their fascinated imagination they saw the bodies of their regretted children floating under the water. They looked at them until the water stirred by some evil spirit became troubled.

Then they returned home and told the sad story to all the others. All went in turn at the top of the rock and looking into the river thought they could see the floating bodies of the two lovers when the water was clear. Until now they imagine that they see the couple under the water.

''THE DEVIL'S PROMENADE AND THE BISCUIT WALK''

Now, said Father, the story is told, and we must descend more carefully and still slower that we ascended. We all gathered stones as souvenirs of that Lover's Leap Rock.

Once down we turned to the right and walked towards the *Devil's promenade.* The distance between the two places was about a quarter of a mile through beautiful woods. We gathered pretty wild flowers all the way long, fearing we would not have time to do so at night.

Father went ahead with the boys. We heard them calling us from under the rocks, yet we could not see the rocks as their tops were covered with trees and grass, about thirty feet over the Spring River. We were wondering where our men were when at a little curve we found ourselves before a kind of path made in the rock and not of very agreeable appearance. This path seemed to lead straight to the water. At first we hesitated to descend. Father saw our fear and came to help us along; hands and feet had to work hard to avoid the dreaded false steps which in a moment would have thrown us for an eternal sleep in the river.

Fortunately, at half-way there was a turn that favored us for the rest of the descent, probably it was to encourage us for the terrible ascension we had to make afterwards to get on the Devil's promenade. ''It bears well its name.''

We were now at the very bottom of the pathway and on the very edge of the Spring River. Here was the ''Devil's Promenade and the Biscuits Walk.'' Father and the boys were up on the latter making us sign to get on too; but my! how to get there?

For children again it was passable but for ladies, and more so for Sisters, we thought it was terrible. There was a long walk on rocks right in the middle of these so that one-half—the one on which we were to get on—was rooted into the water and the other half was hanging over the walk.

At the place where we stood, the walk was about four feet high; there was no other means but to jump up and again that was not all: getting on the rock, both halves of it were separated by a space of not more than ten inches, about eighteen inches wide. This was a risky attempt. Sisters Clare, Agnes and Leo being very thin and small, except the latter who is tall, passed like children. But after all my experiences of the year in bed and at the hospital I did not feel like making those athletic exercises. Yet, Mother Ambrose and Sister Maurice would not go without me and the others wanted to come down.

Father came to see what was the matter and hearing the objections, jumped down and disappeared for a few minutes, after which he returned with some kind of a ladder which he fixed into the water as far as he could to avoid us the crawling between the rocks. But we could not avoid it as the water was too deep for the small ladder to be pushed any further. However, we were satisfied of not having to jump on the rock; we crawled between the two as all the others had done and to their great satisfaction.

The boys were running up and down the walk which was not less than three hundred feet long, except at a few places where the space was narrower, the width was about eight to ten feet. Therefore, there was plenty of place to stand and walk without exposing one's self to falling into the river, as this walk was right on the border.

As we could see on the upper rocks, by the names and dates of other picnics, many had visited this place and many years before us.[19]

It is a curiosity as well as a splendid place for a picnic. It is called the ''Devil's Biscuit Walk'' and on our inquiry we were told

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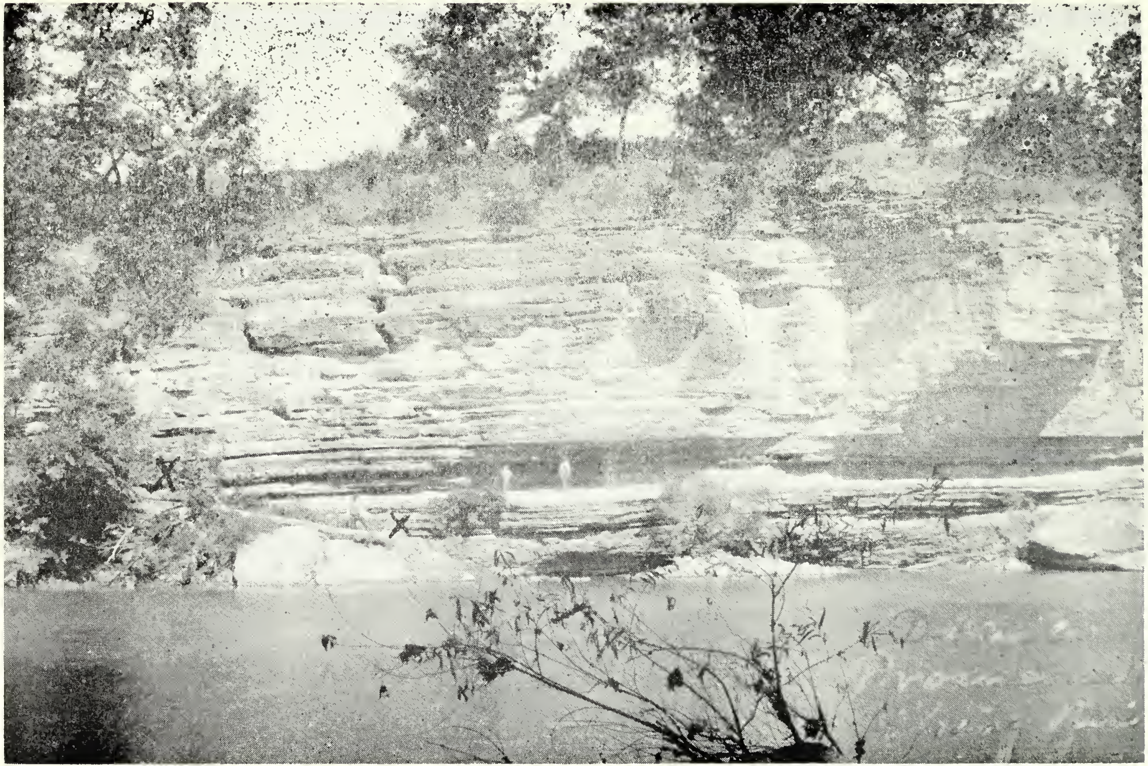
[19] The place is today a favorite picnic spot. What Sister did not mention, nor may have known, the Indians speak of a cave beneath the big rock which they enter by boat when the water is low.



(Photo from Sister Laurence's book)

"Devil's Promenade," Spring River (Lower ledge on river bluff with figures)

that it is another supposition of the imagination of the poor Indians holding so much to their ancestors' traditions.

It seems that in older times their forefathers when first discovering this place, used to hide in the cavities of the rocks—some look as if worked on by the sculptor. Then if their purpose was bad, as for instance to kill or rob the travelers, the devil would appear and either encourage them from the top of the rocks or come and walk along to warn the Indians of the approach of the white people who dared to step on their grounds.

Then they supposed this to be the devil's best place when he was tired to come and take a good rest of mind and body. Hence they called it the "devil's promenade."

For the other name "Biscuits walk," according to another imaginary Indian belief, it seems that one day the devil took a fancy to come and cook biscuits on those rocks; he addressed the rocks in his own language and the rock became hollow as to facilitate the kneading. The bottom of the rock got as hot as an oven, and Sir Devil was delighted with his work. But as the biscuits were almost cooked, the river rose and in spite of all the Devil's commands and supplication to the water and the rocks, the biscuits were soon covered by the flood and the Devil had to run off to escape being drowned too. He came back at night but the river was high yet. He came again the next morning and several times during the next day but no sight of the biscuits. The day after this he came again; the water had gone down, but the biscuits were transformed into stones and breaking one he recognized his own eye engraved in the middle of it.

This is one of the many superstitious beliefs of those poor, ignorant Indians; but the fact is that these stones are shaped like biscuits; we wanted to see if we could find the devil's eye in them and breaking many we found eyes in all. The upper and lower parts of the rocks were like jelly-cakes. We were ready to break some when Father reminded us it was time to see how and where we would take dinner. We walked to the very end to examine well where would be the best place and decided to fix up at the very beginning, after the famous crawling spot. All agreed to this as it seemed to be the coolest place, the rock itself being suspended over our heads forming a roof or shelter.

The children amused themselves breaking biscuits; At every one they would run to show them to us, making collections for us all. While gathering stones they were very much amused and we were to hear the double echoes repeating all they said; then Father would go at a distance to call the children who would answer and the contrast of the voices was really wonderful.

When ready we called for dinner. All came quickly as hunger was knocking at the door of all, especially the children.

Father said the "Benedicite" and took his seat on the rock. We all imitated his example, forming a large circle around him. I had brought him one hundred of those small chinese napkins which were very handy on that day. Mrs. Skelley built an Indian fire on the edge of the rock to heat the coffee while we were taking dinner.

Did Sir Devil come to blow on it, or shake the thin branches? We could not tell as we saw no one, but as we were eating we heard something crack and tumble behind us. As we looked we saw the fire and the coffee pot go down into the water. A long "oh" was heard; but had to do without coffee; and the most grieved about this loss was Mother Ambrose who can not do very well without coffee, suffering as she does with headache. We had a hearty laugh over that and teased Mrs. Skelley for her fire.

After dinner Father took a sheet of paper and wrote down the names of all present on that day at the Devil's Promenade, not failing to relate the accident about the coffee pot, making a little report very interesting. Then he took an empty bottle of pickles, rolled his paper and fixed it into the bottle which he corked hermetically and threw into the water. We watched it until the current carried it out of our sight. To this day we wonder where it might have stopped and who could have picked it up.

After that Father said Graces, then we picked up the dishes and put everything away for supper. We then walked up and down admiring the height and enormity of those rocks, ready at every instant to bury us under them as many of them have already fallen and filled the bottom of the Spring river. Still this did not seem to scare us so much. What we feared was to see some of our young folk miss their step and fall into the water, especially our little Johnnie who was so fidgety. We were opposite the "Lover's Leap" and had a full view of this tremendous rock when suddenly the children took a notion of going back of it. They asked Miss Mary to take them so as to be sure of obtaining our permission. They begged so much and promised to behave so well, that it was difficult to refuse them. Father went also so as to leave us free for a while. During that time as nearly all of us owed letters to our friends we sat and wrote; some just for the pleasure of doing so from that place. We had thought of this beforehand and had brought with us all that was necessary. But as soon as the others reached the "Lover's Leap" they began to call us, one after the other; we had to give up our correspondence to answer them and return their signs. . . . .

Our little Johnnie had succeeded in getting a whole one [biscuit] and it was not easy to make him consent to give it to Father although the latter promised him all sorts of things, as he wished to have a whole one to have it sawed in two and keep as a curiosity. We coaxed our little man so much that he finally gave it to Father on condition that he would show it to him, once sawed, which was accepted.

During that time, the other little boys, seeing that we were busy with Johnnie, disappeared. What were our surprise and terror when we perceived them in a small skiff going down the river! We called, Father whistled, but they were unable to stop or answer. They had just succeeded in turning the boat towards the rocks when Johnnie flew to them, but what did he do? he got in, too, and we saw them again, except little Joseph, in the middle of the river and finally they reached the other side where they had a first-class fright. There was an Indian, the owner of the boat watching them but hidden among the bushes; as soon as they landed he caught them and made them give him all they had. Felix had fifty cents in his pocket. He hurried to give it. Johnnie and Charlie were crying, Eddie was half-dead with fright. The worse was that the man talked only by signs. He showed them the skiff and the place where they had taken it, making them understand that they could get in to come back and tie the boat, but making at the same time, threatening signs to them if they did not obey him. Our little boys did not lose time to get in the skiff and come back; they considered themselves happy to escape the Indian's anger so easily; they were ashamed and afraid to come to us.

As they arrived they pretended to be tired and hungry; asked us if we wanted some fresh water and offered to go and get it for us; all this to get over their scare. We did not suspect anything and were too glad of their offer. They went off jumping and laughing and soon were back with a bucket of water as cold as ice which they had gotten from a well on an Indian family's ground, not far from where we were. We drank, filled our empty pop bottles with water and sent the boys to return the bucket. Joseph and Johnnie remained but the latter could not keep any longer what had happened to them. As we represented to them the danger they had run they told us then how they had been scared and that they wanted to hide it from us because they were ashamed to have been afraid, and on the point of crying at the thought that they could have been killed by that angry Indian. They were very nervous and it was no trouble to make them promise to be more careful and obedient in the future.

Meanwhile the others returned and seeing the consternation of the two young ones, understood that their escape had been made known to us. They were not in a hurry now to run to us but slowly reached where we were seated. On our request they told us how they had gotten into the skiff and what a hard time they had to row. They wanted to cross over only to see what the other side looked like, never suspecting they would be met by that Indian who scared them out of their wits. Poor boys! they had not gotten over their fright while relating their experience with that red faced man. Father D'Haenens arrived and hearing what had happened gave them a good lecture. They promised that they would never do such a thing over again. At Father's suggestion supper was served, then it was time to think of returning home. The boys grabbed the empty baskets and started ahead, jumping, screaming and shouting to hear the reverberation of that double echo before leaving that wonderful Devil's Promenade. They had already forgotten the terrors of the crossing of the river. Happy age! When hearts are young and light, ignoring what the great future has in store for them! They crawled beneath the rock and jumped down like rubber balls, watching to see us when it would be our turn to get under the rock and jump down, but we sent them away. . . . .

On Father's whistle the boys immediately appeared at the winding of the road. Their quick appearance confirmed our opinion that they were watching us. They did not try to conceal it either for when spoken of it, burst into a big laugh. Boys will be boys! Father gave them the ladder to be brought back to the same place where they had gotten the bucket of water. We went up the same little road we had been through before with a last look at all the beauties we had admired all day, especially that Lover's Leap rock which had attracted our first gaze in the morning. . . . . Our youngsters were already ahead of us, we could watch their frolics and hear their merry laughters and songs. We kept on picking here and there pretty wild flowers, moss and stones, gradually arriving at the place where we had left buggy and ponies. Those good Indians were hitching up, guessing well that we could not be very long before returning. When we got there they wanted us in their home but Father made them understand that we had far to go and could not stop. They all came, grown and little folks to give us their traditional mark of welcome and friendship. Now we were great friends with them!

Mother Ambrose and I took our same places in the buggy as in the morning. Mrs. Skelley got in to drive. Father walked along with the others. We drove slowly so as to keep up with those on foot. The buggy and the ponies were covered with wild greens and flowers. We arrived at the hill opposite the *St. Mary's of the Quapaws Church and School.* We uttered a big exclamation of relief as we knew then that we were only at a short distance from our destination. Those walking were especially happy to arrive to rest, though we all felt the fatigue of the day and were glad to get home.

The children had reached the house a good while already when we arrived; they were relating all the events of the day, giving an account of their adventure in the skiff. . . . . As they ended the story, Father told them to help Mr. Bowlling with the cleaning and unhitching of the ponies and buggy as he had to go to Baxter Springs the next morning to get some provisions, and his mail. They went on as though they had not made a step that day, happy youth, while they were as tired as could be and soon had retired, yet not before playing tricks on one another.

Father had told us to sleep late and rest well the next day. He said his Mass early that morning and we were scarcely down stairs, had just taken our coffee that he was at the door already, back from Baxter Springs. He laughed at our surprise when he told us that his Mass had been said since 4 A. M. Felix Miles had gone with him to be able to take the early train and return to Vinita as he had promised his big brothers.

We went to Church to say our prayers and on our return helped to prepare the table. Breakfast was ready, all did honor to it; then all got together again to clean up and put everything in order. Father had left the buggy ready intending to go later with the boys to return the empty pop bottles to Baxter. We stayed home that morning helping with the preparations for dinner and other details then in our spare time did a little writing, taking notes of all the legends we had heard about the Devil's Promenade and other incidentals. At noon Father returned with the boys, loaded with bread, meat, canned goods, etc. Poor Father D'Haenens! he surely did not spare anything to make our stay of pleasant memory. He said he was to spend every cent of the fifty dollars Bishop Meerschaert had left him for our sojourn, yet we had brought so much that he feared he could not spend that amount so he said that there was only one thing for him to do and that was to keep the Sisters until the last cent was gone. But we felt convinced that he had even spent some of his own and yet was afraid he had not done enough.

At about one o'clock dinner was served. . . . . After dinner we all went to take a nap until about three o'clock; we then got up refreshed ourselves and went down to enjoy a big freezer of ice cream and fine cakes. The children had gone to bathe and play in the creek down the hill but at Father's whistle they were soon in sight and back to get their share of the delicious treat, but as they were barefooted and not in their Sunday attire, Father sent them to eat their cream in the yard which was not minded in the least by the youngsters. After all had had their heart's content of the fine delicatessen we congratulated Father who had made the cream, the first we tasted without being cooked, then cleared everything and went to church for our visit, the recitation of the rosary, office and our meditation. . . . .

When we had finished, ... we came down and joined the others who were taking a walk down the hill. The water in the creek was so clear that Mrs. Skelley who had just returned also, suggested wading, which was adopted by all and in a jiffy shoes and stockings were off and all were enjoying the sport. We were alone, Father and the boys being in another direction, so we played just like children in that creek. We then dried our feet on the grass, put back our stockings and shoes and returned to the school grounds refreshed, light and merry as birds.

Father called for supper, we took it cold even those who drank tea. The others enjoyed the rich, creamy milk.

We spent the evening on the gallery talking, joking and enjoying Father's talk as he related all about his happy days of college and at Louvain where he too played many an innocent trick.[20] It was soon time to say our night prayers and retire. . . . . The next morning when the alarm went off no one felt like rising. But we braced ourselves and soon the sound of bells came to our ears. Father had collected as many as he could find and was ringing them in order to wake us up. But we were up already, then at the pitch of his voice he announced that in ten minutes he would say his Mass. "All right" came our answer "we'll be there" and we were too. We all received Holy Communion, being Wednesday, our day. After our thanksgiving we went home where breakfast was ready and served. Those who were to leave did not have much time to lose, consequently did not talk very much.

Our valises were brought down, we left the trunk for the other Sisters who were to leave a week later. The little hack was ready for us. . . . . Before leaving his house we thanked him [Father D'Haenens] for all his kindness, for all the pleasures he had procured us during our sojourn at the mission. "That's enough, that's enough" was his reply to all we said "the pleasure was mine as well as yours. I enjoyed you being here more than you did yourselves. I only wish you could come and take charge of my school." It was with great emotion and tears in our eyes that we uttered the word "Good Bye" which was to be a farewell for this world, awaiting the big "welcome" when we shall all meet on the other shore.[21]

We told goodbye to Sisters Clare, Mechtilde, M. Agnes and Leo, to Teresa, Eddie and Johnnie, to our little Annie who wanted to follow us so as to see her dear papa; then, as I said above, Father got in the hack with us and drove us to Quapaw station where we arrived just on time for the train. We said a quick, last Adios to Father and got on where we bought our tickets from the conductor. At 10:30 A.M. we were in Vinita. Some of cur children greeted us at the station, our faithful Willie Lemon was there also and took charge of our baggage as he walked home with us. The Sisters and children named above remained one week longer and enjoyed trips through the country places around Quapaw, gathering wild flowers which they pressed for souvenir pictures, as some are found in this very copy.

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[20] Father D'Heanens was born in Belgium, near Ghent. He was educated in the American College of Louvain, which he entered in the autumn of 1897, and was ordained priest there July 15, 1900. The same year he came to Oklahoma and was appointed assistant at Vinita, where he stayed until November 26, 1901 when he became rector of the Indian Mission at Quapaw, Indian Territory.—*The Orphans' Record*, Vol. 1, No. 9 (September 1915), p. 270.

[21] The Sisters were leaving Indian Territory to return to the Motherhouse at New Orleans, Louisiana.

Here ends the story of our delightful trip to Quapaw. I will love to read it from time to time and live again the happy hours spent on that beautiful Indian Territory Hill. It might interest also some friends who perchance may read it.

May our Good Lord and our Blessed Mother, St. Mary of the Quapaws, bless the dear Reverend Maurice D'Haenens, beloved pastor of those good and simple Indians! May they bless his flock and make his work fruitful among those souls confided to his care! God grant us the happiness of meeting our dear Bishop and all our devoted priests of the Territory here once more in this world but if this be denied us, may He reunite us all in Heaven where there will be no more adieus, no more separation.

THE SIGN LANGUAGE OF THE PLAINS INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA

*By Jerell R. Walker**

Signs and gestures have been used from the earliest recorded times either as a substitute for speech or in order to supplement speech. In many occupations today signs are used much more conveniently than words. Sounds are often impractical because of noise, distance or the need for silence. Social relationships, even in our modern time, are facilitated by the use of nonvocal communication.[1]

The Plains Indians, as generally referred to in this paper, are the Indians who used the sign language and who lived between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains, and from the Frazer River in British Columbia to the Rio Grande River in the South.

According to Walter Prescott Webb the Plains have remained a cultural unit.[2] Within this cultural unit there are thirty-one tribes of Indians. The eleven typical tribes are the Assiniboin, Arapaho, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Comanche, Crow, Gros Ventre, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Sarsi, Teton-Dakota.

The sign language, according to Hodge's *Handbook of American Indians,* apparently was never used west of the Rocky Mountains except among the Nez Perces or other Indians who were accustomed to periodic hunting trips on the Plains.[3]

Picture-writing the world over, as well as in the North American continent, probably grew out of sign language thus giving us three stages of development. (1) Sign language, (2) Pictographs and (3) Alphabet.[4]

The English scientist, Sir Richard Paget, has estimated that "the human hand is about 20,000 times more versatile than the mouth."[5] He further theorized that by the aid of the arms and fingers it would be possible to produce over 70,000 distinct elementary signs while the maximum number of mouth gestures is 144.

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[1] Davidson, Levette J., "Some Current Folk Gestures And Sign Languages", *American Speech,* XXV (No. I, Feb., 1950), p. 3.

[2] Walter P. Webb, *The Great Plains* (Dallas, 1931), p. 50.

[3] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Lewis Francis Hadley: 'The Long-Haired Sign Talker' ", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVII, No. I (Spring, 1949-50), p. 41.

[4] Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, *The North Americans of Yesterday* (New York, 1901), p. 49.

[5] Waldemar Kaempffert, *The New York Times,* "The Week In Science: Speaking With The Hands", (March 15, 1936) Vol. XI, 6:2.

There has been a great deal of speculation concerning the origin of the language of gestures. It is fairly well established that the specific origin is not known. Several men have made extensive studies of the sign language. Perhaps the two most notable men are Captain William Philo Clark and Garrick Mallery.

Lewis F. Hadley, who at one time lived in what later became Western Oklahoma, made a study of the sign language. He said, referring to the development and origin of the Indian sign language:[6]

> My idea is that the Indian Sign Language is of a natural growth; a creation of necessity when we recognize the hundreds of their distinct languages, to say nothing of the numerous dialects of each, we must perceive that no one Indian tongue could be very widespread; that one could not travel continuously and meet people of the same speech.
>
> And the circumstances of the Western plains and mountain Indians who followed Buffalo from one feeding ground to another over vast regions of country would tend to bring different tribes into the same locality, and as they could not understand each other's words, it is but natural to suppose that some means of communication would grow to become intelligible.

Captain Clark goes into the origin of the sign language in some detail:[7]

> That we find no positive evidence of the existence and use of gesture speech does not necessarily show that there was none, [indicating the status of the Eastern tribes in former times] as is shown by the following notable examples. Circumstances forced Lewis and Clarke [*sic*] in their exploration of the then unknown West to spend the winter of 1804-5 with the Mandans, Gros Ventres, and Arickarees in their village on the Missouri, only a short distance below the present site of their camp at Fort Berthold. During the winter the Cheyennes and Sioux visited this village, and there can be no doubt that gesture speech was daily and hourly used by the members of these tribes as it is today when they meet, but no mention is made of the fact, and not until these explorers met the Shoshones near the headwaters of the Missouri do we find any note made of signs being used. If these explorers who entered so minutely into the characteristics of the Indians in their writings failed to make a record of this language, I do not think it very surprising that earlier investigations should have, under less favorable auspices, also neglected it.
>
> I have called attention to the lack of any systematic code of gestures among the Algonquins, and given some idea of the great geographical area covered by their language, and I believe this to be the reason for the non-culture and lack of general use of signs
>
> The condition of affairs in the South was, however, much more favorable to the growth or perfection of gesture speech than in the North, for there were many different vocal languages spoken by the various tribes in that section.

In 1885 Captain W. P. Clark made the observation that during the last 100 to 150 years the following tribes had had determined centers, if not of origin, certainly of perfection and propagation of gesture speech: (1) Cheyennes and Arapahoes; (2) Mandans, Gros Ventres and Arickarees; (3) Crows; (4) Blackfeet; (5) Kiowas and Apaches.[8]

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[6] Lewis F. Hadley, *Indian Sign Talk* (Chicago, 1893), Preface.

[7] W. P. Clark, *The Indian Sign Language* (Philadelphia, 1885), pp. 11-13.

Colonel Richard Irving Dodge believed, as did the Plains Indians, that the sign language was invented by the Kiowas who held an intermediate position between the Southern and Northern Plains tribes.[9]

William Tomkins, another student of the sign language, stated that records of the landings of Columbus and the recordings of Coronado and Cabrillo showed that Indians at that time conversed by means of signs. Tomkins book, *Universal Indian Sign Language of The Plains Indians Of North America,* contains a significant statement made by Dr. William H. Corbusier, a Surgeon in the U. S. Army and a deep student of Indian affairs, who said in 1878: "The traditions of the Indians point towards the South as the direction from which the sign language came. The Comanches acquired it in Mexico; The Plains Indians did not invent it." This quotation expresses virtually the same opinion which Captain Clark expressed as to the origin of the sign language.[10]

The use of signs or gestures as a cultivated art founded upon natural principles served a very useful purpose for the Plains Indians.[11] This non-vocal communication enabled each Indian nation to converse with one another intelligibly. Warriors of different tribes could communicate at long distances, alliances among themselves could be made for attacks on enemies, and attacks could be arranged for upon settlers and travelers.[12]

Since almost all Indians are known for their reticence, it was surprising to J. Lee Humfreville to note that the Indians would sit for hours and hours and converse in the sign language with much rapidity.[13] Captain Clark was associated closely with the Cheyennes, Crows, Sioux, Bannocks, Assiniboins, Gros Ventres of the Prairie, Mandans, Arickarees and other tribes of the Northern Plains. He discovered that to have the Indians first make the gesture was an absolute necessity. If a white man makes a sign to an Indian in a certain way, the chances are ten to one that he will return it in the same way, even though he has never seen it before.[14]

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[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

[9] Colonel Richard Irving Dodge, *Our Wild Indians: Thirty-Three Years' Personal Experience Among The Red Men of The Great West* (Hartford, 1882), p. 385.

[10] William Tomkins, *Universal Indian Sign Language Of The Plains Indians Of North America* (San Diego, 1929), p. 89.

[11] Garrick Mallery, *Introduction To The Study Of Sign Language Among The North American Indians* (Washington, 1880), p. 2.

[12] J. Lee Humfreville, *Twenty Years Among Our Savage Tribes* (Hartford, 1897), p. 155.

[13] *Ibid.*, 153.

Garrick Mallery, an ethnologist, observed that thoughts could be communicated rapidly by the use of signs. He said:[15]

> When highly cultivated [the sign language] its rapidity on familiar subjects exceeds that of speech and approaches to that of thought itself. This statement may be startling to those who only notice that a selected spoken word may convey in an instant a meaning for which the motions of even an expert in signs may require a much longer time, but it must be considered that oral speech is now wholly conventional, and that with the similar development of sign language conventional expressions with hands and body could be made more quickly than with the vocal organs, because more organs could be worked at one time.

A case in point of the discontinuance of the gesture language is the development of the Chinook language or jargon in southern Oregon which resulted as a consequence of the trade of the Kalapuyas Indians with foreign people.[16]

Mallery further illustrated that signs have been abbreviated as in the case of a Cheyenne conveying the meaning of *old man* to him. The Indian held his right hand forward, bent at the elbow, fingers and thumb closed sidewise. This did not seem to convey any sense so he found a long stick, bent his back, and supported his frame in a tottering step by the stick held, as was before only imagined. There at once was an old age dependent on a staff.[17]

Clark observed many signs which disappeared with new developments:[18]

> Before the introduction of the coffee-mill among the Indians, coffee was represented as a *grain*, or more elaborately by describing the process of preparing and drinking the beverage. The little coffee-mill killed off these gestures at once, and the motion made as though turning the crank of the mill to grind the parched berry is to-day understood as meaning *coffee* by nearly all the Plains tribes.

There are certain modal divisions which Garrick Mallery made of the gesture language. He divided the signs of the Indians into innate and invented; developed and abridged; radical and derivative; (1) Indicative, as directly as possible of the object intended; (2) Imitative, representing it by configurative drawing; (3) Operative, referring to actions and (4) Expressive, being chiefly facial.[19]

Signals should be mentioned along with signs because they were a prominent part of the communication on the Plains. Mallery said with reference to signals that: "Signals may be executed, first by bodily action; second, by action of the person in connection with objects, such as a blanket, or a lance, or the direction imparted to a horse; third by various devices, such as smoke, fire or dust, when the person of the signalist is not visible.''[20]

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[14] Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.
[15] Mallery, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
[16] *Ibid.*, 12.
[17] *Ibid.*, 55.
[18] Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
[19] Mallery, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

An amazing example of the use of signals is the statement made that the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians knew of the death of General Custer the next morning after he was killed. By the use of the familiar signals such as flaming arrows and tom-tom beats one tribe signaled another tribe until the news was passed.[21]

T. R. Davis says that:[22]

> One of Custer's scouts, an interpreter named Gay, rode out and made first "peace", then "circle" sign. The peace sign is made by riding toward the party with whom it is desired to communicate, making the horse take a zig-zag course. I do not know how to describe it better than to say that the course of the horse would resemble a Virginia rail fence. The "council" sign is made by riding in a circle, then forward, circling again, and so on.

In later times a few Indian tribes like the Sioux had a system of heliograph signals conveyed by use of mirrors. Drum signals for calling the Indians together on ceremonial occasions were almost universal among tribes. Signal calls were in general use among the Eastern tribes.[23]

Major-General Hugh Lenox Scott was one of the notable contributors to the study of the sign language. He was puzzled for many years as to the correct sign for ''Arapaho'', which is expressed by touching the breast at three points from left to right. Scott's study concerning this one sign shows how difficult it is to arrive at the exact meaning of signs:[24]

> The Cheyenne and Sioux name for Arapaho-Sky Blue-offered no solution. After I went to Washington in 1902 I searched for some clue in the dictionaries of the Indian language. In Crow the word for Arapaho means many tattoos. At last I had my answer. The Indians picked their skins with porcupine quills until the blood came, then covered the incisions with powdered charcoal. The tattoo markings that resulted were sky blue. Elsewhere I read that the Arapahoes were tattooed on the breast in three places. It took me twenty-five years to get to the bottom of this one sign.

Each tribe had a sign which designated the name of the group. The following tribal signs are described by Randolph B. Marcy: Comanche, or ''Snake'' is indicated by making a waving motion with the hand. The Cheyenne, or ''Cut-Arm'', is made by drawing the hand across the arm. The Arapahoes, or ''Smellers'', are indicated by seizing the nose with the thumb and forefinger. The Sioux, or ''Cut-throats'', are indicated by drawing the hand across the throat. The Pawnees, or ''Wolves'', make their sign by placing a hand on each side of the forehead, with two fingers pointing to the front. The Crows, give their sign by flapping the palms of their hands.[25]

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[20] J. W. Powell (Director), *First Annual Report*, Bureau of Ethnology (1879-1880), "Sign Language Among North American Indians" by Garrick Mallery (Washington, 1881), p. 529.

[21] Jeff D. Randolph (Interview), *Indian-Pioneer History*, Foreman Collection, Vol. VIII, p. 310 (Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society).

[22] T. R. Davis, "A Summer On The Plains", *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. XXXVI (No. 213, Feb., 1868), p. 302.

[23] Robinson Johnson (Whirling Thunder), "Some 200 Signs Used Effectively In Indian Sign Language", *The American Indian*, Vol. IV, No. 4 (Jan., 1930), p. 14.

[24] Elsie Weil, *The New York Times*, "Preserving The Indian Sign Language", July 5, 1931, Vol. VIII, 8:1.

Colonel Dodge shows that while the Cheyennes and Arapahoes have been the firmest friends for sixty years yet they do not understand each other in their respective languages.[26] It would seem that since one of the languages is easier that it would have eventually been adopted by both tribes for intercommunication.[27] Many of the Indians were almost as little versed in the use of signs as ordinary white people. This was especially true of the Utes.[28] Dodge met a few Plains Indians, who, though brought up with the sign language, had never arrived at sufficient knowledge of the language to converse in it.[29] He had never seen a woman, child or young man who was at all reliable with signs.[30]

A popular misconception concerning the sign language has been challenged by Garrick Mallery. He has shown that abstract as well as concrete ideas may be expressed in the sign language.[31]

Another popular error is the assertion that there is *one* universal sign language. Mallery made the statement that this was not necessarily true for:[32]

> In numerous instances there is an entire discrepancy between the signs made by different bodies of Indians to express the same idea; and if any of these are regarded as determinate, or even widely conventional, and used without further devices, they will fail in conveying the desired impression to any one unskilled in gesture as an art, who had not formed the same precise conception or been instructed in the arbitrary motion.

Two Arapahoes could not thoroughly comprehend each other in the dark without the intervention of the sign language. Their language was evidently very difficult to acquire.[33]

The Mandan and Gros Ventre tribes spoke their respective languages fluently yet they understood the language of the opposite better. It was not uncommon to see a Mandan questioning in his own language and receiving an answer in Gros Ventre.[34]

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[25] Randolph B. Marcy, *Thirty Years Of Army Life On the Border* (New York, 1866), p. 33.

[26] Dodge, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 383-4.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 384.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 390.

[31] Mallery, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[33] Lieutenant H. R. Lemly, "Among The Arrapahoes", *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. LX, No. 358, 32 (March, 1880), pp. 497-8.

Major Stephen Long related that the ''Kiawa'' [*sic*] and ''Kaskaia'' [*sic*] languages, although associated together, did not understand each other except by signs.[35]

Tribes along the Thirty-fifth Parallel generally understood the Caddo language but they were not willing to converse with white men except through signs and interpreters. They felt that it was beneath their dignity to speak out of their native tongue although some of them could speak Spanish.[36]

Various explorers, travelers, preachers, traders and army men have given recognition in their writings to the presence of the sign language among the Plains Indians of North America. Randolph B. Marcy in his *Adventure On Red River* said that the sign language was used by all the tribes from the Gila to the Columbia River.[37]

The Reverend A. J. Holt, a pioneer Baptist preacher who worked among the Comanches, said '' . . . . One can learn the sign language and can travel among any of these Wild Indians and make his wants and wishes known thereby.''[38]

Joseph Kossuth Dixon described the Indian council in the valley of the Little Big Horn in Montana. Here the Indian chiefs such as Plenty Coups, Mountain Chief and White Horse talked in sign language by means of interpreters.[39]

Israel G. Vore believed that the sign language was very inadequate as a means for expressing the gospel story. He said:[40]

> I know exactly how expressive and inspiring it is. It does not represent letters or words, but things. It is very meager—God's truth can neither be proclaimed or illustrated in it. The very idea to those who understand it is terribly absurd. I am no missionary—No minister of the Gospel—No Writeist, ... the fault is my education. I graduated among the Indians of the Indian Territory, —my studies never reached grammar. . . . .

Chittenden and Richardson mentioned this mute language, the sign language, which may be styled a language of defense and caution.

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[34] Washington Matthews, *Ethnography And Philology of the Hidasta Indians* (Washington, 1877), pp. 17-18.

[35] Major Stephen H. Long, *Account of An Expedition From Pittsburgh To The Rocky Mountains* (Compiled by Edwin James), II, (Philadelphia, 1823), p. 186.

[36] J. W. Palmer, "The Tribes of The Thirty-Fifth Parallel", *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* Vol. XVII, No. 100, 451 (August, 1858), p. 451.

[37] Randolph B. Marcy, *Adventure On Red River* (Edited by Grant Foreman), (Norman, 1937), p. 168.

[38] A. J. Holt, *Pioneering In The Southwest* (Nashville, 1923), p. 134.

[39] Joseph Kossuth Dixon, *The Vanishing Race* (Philadelphia, 1925), pp. 9, 10, 191 ff.

[40] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Israel G. Vore And Levering Manual Labor School", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1947-8), p. 206.

Their hieroglyphic buffalo-robes often contained the narrative of important events. This, however, was not because they did not have the proper words in their various dialects.[41]

There is an amazing similarity between the language of signs and that of deaf-mutes. Even the great German philosopher Kant held the idea that the mind of a deaf-mute was incapable of development.[42] Captain Clark stated that he had seen a little child three years of age hold up his tiny hands and carry on a conversation with the deaf-mute parents.[43]

Professor Webb has summed up the principal differences between the language of the deaf and that of the sign language used by the Plains Indians. (1) The Indians made much wider gestures than do the deaf-mutes. (2) Indians used their arms more than the deaf-mutes. (3) Indians repeated their signs more often. (4) Indians used both hands more than the deaf. (5) The Indians endeavored to keep the back part of the hand toward the observer.[44]

Marcy observed the similarity of the sign and deaf-mute communications so that he was able to say:[45]

> This pantominic vocabulary which is exceedingly graceful and significant, when oral communication is impracticable, constitutes the court language of the Plains; and, what was a fact of much astonishment to me, I discovered that it was nearly the same as that practiced by the mutes of our deaf and dumb institutions that I visited. For example, there were some five or six boys directed to take their places at the blackboards and interpret what I proposed to say. I then, by pantominic signs, told them that I went on a buffalo hunt, saw a herd, chased them on horseback, fired my gun and killed one, cut it up, ate some of the meat, and went to sleep—every word of which was written down upon the blackboard by each boy as rapidly as the signs were made, excepting that all made the common mistake of taking the buffalo for deer.

We have seen that the sign language served a useful purpose on the Plains of the United States. It was well adapted to the cultural pattern of the Plains Indians; especially in connection with their methods of warfare. We have found that the use of gestures are not absent in our society today. The sign language was shortened and changed so that it has virtually become extinct for all practical purposes.

In conclusion it must be remembered that all which has been said in this paper about the sign language should be tempered with the fact which Mallery so forcefully stressed. The fact is " . . . . that in the collection and description of Indian signs there is danger lest the civilized understanding of the original conception be mistaken or forced."[46]

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[41] Hiram Martin Chittenden and Alfred Talbot Richardson, *Life, Letters And Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J.*, Vol. II (New York, 1905), p. 681.

[42] Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[44] Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[45] Marcy, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

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[46] Mallery, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

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TEXANNA

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

Several towns in Oklahoma acquired their names by combining part of the word Texas with other syllables: one of them was Texanna, now a ghost town in McIntosh County. The village was settled by the band of Cherokee Indians who located there after being driven out of Texas in 1839.[1] An everlasting spring on the site of the village was one reason for the settlement at this place.

There is something fascinating about the name Texanna. It causes one to wonder just who was the young Anna honored, and did she move to the Indian country from Texas. Although enquiry was made by the writer no certainty as to the origin of the name has been learned. One man who was born in the village recalls that the name had some connection with a girl.

In the early nineteenth century The Bowle, a chief of the Cherokees, became dissatisfied in the Cherokee Nation East, and with a number of followers emigrated to the West and settled for a short period north of Red River. Still not contented with the surroundings, with the aid of General Sam Houston he secured a patent of land from the Mexican government. In 1818 he settled on a tract thirty by sixty miles in extent, north of Nacodoches, Texas. Other Cherokees, some Shawnees and Delawares joined the Cherokees and lived there until Texas declared her independence and Governor Mirabeau B. Lamar drove the Indians out of the country, and, although The Bowle had taken no part in the controversy, he lost his life. His fellow colonists, compelled to leave, were scattered between Red River and the Arkansas on the Washita, Blue and Boggy rivers.

The Choctaws objected to their presence and almost all of the refugees located on the Canadian River near Edward's Trading Settlement. In 1840, one hundred and eighty Cherokees arrived from Texas in a starving state at Dutch's settlement above the mouth of the Canadian River. The fine old Cherokee Dutch[2] went to Fort Gibson in their behalf, and induced Colonel Matthew Arbuckle to furnish them with food.[3]

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[1] Charles N. Gould, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman, 1933), p. 88. Texanna in the southeast corner of McIntosh County, Oklahoma, west of Porum is on or near the Canadian River.

[2] Captain William Dutch, whose proper name was Tahchee, was one of the most active and well known Cherokees. For a sketch of this famous Indian see, Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Dutch," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1949), pp. 252-67.

[3] Grand Foreman (ed.) *A Traveler in Indian Territory,* (Cedar Rapids, 1930), p. 256; Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), p. 166.

Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock in his diary of his travels in the Indian Territory confused The Bowle with Bowles the notorious white man who caused so much trouble among the Indians in the East before their removal to their home in the West.

From Texana, September 29, 1840, James Moss wrote to Honorable Joseph Waples as follows:[4]

> "Dear Sir: yours of the 16th came to hand bringing the cheering intelligence of my wife's Brother having been purchased in by the Indian agent [William Wilson] of the U. S. at fort Towson—My brother in law Benjamin Pearce left here some time about the last of June to go to Fort Towson having heard that there was a boy of that name brought in there. But we have heard nothing since from either [of] them and had dispaired of the news. But I think it is likely Benjamin had reached there ere this time and got his Brother."

The place at the mouth of the Canadian River was owned by R. M. Morgan who was wounded near Fort Gibson during the Civil War in a raid on a house in which two Federal Indians were fortified. He died and was buried near Texanna in 1863.[5]

On March 8, 1870, Spencer S. Stephens, superintendent of the Cherokee public schools wrote from his office in Tahlequah to notify the directors of "the school called the 'Texana' " that he had appointed Miss Emma Drew to take charge of the school.[6]

Probably the best known citizen of Texanna was Dr. Harvey Lindsey. He was undoubtedly one of the most useful persons who ever settled in that section of the Indian Territory. Harvey Lindsey was born in Henry County, Tennessee on July 16, 1825. His parents, Edward and Rachel Murphy Lindsey saw that young Harvey received his early education in a subscription school in Henry County and later in Benton County. After studying medicine he began practicing with Dr. Somers in Newport, Tennessee; he removed to Tyler, Texas in 1849, where, for twenty years he was actively engaged in the practice of his profession. In 1851, Dr. Lindsey was married to Miss Martha Saline Cowser by whom he had five children: Martha S., Hannah, who became the wife of W. N. Martin of Muskogee; Edward Allen, Harvey who married Ida Maxwell, and Thomas whose wife was Nancy Turnbolt.

At the commencement of the Civil War, Dr. Lindsey enlisted in the Confederate Army and served until the end of the conflict. On returning home he discovered that his wife had died and his children were being cared for by a faithful slave who remained with them until her death. Having lost all of his property, and being disgusted with the carpetbaggers who had taken possession of Tyler, he decided to leave Texas for a new country of which he had heard much. So, in 1869 he removed to the Indian Territory and settled near Webbers Falls. He sent for his sons, but left his daughter to complete her education at Charnwood College in Tyler, Texas.

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[4] Texas State Library (Austin), "Indian Papers."

[5] Newspaper clippings entitled "First Settlers of Webbers Falls," in a scrapbook compiled by R. T. Hanks of Webbers Falls. Names of papers were not preserved.

[6] Document in Grant Foreman collection of Drew papers. Miss Emma Drew was a daughter of Colonel John Drew of Webbers Falls.

In 1872 Dr. Lindsey married Bettie Jane Hanks McCarty, a member of a prominent Cherokee family. He removed to Eufaula in 1874 and through many years devoted his energies to the alleviation of suffering humanity. There were no roads in those days and the Doctor was obliged to make his visits in a buggy in good weather and on horseback after storms, over miles of prairies and hills to patients from fifty to one hundred miles distant.

In the spring and early summer the physician found the prairies carpeted with myriads of wild flowers in colors that rivalled the most exquisite oriental rugs; he frequently encountered deer, while rabbits and quail were seen in great numbers. His long trips were entertained by the songs of numerous birds and at night by the dismal howl of coyotes. In the winter he ploughed through mud and snow, beat upon by the north wind, in an endeavor to reach the log cabin of some distant settler whose wife was bringing a new citizen into the world.

According to his grandson William Martin of Muskogee, Dr. Lindsey was ''genial, friendly, sympathetic, always helpful, he soon made friends with both the red and the few whites who were then living in the Indian Territory. He sometimes was called upon to visit homes where he was obliged to furnish food as well as medicine. . . . . His friends deplored his generosity, saying that his course would soon impoverish any man.''

In his leisure hours Dr. Lindsey found great pleasure in hunting and fishing. He became so interested in his new home that he often declared that ''he would not trade it for anybody's land even if he did not own a foot of it.'' At that period whites could not own real estate in the Indian Territory, but after the Doctor's marriage to a Cherokee citizen he became an adopted citizen and acquired land. The comfortable Lindsey home was well supplied with good furniture, fine damask, china, and silver. The owners were always prepared to receive and entertain guests in a gracious manner.

Dr. Lindsey was an ardent Mason; and he helped to organize one of the early lodges in the Indian country at Eufaula and he became Grand Master of the lodges in the Territory. After long years of devotion to his profession the Doctor decided to retire, and he moved to a farm near Texanna. He soon realized that he was not to be allowed to enjoy his well-earned rest as there were constant calls for his services and ''his buggy and gentle team of horses were traveling over ever widening roads when the infirmities of old age overtook him. The last years of his life were spent at home where he died at the age of eighty-nine years.''[7]

The notorious Cherokee, Tom Starr, who lived in the neighborhood of Texanna, once performed a kindly act when he saw that young Miss Hannah Lindsey was terrified at the prospect of fording the Canadian River. He lifted the girl onto his horse and reassured her with the words, ''Don't git skeered little gal,'' when they saw the train approaching.[8] The girl did not recognize her helper, and if she had known who he was she would have been more alarmed than she was of the river, particularly if she had recognized him as the murderer of Mr. and Mrs. Vore when he set fire to their home and tossed a small child into the blaze as it toddled towards him with outstretched arms.

H. J. Vann, Clerk of the Canadian District, Cherokee Nation, on July 16, 1881, notified W. G. Roberson that he was appointed to act as clerk of the election at ''Texana School precinct on the first Monday (*1st day*) in August, 1881.''[9]

''War Talker'' sent word to the *Cherokee Advocate,* November 2, 1883, that a young cyclone passed through the Texanna neighborhood. The houses belonging to Willie Whisenhunt were blown down, but no one was hurt. ''All of our good neighbors gave Willie a lift, on the same day, and put his house up. The furniture was very much damaged. . . . .'' Whisenhunt was a tenant of Dr. Lindsey according to Miss Martin of Muskogee.

The Cherokee Council time was approaching. The councillors from Texanna were George Downing and Tom Watts: ''They will soon start for old Tahlequah with their minds made up to do good for the red man.[10]

''Health very good around about here; no one bad sick, but little bad colds. Cotton plenty here this fall. Farmers keep our little trading point—Fisher Town—busy all the time. Cotton is worth from $2.50 to $2.75 per hundred pounds.''

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[7] The above quotations were taken from a paper written by the late William Martin of Muskogee, Oklahoma.

[8] Authority of Miss Sybil Martin Muskogee, Oklahoma, daughter of Hannah Lindsey Martin.

[9] Grant Foreman Collection. Herman Johnson Vann served as clerk of Canadian District in 1875, 1877, 1879 and 1881. He was judge of the same district in 1891, 1893 and 1897 (Emmet Starr, *A History of the Cherokee Indians* [Oklahoma City, 1921], pp. 289, 291).

[10] George Downing was councillor from Canadian District in 1883, 1885; Thomas Watts occupied a like position in 1875, 1881, 1883, 1893 (Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 280). According to Mr. J. W. Scott (Muskogee, Oklahoma), a native of Texanna, George Downing was a very smart fullblood Cherokee.

The Baptist missionary preacher, W. M. Hays, who lived at Texana wrote about the extent of his work to the Reverend J. S. Morrow, the noted Baptist missionary leader, of the Indian Territory:[11]

> "Fishertown, Creek Nation, I. T.
> April 7, 1887.
>
> Dear Bro. Murrow:
>
> "Perhaps some of the brethren and friends who read the Indian Missionary, are wondering if there is any Baptist preaching along the Canadian river east of Eufaula . . . . Going east from Eufaula to the State line, there are about 14 preaching points. At eight of these points is established a Baptist church. The work all along the river is very promising. I have been at work for the Home Mission Board of Western Arkansas and Indian Territory since the 15th of September, 1886. I have traveled 1,500 miles, preached 150 sermons, received into the three churches, of which I am pastor, 50 members, baptized 22 and witnessed about 50 conversions.
>
> "I am pastor of Short Mountain church, Texanna church, and Rock Branch church. These churches seem to be getting along all right. There is a great deal of work to do yet, but the laborers are few.
>
> Yours in gospel bonds, W. M. Hays,
> Mis. of Gen. Asso. of West. Ark., and Ind. Ter."

Missionary Hays began a protracted meeting in his home church at Texanna, on the Saturday before the first Sunday in August, 1887. He was assisted by "Bro. Wilson from Webber's Falls, Bro. Newton of Texas, and other brethren of the Territory."[12]

An appeal was printed in the *Indian Missionary,* December, 1887, by Hays to help build a Baptist church at Texanna, and Editor Morrow "emphatically endorsed Bro. Hay's appeal and bespeak for him prompt and liberal contributions." The missionary was holding another meeting in Texanna in July; he reported nine new members of the church and wrote of the great destitution in the country.[13]

On June 27, 1888, John Bryant was appointed the first post master of Texanna, Cherokee Nation. The office did not operate during the period between July 29, 1889 to August 25, 1890. Mail was sent to Fishertown.

This town must not be confused with a village of the same name in the Chickasaw Nation of which William F. Stone served as the first post master, having been appointed December 9, 1885. The office was discontinued September 9, 1887, the mail being sent to Thackerville.[14]

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[11] *The Indian Missionary* (Atoka, Indian Territory), April, 1887, 3, col. 3. For data on Short Mountain Baptist Association, see Herbert Miner Pierce, "Baptist Pioneers in Eastern Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 3, p. 279.

[12] *The Indian Missionary, September,* 1887, p. 6, col. 4.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 1, col. 1.

The annual meeting of the Muskogee and Seminole Live Stock Association was held in "Phoenix Hall," Muskogee, on March 13, 1888, with John R. Moore of the Creek Nation as president. After a committee had been appointed to consider the applications for admission to membership Dr. Harvey Lindsey was duly elected along with five other men.

When a committee "on round-up" of cattle was elected that group made a report as follows: "District No. 1—to include all of the Canadian District, Cherokee Nation, and all of the Creek country east of the railroad between the Arkansas and North Fork rivers, P. N. Blackstone, captain; round-up to be held at Blackstone's ranch on Tuesday, the first of May, 1888."

Ten other districts for round-up were designated with officers and date of the meetings. This organization composed of a body of important men interested in stock raising, considered the matter of rewards for apprehension and trials of horse thiefs. A proposition by the *Indian Journal* to publish the brands of the association and furnish each member with a copy of the paper at the rate of $3.50, was on motion of Dr. Leo O. Bennett accepted. After all the business had been attended to the meeting was adjourned to meet at Okmulgee the following March.[15]

A notice was printed in the *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah), January 2, 1889 by J. M. Hildebrand, Guardian of Effie O. Hildebrand, a minor child, warning all persons" not to buy a farm situated four miles above the mouth of Dutchess Creek, on Canadian, now in possession of one Samuel Replogle non-citizen. I claim said property as belonging to Effie O. Hildebrand. . . . "

The same issue of the *Advocate* contained a notice signed by Susan Eatly on December 10, 1888, notifying all persons not to purchase the improvement situated at Texanna. . . . advertised by the Sheriff of said District for sale as the property of one Replogal *sic*] an intruder." Susan Eatly claimed the legal right to the proprty.

Among many interviews with pioneers in *Indian-Pioneer Hisory,* are several concerning Texana which give a clear picture of the illage and its inhabitants. Elijah Conger (Route 2, Oktaha, Oklaoma) related that in 1887, he moved near Texana. At that time, ohn Pierce owned and operated the gin and mill in the town. In his reminiscent notes, Conger tells about the Canadian River ferries, ranching in the vicinity and the "Growth of Texana":[16]

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[14] George H. Shirk "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *he Chronicles of Oklahoma,*" Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 46.

[15] *Muskogee Phoenix,* March 15, 1888, p. 3, cols. 4-5.

> "The Rip-A-Lowe Ferry, owned by Mr. Rip A. Lowe, was four miles south of Texanna on the Texas Road and it was this ferry that was used by all cattlemen and immigrants. When the river was up this ferry could not be used and the old Texas road was left at a point one quarter of a mile on each side of the ferry and ran to another ferry about one and a half miles up stream. This latter ferry, called the Shaver ferry, was owned by a Mr. Shaver.
>
> "The Circle Bar Ranch, was owned by Cicero Davis and was located near Texana [*sic*]. Jack Foreman was the foreman and he together with the horse wranglers and cow punchers usually handled about a thousand head of cattle each year. Their brand was 'O'. Cicero Davis' brother Sam Davis, owned the Half Circle Ranch and handled approximately a thousand head of cattle each year. . . . "
>
> "Growth of Texana"
>
> "The first and only store for a long time was owned by John Pierce, next came Forsythe and Ogden, then McKnight and Luman, etc. There was no bank. These merchants did all of the business. John Pierce furnished nearly all of the Indians as he was the first settler and better known. Months and years he furnished them and individual families owed him thousands of dollars. He depended upon these Indians receiving their government pay and then paying him. I am a white man but I still give the Indians credit of being honest for I don't believe that Mr. Pierce lost a single dollar they owed him. Texana at present is just a wide place in the road. I think there is a little country store. The populace continued to move to Checotah and Eufaula and other towns along the M. K. & T Railroad until the little town of Texanna is about left off the map."

One of the most interesting interviews taken from *Indian-Pioneer History* is that of Mrs. Susan Fields Toney. As she speaks no English her recollections were interpreted by her son Calvin Harrison Toney:

> I (Susan Toney) was born in a refugee camp on Red River in the Choctaw Nation January 6, 1862, where my parents, with other Cherokees, had fled to escape the dangerous conditions that existed in the Indian Territory brought on by the Civil War.
>
> My father was William Fields, fullblood Cherokee, and my mother was Sallie (Gist) Fields, the daughter of Teasy [Tessee] Gist, the son of George Gist or Sequoyah, Cherokee.[17]

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[16] *Indian-Pioneer History*, Foreman Collection (WPA project S-149) in Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Vol. 2, pp. 196-199.

[17] According to Starr's history Tessee (or Teesey, Teesee) was the eldest son of Sequoyah and Sallie or U-ti-yu. His wives are given as U-ti-yu and Rebecca Bowles. Teesee Guess or Gist, had reached man's estate when his father departed for Mexico in 1842, and he accompanied Sequoyah along with The Worm and six other Cherokees. When the Cherokee Cadmus failed to return his people became greatly worried about his fate and applied to Agent Pierce M. Butler for funds to finance a hunt for him. Butler, through the Secretary of War, secured $200 of tribal funds to pay for the hunt for Sequoyah and bring him home. (Grant Foreman *Sequoyah* (Norman, 1938), pp. 48, 59, 69, 70, 73). Tessee Guess served as senato from Canadian District in 1853. He was third sergeant in the company of Captair John Porum Davis in The Second Cherokee Volunteers during the Civil Wa (Starr, *op-cit.*, pp. 366, 270, 148).

After the Civil War my parents moved back to their home place at the mouth of Dutch Creek[18] on the Canadian River where my grandfather, Teasy Gist, died in 1869, when I was seven years of age. I remember his burial in the old Cherokee burial ground on the hill beside the Old Dutch Creek trail and two and one half miles southeast of Texanna, or one and one-half miles west of the old home place. I have known of this old burial ground of the Cherokees since my earliest recollection and it was a very old burial ground at that time. It was abandoned about fifty years ago. There are only two white people buried in the place. They were two little girls, children of a poor family that was living in the vicinity when their children died about 1911.

There were many of the early Cherokees buried at that place and it was always known as the Cherokee burial ground and had no other name. . . . .

Calvin Harrison Toney, a son of Levi and Susan Fields Toney was born August 9, 1882, near the village of Texanna. He was reared in the immediate vicinity of his birthplace, and received his education in the Cherokee National Schools at Texanna and Prairie Gap, later attending Bacone Indian College at Muskogee. Mr. Toney lived on his mother's allotment where he reared his family, two and one-half miles southeast of Texanna.[19]

David B. Ogden came to the Indian Territory in 1896 and engaged in the mercantile business at Texanna. In 1902 he was joined by his brother, Lattie Davis Ogden who was born September 11, 1881 at Clarksville, Arkansas and educated in that state. Mr. L. D. Ogden gave an interview for the *Indian-Pioneer History* as follows:[20]

"Texanna, at that time, was a thriving little Inland town of about three hundred population, located on the old Ft. Smith and Guthrie trail, at that time, the only northwest—southeast road through this part of the Territory. In 1902 the firm of Forsyth & Ogden did more than $100,000 worth of business. The firm also owned the only cotton gin at Texanna, and that year ginned more than 2,000 bales of cotton. In 1903 the firm established their second mercantile store at Checotah and continued to operate both stores until 1906 when the firm discontinued business. In later years Mr. Ogden engaged in farming but continued to make his home in Texanna."

Charles M. Randall was a prominent and well to do citizen of the Texanna vicinity. He was born April 10, 1860 in Copiah County,

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[18] This was the settlement of Dutch the great Cherokee Indian. Later the creek was called "Dutchess Creek," but the name originated from the Indian Tahchee, or Dutch.

[19] Indian-Pioneer History, *op. cit.*, Vol. 112, pp. 316, 317. Levi Toney, a full-blood Cherokee, was forty-three years of age at the time of *Final Rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes* were made. His mother was No. 17008 and the account is found in the Cherokee Roll, p. 342.

[20] *Indian-Pioneer History, op. cit.*, Vol. 38, pp. 202, 203.

Mississippi and moved to Texanna in 1908, where he was employed as a clerk in the Forsyth & Ogden General Mercantile Store.[21]

Dr. G. W. West of Eufaula, Oklahoma, related that Dr. Harvey Lindsey was the first doctor in that part of the Indian Territory. As there were no other physicians Lindsey was called upon to drive for miles to visit the ill. "He has been dead for years. He was a much older man than I. I came here as a young man, and practiced medicine with Mr. Lindsey."[22]

That Dr. Lindsey was well and favorably remembered is demonstrated by the number of people who spoke of him when interviewed for the *Indian-Pioneer History.* Mrs. Mary E. Stevens of North McAlester, Oklahoma, who was born in Scott County, Arkansas in the year 1874, stated that her family removed to the Indian Territory in 1893 and located in the little Cherokee villege of Texanna, twelve miles east of Eufaula. They lived on Dr. Lindsey's place and she said that Mrs. Lindsey was a full blood Cherokee. "Dr. Lindsey practiced medicine over the state. He was well known among the Indians. He was also a big land holder and owned lots of cattle and horses. . . . .[23]

A prominent physician and business man of Texanna was Dr. Dayton Bennett, Jr., who settled in the place in 1894. He was born in Conway County, Arkansas January 14, 1869, and in 1887 he entered the medical department of the State University of Kentucky, at Louisville, from which he graduated with the degree of M.D., in 1890. When Dr. Bennett first located in Texanna he was obliged to use a buggy or ride horseback over the poor roads and trails through the woods and across the prairie. He evidently prospered as he acquired several hundred acres of land in the Canadian River bottom south of Texanna.

"There were no negroes in this part of the country. The farmers had free range for their livestock and it was very easy for everyone to make a good living and have some money in the banks each year. . . . . He [Dr. Bennett] was the third physician to settle in old Texanna and is the only one now here. . . . [he] opened the first and only drug store in this place."[24]

Riley and Bumgarner were given a license to carry on a mercantile business in the Cherokee Nation at Texanna, Canadian District, July 31, 1896. The *Muskogee Phoenix,* August 2, 1894 reported that Messrs. J. Frank Phillips and H. H. Phelps of Texanna were visitors in Checotah during the week.

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[21] *Ibid.,* Vol. 43, pp. 126, 128 (Interview with Ross Roundtree, Texanna, Oklahoma).

[22] *Ibid.,* Vol. 49, p. 227.

[23] *Ibid.,* Vol. 82, p. 402.

[24] Interview with Latta Ogden, Texanna, Oklahoma, *ibid.,* Vol. 107, pp. 261-263.

James N. Scott of Mississippi and his wife Fannie Marrs Scott, a native of Georgia, settled near Texanna before the Civil War. Their son John W. Scott was born there in 1882 when it was a very small settlement. The lad attended school in Texanna and Tahlequah. There were a large log Indian school and another run by subscription at Texanna, along with Methodist and Baptist churches, a mill, a cotton gin, five general stores and one drug store. There was a ferry which belonged to Replogle.

In addition to Dr. Dayton Bennett there was a physician of the name of Mooneyham in Texanna; a missionary of the name of Atkins visited the town from his station in Muskogee.

According to Mr. John W. Scott about one-third of the people of the village were whites. Among those recalled by Mr. Scott were, Dr. Lindsey, Mrs. Mary Morris, Joel Quinton, Hickory Rogers, Dick Bertholf, Isaac Howell. Indian residents named by Mr. Scott were Mrs. Polly Triplett, George Downing, Charles Delano, Tom Watts, Isaac Groves, Jack Vickery, and W. J. McClure. Mrs. McClure was the mother of the Scott children, McClure being her second husband.

Mr. Scott states that the Reverend Ross Ballard was the first full blood clergyman he ever knew.[25] Dr. Howell A. Scott a prominent Muskogee physician and a brother of John W. Scott, was born in Texanna. He married Miss Maud Saunders who was also a citizen of the Cherokee Nation.

The *Fort Smith Elevator* of August 24, 1900 reported:

> The Old Settlers Association which was organized in Checotah recently, chose the following officers for the ensuing year: Capt. William Gentry of Checotah, president; Judge I. B. Hitchcock of Vinita, vice-president; Tom Downing of Texanna, secretary; Judge Herman Vann of Briartown, treasurer; and Williams Keys, of Checotah, sergeant-at-arms. The next meeting will be held at Checotah in August, 1901.
>
> Judge Hitchcock is the oldest white resident of the Indian Territory, having been born in the Cherokee Nation seventy-five years ago, and has resided there all his life.

The death of John Dedrick Morgan, a well known Negro, who died at his home in Coffeyville, Kansas, on March 18, 1910, revived interesting memories of Mrs. Bettie Lindsey, widow of Dr. Lindsey of Texanna, Oklahoma, who wrote that the man, although born in slavery in 1835, had amassed quite a fortune. He was familiarly known as "Uncle John", but by the children of his owners he had been called "Toss". Mrs. Margaret Sevier Morgan, grandmother of Mrs. Lindsey, had owned John and his mother Ailsey as well as his sisters Zora and Sylvia. Colonel Gideon Morgan commanded the Cherokees at the Battle of the Horse Shoe against the Creeks in

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[25] The writer is grateful to Mr. John W. Scott of Muskogee for much information concerning his native town.

1812. Colonel and Mrs. Morgan in 1830 lived near the Chilhowie Mountains in East Tennessee about thirty miles from Knoxville on the banks of the Tennessee River; their estate was called ''Citico,'' and there Mrs. Lindsey was born in 1834.

Mrs. Morgan, with her family and slaves, left Tennessee in 1849 or 1850, and settled near Tahlequah. The Negro youth there met Cynthia, a serving maid of Mrs. John Ross, and they were married in 1858 at Park Hill and lived happily together for fifty-four years. In 1862 they followed Chief Ross and his family to Philadelphia where they remained until the war was ended, and then they moved to Coffeyville.

When near death ''Toss'' sent word to Robert J. Hanks of Webbers Falls, brother of Mrs. Lindsey, ''Come, I want to see your face once more,'' and Mr. Hanks left at once and was beside the aged Negro when he crossed the river of eternity.

At the present time Texanna is merely a tiny village, but the place lives in the memories of aged citizens as a prosperous town inhabited by people of refinement and high standards.

CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT RELATIONS WITH THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES

By Ohland Morton[*]

Part I

Pre-Civil War, Indian Tribal Development

The Five Civilized Tribes, a term now used to designate collectively the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek and Seminole Indian tribes in Oklahoma, were advanced in their habits and customs, a people distinguished for their character and intelligence, when the first Europeans came to the new world. Through their geographical and historical association with the early colonists in the South, these five large tribes gradually acquired a measure of European culture along with some vices. Foreign institutions, particularly Negro slavery, were accepted through the influence of the chiefs and leaders, and as the years passed, the governments of the nearby states became the pattern for all these Indian tribal organizations except the Seminole.[1]

Four of these tribes, the Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole, are of the Muskhogean language stock.[2] The Cherokees belong to the Iroquoian Stock.[3] When they were first seen by Europeans about 1540, they had settled habitations, they cultivated the soil and had well established arts and crafts.[4]

The homes of these five tribes before their removal to what is now the state of Oklahoma were in the lower Mississippi Valley and the Gulf Plains region. In general their lands included the present states of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, and the western parts of North Carolina and South Carolina, the southwestern part of Virginia, and the eastern part of Tennessee.[5]

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[*] Ohland Morton, Ph.D., is a former contributor to *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, his article on "The Government of the Creek Indians" appearing in Vol. VIII, Nos. 1 and 2 (1930), and has had articles published in other journals including *The Quarterly of the Southwestern Historical Association.* A graduate of Southeastern State College, Durant, he received his M.A. from the University of Oklahoma, and his Ph.D., from the University of Texas. He served as teacher and professor of history in Oklahoma schools, and subsequently was Professor of History at the University of Texas. He is now Superintendent of the largest school district in Texas, Edinburg Consolidated School District, Edinburg, Texas, consisting of many schools in a wide area served by a fleet of school buses for the transportation of pupils. Dr. Morton is a Life Member of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and Fellow of the Texas Academy of Science.—Ed.

[1] Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (published as *Bulletin* 30, Bureau of American Ethonology at Washington, 1907 and 1910), Vol. I, p. 463; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), in "Preface"; Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951), in article under name of each tribe.

[2] Hodge, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 962.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 615.

[4] Charles G. Jones, Jr., *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, pp. 1-27; Edward Davis, "Early Advancement Among the Five Civilized Tribes," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (June, 1936), pp. 162-3.

They very early came in contact with the Spaniards in Florida, the French in Louisiana, and the English in Carolina and Georgia. As a result of the rivalries among these European nations, the Indians learned to play one nation off against the others.[6] Occupying the lower Mississippi Basin, the Indians guarded the mountain passes through the Appalachians, and the headwaters both of the streams flowing south into the Gulf of Mexico and those flowing west into the Mississippi River. Obviously any nation expecting to hold the Gulf of Mexico or the mouth of the Mississippi River must reckon with them.

The representatives of the three European nations constantly intrigued with the five tribes and ceaselessly sought to win their favor, contacts that brought these tribes training in the arts of diplomacy and political intrigue which made them formidable antagonists later in their relations with the United States.[7]

Throughout the colonial period of American history, alliances and counter-alliances were entered into by the Southeastern tribes in order to hold their lands, or to secure the European goods they wanted. Many traders from England, France and Spain came to live among the Indians, and some married Indian women. Thus, a strain of white blood, often French or Scottish, was soon found in the tribes, especially the Cherokees.[8]

The latter part of the Eighteenth Century, the United States adopted the former English policy of recognizing the Indian tribes as nations. In a series of treaties, both northern and southern Indians were considered capable of making war, declaring peace, owning lands within the boundaries of the United States, and of governing and punishing their own citizens under their own laws. From 1778 to 1802, treaties were negotiated with the Delawares, Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Shawnees, Wyandottes, and Creeks defining their boundaries, recognizing their tribal independence, and establishing friendly relations with the United States. The Creek Nation was defined in 1796, and in 1802, was a party to a treaty which reduced its domain, some of its territory being ceded to the United States.[9]

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[5] Hodge, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 245-260, 288, 362; Vol. II, p. 500.

[6] Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-6.

[7] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Alexander McGillivray, Emperor of the Creeks," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (March, 1929), pp. 106-120.

[8] Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 163; Wright, *op. cit.*

[9] Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 1-45. From this time, treaties made with the five tribes of the Southeast provided for large cessions of their lands to the United States.

In 1802, the State of Georgia gave up its claims to certain western lands to the United States with the understanding that negotiations would be started immediately to remove the Indians from the boundaries of Georgia as soon as it could be peaceably done on favorable terms. This understanding is known as the "Georgia Compact."[10]

The idea of removing the Southeastern Indians to some region west of the Mississippi seems to have first been expressed during the negotiations for the purchase of Louisiana. In July, 1803, President Thomas Jefferson in writing to John Breckenridge, said, "The inhabited part of Louisiana from Point Coupee to the sea, will of course be immediately a territorial government, and soon a state. But above that, the best use we can make of the country for some time, will be to give establishment in it to the Indians on the east side of the Mississippi, in exchange for their present country. . . . ."[11]

In 1814, Andrew Jackson negotiated a treaty with the Creek chieftains whom he had defeated in battle at Horseshoe Bend whereby they gave up certain of their lands in Alabama and Southern Georgia. These lands were to pay the expenses of the war which had been carried on against the Creeks in punishment for the massacre at Fort Minns. The treaty is sometimes referred to as the "Capitulation of Hickory Ground."[12]

In 1816, the Cherokees gave up lands to the United States in South Carolina, the Chickasaws ceded lands north of the Tennessee River, and the Choctaws lost another part of their tribal lands in Mississippi.[13]

As the southern states were organized and admitted into the Union, large areas within their boundaries were occupied by one or another of these five tribes. Although the Indians were owners of these lands, they did not pay taxes and were not counted as citizens of the states, therefore they were not protected by the state laws. Indian ownership of large areas, which had been recognized by the United States in many different treaties, limited the lands open to white settlement in the southern States. Some Indian leaders with their followers in each of the five tribes who realized the encroachments taking place over their tribal organizations and properties within the different state boundaries were in favor of the removal of their people to another region. The majority of the Indians, however, wanted to remain in their old homes.

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[10] *American State Papers*, Vol. XVI, Public Lands, I, pp. 125-126.

[11] Albert E. Bergh, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, (Washington, 1907) Vol. X, p. 410.

[12] Kappler, *op. cit.*, 69-72.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 87-95.

The first Cherokee treaty providing for voluntary emigration of tribal members and their settlement in the West was signed in 1817.[14] Some Cherokees had gone west of the Mississippi River in 1808 in search of new homes, and had settled along the White River north of the Arkansas River in present Arkansas, in the region where a Cherokee band had located as early as 1783, and another under the leadership of their chief, called The Bowl, had been living since 1795.[15]

In 1820, the Choctaws by treaty made at Doak's Stand, Mississippi, exchanged a part of their richest tribal lands for a vast country west of the Mississippi River, a domain that extended south of the Arkansas and the Canadian rivers to the Red River, which included all of what is now Southern Oklahoma. The following year, the Creeks lost another part of their country east of the Mississippi. A large number of Creek McIntosh faction, under the leadership of Chilly McIntosh, crossed the Mississippi in 1828, and settled west of the mouth of the Verdigris on the north side of the Arkansas in the vicinity of the City of Muskogee, Oklahoma. The Indians in Florida, including the Seminoles, were placed under the protection of the United States in 1823.[16]

In the meantime, two treaties made with tribes that claimed all the land in what is now Oklahoma were vital in establishing the Indian Territory under the Government's plans: In 1818, the Quapaw living in Arkansas gave up all their claims to country extending westward from the mouth of the Arkansas River "up the Arkansas to the Canadian fork, and up the Canadian fork to its source," a wide area that included all of Southern Oklahoma. In 1825, the Osage gave up all their lands in present Oklahoma, and accepted a reservation in what is now Kansas. These cessions to the United States paved the way for definite plans to consolidate the Indians east of the Mississippi in a region west of the river. President Monroe in his annual message to Congress in 1824, proposed that a tract of land "between the present states and territories and the Rocky Mountains and Mexico be set aside for colonization of Indians from the states east of the Mississippi."[17]

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

[15] The Cherokees living on the Arkansas River, known as the "Western Cherokees," had been successively within the Spanish Province of Louisiana, Territory of Louisiana, Territory of Missouri and the counties of Arkansas and Lawrence, Territory of Missouri. During all of which time (1785-1817) they had been settlers without warrant of title to their habitations and it was not until ratification of the United States-Cherokee treaty of July 8, 1817, that they were confirmed to their rights to their new homes."—Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921), p. 39.

The Arkansas country assigned the Cherokees in 1817 did not include The Bowl's settlement south of the Arkansas River. In the winter of 1819-20, he led sixty Cherokee families to Texas where they were joined ten years later by another band of Western Cherokees under the leadership of Tah Chee (or Dutch), sometimes referred to as "Captain Dutch." After Mirabeau B. Lamar, President of the Republic of Texas, announced a policy of the forcible expulsion of all Indian tribes in Texas, the Cherokees living in the fertile valleys of the Angelina and Neches rivers were defeated in battle by the Texans, in which The Bowl was killed. The Texas Cherokees then came north and joined their kinsmen in the Indian Territory where in the same year (1839) the Cherokee Nation was organized under a written constitution with the capital of the Nation at Tahlequah.—James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1900), Part I, pp. 143-6; John H. Reagen, "The Expulsion of the Cherokees from East Texas," *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, Vol. I, p. 38; Anna Muckelroy, "The Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, pp. 256-7; Albert Woldert, "The Last of the Cherokees in Texas and the Life and Death of Chief Bowles," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, No. 3 (June, 1923), pp. 179-226; Caroline Thomas Foreman, "Dutch," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1949), pp. 252-67, which is illustrated with a photograph of the McKenney and Hall lithograph of "Tah Chee" or "Dutch."

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 124-27, 133-8, and 141-4.

President John Quincy Adams renewed the recommendations of President Monroe and proposed the establishment of an Indian Territory. Certain missionaries were urging such a course. The Indians should be settled in a region far removed from the whites and especially where they would not come in contact with vicious influences with which they were surrounded on their old country in the states east of the Mississippi. One argument which was presented for removal was that the eastern tribes were peaceable and their influence would have a beneficial effect upon the wild tribes in the west.[18]

President Adams did not use coercion, but took up the task of Indian removal where Monroe had laid it down. In 1825, the Five Civilized Tribes, except the Seminoles, still held lands in Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama aggregating 16,598,000 acres.[19] Initial treaties affecting large numbers of Indians in the Choctaw and Creek tribes were made and many moved soon after to their new homes in the west.[20] Geographically and politically, the Creeks were grouped as Upper Creeks on the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers in Alabama and Lower Creeks on the middle or lower Chatahoochee River on the Alabama and Georgia border.[21] In 1811, the Creeks held a general council to discuss the sale of their lands to the white man. This council voted to forbid the sale of their lands and declared that the death penalty should be imposed for the violation of this regulation.[22] The Creek treaty of 1825 at Indian Springs was signed by William McIntosh, chief of the Lower Creeks. The Upper Creeks under Opothleyahola repudiated this treaty, and John C. Calhoun, as Secretary of State, refused to recognize it, but after the inauguration of John Quincy Adams, it was ratified by the Senate. President Adams declared that he was "under the unsuspecting impression that it had been negotiated in good faith. . . . .''[23] Chief McIntosh was sentenced to death by a Creek council and was assassinated at Milledgeville where he was hiding in his own home.[24] Opothleyahola and John Stidham, leaders of the group that had opposed the actions of Chief McIntosh, went to Washington to protest the enforcement of the treaty.[25] Since this had been made with only one faction of the tribe, a new treaty was concluded in 1826, providing for the emigration of the McIntosh followers and their settlement in the West. This same treaty, reaffirmed by another in 1827, ceded to the United States the remaining Creek lands in Georgia.[26]

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[17] James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. II, p. 261.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 317.

[19] *American State Papers*, Class II, "Indians Affairs," Vol. II.

[20] Kappler, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[21] John R. Swanton, "Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors," in *Bulletin Number* 73, Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 398.

[22] Hodge, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 782.

The Choctaw treaty of 1820 had provided that those who wished might migrate to the west. In carrying out the provisions of the next Choctaw treaty of 1825, the United States surveyed a line which now marks the eastern boundary of Oklahoma from the Red River north to the Arkansas.[27] In 1828, after a treaty of removal had been effected with the Western Cherokees in Arkansas, the boundary from the Arkansas River north to the southwest corner of Missouri was surveyed. This treaty proposed to settle the entire tribe in a new reservation west of Arkansas territory to consist of 7,000,000 acres of land to be owned under patent, and the Outlet to hunting grounds in the west. The treaty states that the patented lands and the Outlet are to be the property of the Cherokees forever.[28]

In these events definite steps were made leading to the creation of an Indian state west of the Mississippi. In his annual message of December 1829, President Jackson said that justice and humanity required that the southern tribes be saved from the destruction which must fall upon them if they remained surrounded by white people, or continued to be driven ''from river to river and mountain to mountain,'' by either persuasion or force.[29] Less than two weeks before this, the State of Georgia had annexed the Cherokee lands and declared that after June 1, 1830, all laws of the Cherokee nation should be null and void, and all Indians living in the state should be subject to state laws.[30] Apparently approving this policy of the State of Georgia, Jackson, further in his message, suggested that the best provision for the southern Indians would be to set aside ample territory for their permanent occupancy where each tribe could have its own limits and its own government. If this could be arranged, they would not be interfered with. They would be subject to no other control from the United States than such as might be necessary to preserve peace on the frontier and among the several tribes. If, however, they should choose to remain, within the limits of a state, they must submit to the laws of that State and relinquish their claims to all lands which they had not improved. Jackson's Indian policy in its essentials is stated in this message. William MacDonald says, "The policy was at least humanely conceived, so far as Jackson was concerned, and represented an earnest effort to deal justly with the difficult problem of the relations between superior and inferior races. The immediate results, however, were far from happy."[31] One thing that should be kept in mind in this connection is that on the whole, Jackson's Indian policy met with the approval of the great majority of the people of the United States.

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[23] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

[24] H. Niles, Ed., *The Weekly Register*, Vol. XXVIII (Baltimore, 1830), pp. 196-197.

[25] John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Opothleyahola," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. IX, No. 4 (December, 1931), p. 441.

[26] Kappler, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-191.

[27] Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma* (Berkeley, 1917), p. 6. See, also, Appendix A, p. 251.

[28] Kappler, *op. cit.*, 206-209.

[29] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

[30] *Niles Register, op. cit.*, p. 328.

An act of Congress approved May 28, 1830, made provision for the establishment of the Indian Territory. By the terms of this law the President was authorized to select a part of the undivided public domain to which the title of aboriginal tribes had been extinguished, and divide it into a suitable number of districts or reservations for the reception of such tribes of Indians as might choose to exchange the lands where they then resided in the states east of the Mississippi. The sum of $500,000 was appropriated for the removal of any Indians who might take advantage of the act.[32] There does not seem to have been any formal action on the part of the President in definitely fixing the bounds and limits of the proposed Indian Territory. He did set to work immediately, however, extinguishing titles as rapidly as possible to Indian lands east of the Mississippi, and the country immediately west of the organized states and territories came in a short while to be known as Indian Territory.

A final removal treaty was effected with the Choctaws at Dancing Rabbit Creek on September 27, 1830. A final removal treaty was effected with the Creeks in 1832. The Creeks accepted a grant lying between the Canadian and Arkansas rivers. It is of interest to note that Opothleyahola opposed this treaty and even went so far as to try to buy land from Mexico for himself and followers. Finding that he could not do this, he found no other alternative than to go to Indian Territory. Soon the entire tribe was settled in their new home. In 1833, treaties were made with the Western Creeks and the Seminoles. In 1834, the Chickasaws were dealt with, and in 1835, the Cherokees were party to a final removal treaty. It was not until 1837 that the Chickasaws purchased the right of settlement in the Choctaw Nation.[33] It should be kept in mind that the reason for the several treaties with each tribe was that often a series of negotiations having to do with land cessions, factions, and plans for emigration were necessary before final removal plans could be carried out.

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[31] William MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*, p. 173.

[32] 4 *Statutes at Large*, p. 411.

[33] Kappler, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-362.

The discovery of gold in the Cherokee country in Georgia in July, 1829, stimulated the whites in their desire to possess the Indian lands. By the summer of 1830, there were several thousand white people in the Cherokee reservation seeking gold.[34] Reference has already been made to the fact that Georgia extended her laws over the reservation in June, 1830. In a case which was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia,* the Court held that the Cherokees were a domestic dependent nation. The Court handed down the decision that an Indian tribe, while not an independent nation, is, nevertheless a state and under the protection of Congress.[35] The greater part of the Cherokees were opposed to the removal. They had established their homes, and were farming the land and engaging in other occupations the same as their white neighbors. In addition, schools and churches had been established in the Cherokee country, Sequoyah had invented an alphabet for his people, a written constitution had been adopted, and the noted Indian newspaper *The Cherokee Phoenix,* was being published regularly in their country. Eventually, a removal treaty was signed at New Echota in 1835, and they were forcibly removed under the most cruel circumstances, and finally most of the Cherokees were established in their new homes.[36]

The Seminoles, who were a branch of the Creek Nation, were induced to sign a treaty May 9, 1832, and agree to join their Creek brethren in the West.[37] They did not do so at once, however, and a few years later (1836), they began a war against the United States that was most disastrous and costly. It was not until 1842 that the Seminoles were finally reduced to submission and the majority removed to the Indian Territory, one band remaining in Florida where their descendants live to this day.[38]

The removal of the Five Civilized Tribes—Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole—from the southeastern states to the

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[34] *Niles Register, op. cit.,* pp. 328-329.

[35] Richard Peters, *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court,* Vol. V, pp. 1-79. See, also, George H. Shirk, "Some Letters from the Reverend Samuel A. Worcester," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVI, No. 4 (Winter, 1948-49), pp. 468-78.

[36] Robert A. Rutland, "Political Background of the Treaty of New Echota," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1949-50), pp. 389-406; Hugh T. Cunningham, "A History of the Cherokee Indians," *ibid.,* Vol. VIII, No. 3 (1930), pp. 291-314, and No. 4 (1930), pp. 407-440.

[37] Kappler, *op. cit.,* pp. 249-251.

[38] Annie Heloise Abel, "History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi River," *American Historical Association, Annual Report,* 1906, Vol. I, pp. 233-450; Wright, *op. cit.,* "Seminole."

Indian Territory thus approximated the period from 1820 to 1840. The Cherokee, the Choctaw (later including the Chickasaw), and the Creek (later including the Seminole) were given title to the entire present state of Oklahoma, excepting the ''Panhandle'' northwest and a portion of Ottawa County northeast. They retained this great territory until the close of the Civil War, at which time they were compelled to cede the western part of the lands for the settlement of other friendly tribes.

THE PERIOD FROM THE REMOVAL TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR

Settlement of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory following the removal from the southeastern states was attended by many difficulties in establishing their homes and governments. Among the Cherokees, Creeks and Seminoles, there were two factions: one of which had been in favor of and the other opposed to removal to the Indian Territory. These factions later formed the basis for political parties and brought on disorder and feuds among the people.

A bitter feud arose in the Cherokee Nation with the assassination of Major Ridge, his son, John Ridge, and his nephew, Elias Boudinot, in 1839, culmination of the intense feeling that existed from the signing of the Cherokee treaty at New Echota, Georgia, in 1835, which had provided for the cession of all Cherokee country in the East and the removal of the tribe to the Indian Territory. Major Ridge, one of the principal signers of this treaty, and his followers were called the ''Treaty Party.'' They were opposed by the chief of the Nation, John Ross, and a majority of the Cherokees. Stand Watie, brother of Elias Boudinot, was left as the leader of the ''Treaty Party.''[39] The Cherokee Nation was the scene of strife until 1846, when finally representatives of the Western Cherokees, the Anti-Treaty Party and the Treaty Party, all met at Washington, D. C., and settled their differences.[40]

Similar conditions existed among the Creeks and Seminoles. The McIntosh faction of the Creek tribe, which had favored removal, was looked upon with suspicion and distrust by the group which had opposed removal of the tribe, under the leadership of Opothleyahola. The division between the Upper and Lower Creeks was distinctly drawn after removal.[41]

Among the Choctaws and Chickasaws conditions were fairly peaceful and quiet, but even here political issues were sharply drawn and elections were bitterly contested. The Chickasaws became dissatisfied with their status as a district within the Choctaw Nation and in 1855 made a treaty by which they became independent.[42]

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[39] Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation*, 1838-1907 (Norman, 1938).

[40] Rachel Caroline Eaton, *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians,* (Menasha, 1914), pp. 126-147.

[41] Dale, E. E., and J. L. Rader, *Readings in Oklahoma History*, p. 218.

[42] *Ibid.*, 218.

In 1856, the Seminoles made a treaty with the Creeks whereby they received a grant of land between the two Canadian rivers and became independent.[43]

The Cherokees adopted their first written constitution in Georgia, in 1828, modeled, it is said, after that of the State of Mississippi. The Choctaws adopted their first constitution in 1826, and immediately at the close of the main immigration to the Indian Territory in 1834, drew up and adopted the first constitution written in Oklahoma. Later, the Chickasaws who remained under the laws of the Choctaw Nation for many years had their own written constitution and laws. The Creeks voted the adoption of constitutional government just before the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States. These Indian governments were republican in form, with legislative, executive and judicial departments.[44] The Indian nations were under the general supervisory control of the United States by treaty terms yet each was an independent republic with its own political institutions, and each had the power of life and death over its own citizens.

Some of the Indians owned Negro slaves and, by the time of the arrival of the main body of the Cherokees in 1839, the slavery issue was becoming paramount in American politics. Several missionaries who had been living with the Indians in the East accompanied them west, and others came later from New England and the northern and eastern states. Some of these missionaries were ''abolitionists'' and sought to create public opinion against slavery. Their actions without a doubt in some cases added to the factional disputes and general disorder. Each tribe had a system of education and tribal schools, and a number of the missionaries carried on educational and religious work. During most of the period under consideration, the United States Government sustained relations by means of a superintendent with headquarters at Fort Smith, Arkansas, with agents appointed for each tribe separately.

While the period in the Indian Territory before the Civil War was characterized by great advancement among the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes, it seems certain that development was retarded by some of the feuds and factions created by removal and by the fact that it was impossible to avoid involvement in the growing controversy between the North and the South. The Indians were rapidly becoming adjusted to conditions in their new homes. Fields were broken and planted, the herds of cattle increased, the wounds and ill-will created by the removal quarrels had begun to heal. Yet an evil spirit seemed to pursue them. They had been compelled to remove from their old homes just as they were reaching a considerable stage of civilization, and had begun to follow in earnest the white man's road. Now, just as they were growing accustomed to conditions in this new region, when the first hardships of pioneering in a strange land were over, and prosperity was beginning to smile upon them, they were involved in the white man's quarrel. They could hardly avoid a share in this struggle even though their own interests were not vitally concerned in the outcome.

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[43] Kappler, *op. cit.*, pp. 756-763.

[44] Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), Vol. I, pp. 219-50.

It is an interesting fact to note that very few full-blood Indians owned Negro slaves. Among the Five Civilized Tribes, however, there were many people of mixed Indian blood and white descent, as well as some intermarried whites who owned slaves and brought them to the West.

The Choctaws and Chickasaws had come from Mississippi and Alabama where the culture of cotton made negro slavery profitable. Among the Choctaws who had settled in the Red River region were a number of slave owners who opened up extensive plantations along the river. Also, there were many Chickasaws known for their wealth in slaves. Many of the mixed blood Cherokees were wealthy slave owners. Although the Creeks did not engage largely in the culture of cotton, there were many Negro slaves in this nation.[45]

The preliminary report of the eighth census (1860) contains a valuable summary of the status of slavery among the Five Civilized Tribes at that time. It is evident that slavery was a recognized institution among them and a real part of their industrial system, although not so vitally a factor of material prosperity as it was in the southern states. In the report we find:[46]

> A new element has been developed by the present census, viz: that of the statistics of negro slavery among the Indian tribes west of Arkansas, comprising the Choctaw, Cherokee, Creek and Chickasaw nations; also the number of white and free colored population scattered throughout these tribes. . . . . By reference to this table it will appear that the Choctaws held 2,297 negro slaves, distributed among 385 owners; the Cherokees, 2,504, held by 384 owners; the Creeks, 1,651, owned by 267 Indians; and the Chickasaws, 917 to 118 owners. As, under all the circumstances of slavery everywhere, the servile race is unequally distributed, so will appear to be the case with the Indian tribes. While one Choctaw is the owner of 227 slaves, and ten of the largest proprietors own 638, averaging nearly 64, the slaves average about six to each owner of slaves in that tribe, while the Indians number about as eight to one.
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> Among the Cherokees the largest proprietor holds 57 slaves; the ten largest own 353, averaging a little over 35, and the number to each holder averages a little more than a half per cent. more than with the Choctaws, while the population of Indians in the tribe to slaves is about nine to one. Among the Creeks two hold 75 slaves each; ten own 433, while the ratio of slaves to the whole number of Indians varies but little from that with

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[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 297-298.

[46] *Preliminary Report of the Eighth Census*, 1860, pp. 10-11. (There are some discrepancies in this *Census Report.* For example, the wealthiest Choctaw planter, Robert M. Jones, owned nearly 500 Negro slaves who worked his five large plantations.—Ed.)

> the Cherokees. The largest proprietor among the Chickasaws holds 61 slaves, ten own 275, or an average of 27½, while the average is nearly eight to each owner in the tribe, and one to each five and a half Indians in the tribe. It thus appears that in those tribes there are nearly eight Indians to each negro slave, and that the slaves form about 12½ per cent. of the population, omitting the whites and the free colored. The small tribe of Seminoles, although like the tribes above mentioned, transplanted from slaveholding states, hold no slaves, but intermarry with the colored population. These tribes, while they present an advanced state of civilization, and some of them have attained to a condition of comfort, wealth, and refinement, form but a small portion of the Indian tribes within the territory of the United States, and are alluded to an account of their relation to a civil condition recognized by a portion of the States, and which exercises a significant influence with the country at large.

There were some Negro slaves among the Seminoles. ''In their removal to the West,'' say Thoburn and Wright, ''the Seminoles, some of whom were slave owners, were accompanied by a number of free (or refugee) negroes who had fled from bondage in the states and had been adopted as members of the tribe while it was located in Florida.''[47]

The treatment of slaves in the Indian Territory was mild as compared with that in the states. The brutal, cruel type of owner among the people in this country was an exception, for in most cases the slaves were well treated, well clothed and fed. One authority in discussing the treatment which the slaves received in the Indian country, said:[48]

> Although slavery had existed for some generations among the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks, it was well known to those familiar with the institution that it never existed in the form that characterized it in the slave states of the Union, particularly in the Southern states. The worst features of slavery, such as the hard treatment imposed upon the slaves of the South was hardly known to the slaves of these Indians prior to the war. Indeed, the negroes brought up among the Indians were under such feeble restraint from infancy up that the owners and dealers in slaves in Missouri and Arkansas did not hesitate to acknowledge that Indian negroes were undesirable because of the difficulty of controlling them.

Even before the enforced removal of all the Indian tribes from the southern states to the Indian Territory was completed, the activities of anti-slavery agitators were carried on among them. This work was allied with that of some of the mission workers of the different church boards. The first public expression against it was in 1836, when the Choctaws in General Council passed a law designed to compel any missionary or preacher, or person, ''whatever his occupation may be'' found favoring the most ''fatal and destructive doctrines of abolitionism'' to leave the nation and stay out of it. The teaching of slaves how to read, to write or sing, without the consent of the owner, or of allowing a slave to sit at the table with them were all considered sufficient grounds to convict persons of favoring the principles and notions of abolitionism.[49] This was followed from time to time by other laws with reference to slavery. These included laws prohibiting slaves from owning property or arms, detention of runaway slaves or the emancipation of slaves without the consent of the Choctaw General Council.

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[47] Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 298.

[48] Wiley Britton, *The Civil War on the Border*, (New York, 1904) Vol. II, pp. 24-25.

In 1857, the Chickasaws passed an act providing for the removal from the nation of any person known to be an ''abolitionist.''[50] On the same day, they passed a law providing that no Negro might vote or hold office in the Chickasaw Nation.[51] Though the Indian Territory was far removed from the centers of agitation for the abolition of slavery, the security and peace of mind of the slave owners were disturbed from time to time by the anti-slavery agitation of some of the mission workers. A greatly majority of these sent out by the American Board of Foreign Missions were known to be opposed to slavery. It is impossible to estimate the effect of this kind of work on an institution such as slavery. The American Board had four missions in the Cherokee country in the period just preceding the Civil War. Also, it had missionaries among the Choctaws. Both Southern and Northern Baptists and Southern Methodists were to be found among the Cherokees. There were Presbyterian and Southern Methodist missionaries among the Chickasaws and Choctaws, and Presbyterians among the Creeks and Seminoles.[52] Since the Indian country was free and open to all faiths, there are several instances recorded of trouble arising from the activities of missionaries. In 1859, Rev. John B. Jones was the dominant spirit in the inception of the secret society among the full-blood Cherokee, known as the ''Keetoowah Society,'' an organization strongly in favor of abolition. The slaveholders joined a society common among southern sympathizers throughout the north central states, known as the ''Knights of the Golden Circle.'' In time, most of the men of the Cherokee Nation were enrolled in one or the other of these two rival societies. [53]

The United States officials who were charged with the supervision of Indian affairs for the tribes in the Indian Territory were in nearly every instance men of southern birth and extraction. Most of them were more or less active in their support of the succession movement and each was in a position to exert a powerful influence in its behalf. Elias Rector, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Superintendency at Fort Smith, was a native of Arkansas and a cousin and close friend of Henry M. Rector, Governor of that state. Douglas H. Cooper, agent for the Choctaws and Chickasaws, was from Mississippi, and William H. Garret, agent for the Creeks, was from Alabama.[54] George Butler, agent to the Cherokees, was a native of South Carolina.[55] Rector, Cooper, and Butler were appointed by the Buchanan administration.[56] Some of the agents selected by the Lincoln administration, in its earlier days, were also of Southern extraction. John Crawford, Cherokee Agent, William Quesenbury, Creek agent, and Samuel M. Rutherford, Seminole Agent, worked openly for secession, trusting the inaccessibility of the Indian Territory to prevent reports of their conduct reaching Washington.[57]

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[49] Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 300. Note 12 quotes the law.

[50] *Constitution, Laws and Treaties of the Chickasaws,* (1860) p. 80: "Be it enacted by the Legislature of the Chickasaw Nation, That, from and after the passage of this act, all white persons known to be abolitionists, or may hereafter advocate the cause of abolitionism in this Nation, shall be deemed unfriendly and dangerous to the interests of the Chickasaw people, and shall be forthwith removed from the limits of this Nation by the United States Agent or Governor of this Nation. Approved November 20, 1857. C. Harris, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation."

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[52] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist,* (Cleveland, 1915) pp. 39-40.

[53] J. S. Buchanan and E. E. Dale, *A History of Oklahoma,* (Evanston, 1935), p. 130.

At the beginning of the Civil War, Forts Washita, Arbuckle, and Cobb were the military posts of the Indian Territory. All the troops were under the command of Colonel William H. Emory. The base for these posts was Fort Smith, Arkansas, to which supplies were shipped up the Arkansas River and stored. In February, before withdrawing from the Union, the State of Arkansas had seized the United States arsenal at Little Rock. Later in the spring, supplies for Fort Smith were also taken, and an expedition organized by some of the state officials to capture the post. Thereupon, the United States Commander at Fort Smith withdrew the Federal troops to Fort Washita to report to Colonel Emory.[58] By the time the base of supplies at Fort Smith was cut off, many officers had resigned to join the South, and Colonel Emory's forces were threatened by an attack from Texas troops. On April 17, 1861, he was given orders to retire, with all his troops to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.[59] In May, 1861, troops from Texas occupied without opposition, Forts Arbuckle, Cobb, and Washita.[60] William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, said in his report of 1861 that the defection of the Indians in the Indian Territory was due to their abandonment by the United States troops.[61]

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[54] Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

[55] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Dr. William Butler and George Butler, Cherokee Agents," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXX, No. 2 (Summer, 1952), pp. 164-72.

[56] *Annual Report of the Secretary of Interior,* 1859, pp. 396-397; Grant Foreman, ed., *A Traveler in Indian Territory, the Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock* (Cedar Rapids, 1930).

[57] Annie Heloise Abel, "The Indians in the Civil War," in *American Historical Review,* Vol. XV, p. 283.

[58] W. B. Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1936), pp. 86-87.

[59] E. D. Townsend, Ass't Adj.-Gen. to Lt. Col. W. H. Emory, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Series 1, Vol. I, p. 667.

[60] Sergeant Charles Campbell to Colonel Emory, May 5, 1861, *ibid.*, p. 652. Captain Benning to Hon. L. Pope Walker, *ibid.*, p. 653.

[61] *Annual Report of the Secretary of Interior,* 1861, p. 627.

In attempting to analyze the attitude of the Indian tribes in the period of agitation among them preceding the Civil War, one factor having to do with their finances should be considered. Practically all of the Indian money held in trust by the United States government for the individual tribes was invested in southern stocks. Only a very small part was secured by northern bonds. The argument of the southerners for the benefit of the Indians was that all these securities would be forfeited by the war.[62]

The Indian Territory lay for the most part between Arkansas and Texas. The Red River marked the southern boundary and separated it from Texas. The Panhandle of Texas, then unsettled, lay along most of the western border of the Indian country.

The Canadian River runs parallel to the Red River and about one hundred miles north of it. Between the two rivers were the wide domains of the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. The Choctaw Nation faced Arkansas on the east and Texas on the south. The Chickasaw District occupied the section just west of the Choctaws. Between the two Canadian Rivers was a narrow strip of territory belonging to the Seminoles. North of this was the Creek Nation, to the east of which was the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokees and Choctaws were next door neighbors of Arkansas. Fort Smith, Arkansas, was the headquarters of the Southern Superintendency, which necessarily brought the five tribes in close intimacy with the people of Arkansas.

More than three months before Arkansas seceded from the Union, Governor Henry M. Rector wrote Chief John Ross of the Cherokees an ingratiating letter calling attention to the fact that the Cherokees in their institutions, productions, latitude, and natural sympathies were allied to the common brotherhood of slaveholding states. Rector assured Ross that it was an established fact that the Indian country was looked upon by the incoming administration ''as a fruitful field, ripe for the harvest of Abolitionists, free soilers and northern mountebanks.'' He promised to give the Cherokees protection in their exposed condition and offered to assume the monetary obligations of the Federal Government to them if they would join the South in the defense of her firesides, her honor, and her institutions.[63]

Mr. Ross replied in a letter expressing the regret and solicitude of the Cherokees for the unhappy relations existing between the two sections of the country and hoping for the restoration of peace and harmony. At the same time he declared, in no uncertain terms, the loyalty of the Cherokees to the United States. They had placed themselves under the protection of the United States, he reasoned, and were bound to enter into no treaty with any foreign power, individual, or citizen of any state. The faith of the United States, he said, was solemnly pledged to protect them in their land titles and all their individual rights and interests of person or property. The Cherokees, he continued, were inviolably allied with the United States in war and were friends in peace. While their institutions, locality, and natural sympathy were unequivocally with the slaveholding states and the social and commercial intercourse between the Cherokees and Arkansans were of great importance to his people, these interests must be subordinated to the higher one of his nation's honor.[64]

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[62] David Hubbard to John Ross and Ben McCulloch, June 12, 1861, in *Official Records, op. cit.*, Series 1, Vol. XIII, p. 497. See *Appendix A* for table of stocks held in trust by Secretary of Interior for Indian Tribes (*Report of the Secretary of Interior*, 1859-60, Part I, p. 820).

[63] Frank Moore, ed., *Rebellion Records: Diary of American Events* (New York, 1868), "Document 114," Vol. II, pp. 392-393.

Not satisfied with his reply, the citizens of western Arkansas and the commandant at Fort Smith, Colonel Kannady, brought strong pressure to bear upon the chief demanding to know on what ground he stood, as they preferred an open enemy to a doubtful friend.[65] To this Chief Ross replied that the Cherokees would take no part in the trouble. He described his people as weak, defenseless, and scattered over a large section of the country in pursuit of agricultural life, without hostility to any state, and with friendly feeling for all. They hoped to be allowed to remain neutral. "I am—the Cherokees are your friends, but we do not wish to be brought into the feud between yourselves and your northern brethren. Our wish is for peace—peace with you and peace at home."

(Part II to be continued)

APPENDIX A

Stocks held by the Secretary of the Interior in trust for Indian tribes in 1860:

State	Per Cent	Amount
Arkansas	5	$ 3,000.00
Florida	7	132,000.00
Georgia	6	3,500.00
Indiana	5	70,000.00
Kentucky	5	183,000.00
Louisiana	6	37,000.00
Maryland*	6	131,611.82
Missouri	5½	63,000.00
Missouri	6	484,000.00
North Carolina	6	562,000.00
Ohio	6	150,000.00
Pennsylvania*	5	96,000.00
South Carolina	6	125,000.00
Tennessee	5	218,000.00
Tennessee	6	143,000.00
United States	6	251,330.00
Virginia	6	796,800.00
Total		$ 3,449,241.82

*Taxed by the State

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[64] *Ibid.*

[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 393-4. Document No. 114 is a synopsis of this correspondence.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

REPORTS FROM FORT GIBSON, 1835 TO 1839

In her many years of research and writing on Oklahoma historical subject, Carolyn Thomas Foreman recently made the discovery that Brig. Gen. John E. Wool, U.S.A., was once stationed at Fort Gibson. Mrs. Foreman has contributed to *The Chronicles* the following interesting notes along with General Wool's report of 1839 and other early reports from Fort Gibson:

The *Army and Navy Chronicle* was a well edited publication which served a large area of the United States and kept the people in touch with the scattered army posts and events transpiring in them. Movements of troops were reported, promotions of officers were circulated, marriages and deaths chronicled.

This magazine painted gloomy pictures of Fort Gibson in the early days and displayed great resentment because regiments were held many years on this frontier. Most of the officers were young men and recently out of West Point and not accustomed to the extreme hardships they encountered.

Recruiting officers were kept in the East and it was necessary to replace personnel frequently because of the high death rate. Fevers of various kinds carried off hundreds of young men and more died from hard drinking than were killed in fighting.

On June 24, 1835 Lieutenant William W. Mather[1] was ordered to accompany G. W. Featherstonbaugh on his geological tour in the Northwest, beyond the Upper Mississippi.[2] On his return he was to join his company of the Seventh Infantry by December thirty-first.

The Lieutenant reached Fort Gibson ten days ahead of his schedule and on the Twenty-second he wrote the following letter:

"I arrived here yesterday in safety and in health, after a fatiguing journey of 460 miles across the country from St. Louis. During the route I have not seen a bridge of any kind, but have forded all the streams. Several of them are of the size of the Quinebaugh [Connecticut] some larger, and many are smaller. Two of them I forded eight times each and several two or three times. Many of them are very rapid and once my pack horse came near being washed away.

"I carried an Indian rubber cloth for camping out, by which I could be perfectly protected from the wet ground and rain, and which I could in a few minutes make into a boat for crossing rivers when they were too deep to ford. I did not have occasion to use it. It has been pleasant weather all the time . . . . I was on my journey. . . . .

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[1] William Williams Mather of Connecticut entered West Point July 1, 1823; he became a second lieutenant in the Seventh Infantry July 1, 1828; first lieutenant December 4, 1834 and he resigned August 31, 1836. He died February 27, 1859.

[2] G. W. Featherstonhaugh, *A Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor* (London, 1847). "July 8, 1835 — This morning we all embarked upon the canal at George Town, near Washington, in a commodious iron boat, eighty-five feet long." On the return journey the party arrived at St. Louis on June 19, 1836.

"I shall say nothing of this place until I know more of it. . . . . The mail arrives and departs weekly. Phillips[3] and Tillinghast[4] and young Arden[4a] are here, and a great many that I know. Two officers have lately died and another is not expected to recover from fever contracted during the expedition in the prairies last summer."

Mather's next letter was dated January 13, 1836, when he had learned more about Fort Gibson. He wrote:

" . . . . I have been constantly engrossed on duties connected with my company. I have the honor to command the worst company of the Seventh Regiment, so you may conceive the pleasure of my duties. The company books, papers and accounts are in the most perfect confusion, and a long time will be required to put them in order. It has had no permanent commander for several years, and the necessary consequence has followed that the men are not ambitious, and are a ragged, dirty, drunken set of fellows.[5] Forty-two men are crowded into a room about the size of my father's dining room and kitchen. The other companies are scarcely better accomodated. . . . .

"Fort Gibson is not an unpleasant place at this season of the year. There is a hoar frost nights, and warm, pleasant days like October in New England. The Fort, as it is called, is a picketed enclosure of 90 by 95 yards, with long blocks of log cabins within, ...

"The two squares on the corners represent block-houses for the purpose of defending the large square. There is a small village around of houses, stores, kitchens, hospital, tavern, mess-house, and the various buildings necessary for the various wants of such a community. The Neosho or Grand River flows about 100 yards from the Fort, and the water sometimes almost comes into it.

"The ground gradually ascends to the northeast one-half mile, where the country opens as a prairie several miles in extent. East, southwest and northwest is an extensive low ground filled with stagnant, putrid lagoons in the lower parts, and a large part of the remainder is a canebrake, most of which is impenetrable on account of the size of the canes, which stand like stalks in a wheat field and 20 feet high.

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[3] Joseph Augustus Phillips, a native of New Jersey, was appointed to the Military Academy September 30, 1818. He became a second lieutenant of the Seventh Infantry July 1, 1823; first lieutenant June 30, 1828. He was made regimental adjutant May 16, 1825 and served until May 31, 1830 in that capacity. He received his captaincy May 4, 1835 and was transferred to the Eighth Infantry July 7, 1838; he resigned from the service September 30, 1840 and died January 4, 1846 (Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* [Washington, 1903], Vol. I, p. 789).

[4] Nicholas Tillinghast was born in Massachusetts and received his appointment to West Point from his native state. He entered the Academy July 1, 1820 and became a second lieutenant in the Seventh Infantry four years later; a first lieutenant June 30, 1830; captain June 1, 1835; resigned July 31, 1836. He passed away April 9, 1856 (Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 962).

[4a] Thomas Boyle Arden of New York finished at West Point in 1835 and he must have gone directly to Fort Gibson. He resigned December 31, 1842 and died August 13, 1896. According to Cullum's *Register of Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy*, Arden served at Fort Gibson during 1835-36; at Camp Desire, near Fort Towson, 1836 and again at Fort Gibson 1836-37.

[5] For an account of conditions at Fort Gibson at this period, see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Military Discipline in Early Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1928), pp. 140-44.

"There are several New England ladies here and they enjoy pretty good health, but expect a regular fever every summer. Among the men at this Fort, about 400, there are about 12 to 14 hundred cases of sickness reported by the surgeon annually, but most of it is to be attributed to the irregular habits of the men and the trips on the prairies. Few officers or men return from those trips without a broken constitution, and they are considered almost as a death warrant by most of the men. Tillinghast and Phillips are here and are my next door neighbors. We live in three contiguous rooms, and one waiter serves us all. We are together most of the time. . . . . But for Tillinghast and Phillips, who are like brothers, I should be very lonely when not occupied with my duties. . . . . I should not like to have my family here. The place is the charnel house of the Army. More deaths occur here annually than in the whole of the rest of the Army, as it is said.

"I am willing to run any risk as long as I can serve my country, and no consideration of personal safety shall weigh, where I think my services can be useful. . . . . I have fortunately come here at the right season to become acclimated without injury. I enjoy perfect health and hope by care and temperance in everything to continue to be blessed with it."[6]

Mather wrote on March 15, 1836 that there were rumors that the Seventh regiment would be sent to Jefferson Barracks as soon as the Texian difficulties were settled.

The following unsigned letter was sent to a friend with the request that it be forwarded to the *National Intelligencer.* It appeared in the pages of the *Army and Navy Chronicle,* April 13, 1837:

"Fort Gibson, (Ark). Feb. 14, 1837."

"Messrs. Gales & Seaton:—There has been at this place for the last few days considerable excitement, showing the strongest evidence, in the judgment of many very intelligent persons, that a garrison should not be stationed in an Indian country.

"The regiment of volunteers furnished by Arkansas was ordered by the commanding General of this place to rendezvous at this garrison. After remaining for some time, the principal part of them were discharged; the remainder, some three companies, were retained in the service, and were quartered about four miles from this place in the Cherokee country. A "frolic" of the Indian kind was made, and, during their amusements, as is always the case where spirituous liquors are freely used, a fight took place, in which two or three of the volunteers were handled "with gloves off" by the red gentlemen, which rendered them unable for duty the next day. This excited the remainder of the companies, and induced them to take vengeance on all Cherokees found in the neighborhood where the "frolic was held, by inflicting on them the most brutal punishment."

"The moment this was ascertained by the Cherokees, the Captains of several of their companies called out their men, and marched to the place where the scene of punishment was inflicted. But fortunately, the General had been informed by the principal chief, Major [John] Jolly, that his young men were beyond his control, and determined to have revenge. This intelligence induced the General to order the volunteers within the reserve, and near the garrison, where they now remain.

"On the arrival of the Cherokee companies at the place where the act was committed, they found that the volunteers had withdrawn. This prevented a second scene of collision, which would have been of the *most serious nature.* One of the Captains commanding the Cherokees, finding the party which had committed the punishment on his countrymen had left here, adopted the usual custon among Indians, when the Indian ladies had been over-kind to the white man, and punished *them* by whipping until the blood was seen trickling on their heels! and, not satisfied with this, cut off their hair, and left them to reflect on their folly.

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[6] Robert L. Archer, "Middle West in Pioneer Days," *National Republic,* Washington, Vol. XXIV, No. I (May, 1936), pp. 12, 13, 23.

"Gentlemen, you must suppose, when you are informed that there are not more than two hundred and fifty regulars fit for duty at this place, what a contempt the Indians must have for the military strength of the United States, especially when ten times this number of Cherokee warriors are between this garrison and the white population.

"It is time for our Government to act, and act wisely, or there will be another Seminole business of the most destructive kind. This shows, conclusively, that the line of posts should be located within the borders of the State, where the white as well as the "red men" could be protected.

"The Government under treaty stipulation is bound to protect the Indians located here against the wild Indians, and the cavalry are the proper troops to give this protection. Let them be stationed in The Indian country, and at all times they will be ready to move with rapidity to any given point, should any difficulty occur."

The *Baltimore Patriot* published a communication from Fort Gibson which was copied in the April 27, 1837 edition of the *Army and Navy Chronicle*:

"Near Fort Gibson, March 14, 1837."

"There is great doubt whether or not the Dragoons will make an early campaign this summer; we hope to go to Leavenworth, and turn over our quarters to the 2d Regiment. We have had a long enough siege in this warm and sickly climate. Some of the officers think we go on to Grand Prairie, as soon as the grass will admit, as the Pawnees and Comanches have been committing some depredations. Of our movements I will acquaint you. The companies of Dragoons at this post are far from being full, although there has been an arrival of fifty recruits, principally from the Eastern States but the Yankees won't stay; a great number have deserted.

"The 7th Infantry is but the shadow of a regiment—this spring nearly seven-eights will be discharged—it now musters but 160. The volunteer regiment of mounted men are still encamped here, but will be discharged as soon as the paymaster arrives.

"We are swarmed with Florida Seminoles; poor squalid wretches. Many have emigrated to the Creek Nation, and gone under the protection of the McIntoshes."

A long letter copied from the *National Intelligencer* appeared in the *Army and Navy Journal* on June 15, 1837:

"Fort Gibson,
May 10, 1837."

"Messrs. Editors: Just three years ago a writer in the Military and Naval Magazine gave a summary of the condition of the dragoons. He showed that they were then well nigh victims to ignorance or gross mismanagement in some quarter, having been marched in December, naked and undiciplined, from good winter quarters, 500 miles to this point, where they found no quarters, or stables, or food for horses; they were then detained here until Farenheit, which had sunk 40 degrees below freezing point, rose to 105 degrees in June; then marched south over leafless prairies, or rather in the great American Desert. Some of them returned, and again found no shelter. Ere the year closed, the death of a third of the whole number remained a recorded memorial of that season—of that murderous treatment.

"Three companies of the First Dragoons are still stationed at this "Forlorn Hope" of advanced posts. If the danger of exposure, without defence, to the mercy of an overwhelming force of Indians, does not give it the title, view yon hill, like a ploughed field, where every clod rests over the remains of a youthful victim to the exposure of unnecessary marches, of unhealthy huts! * *

"But I have again digressed. There are some signs of this better policy—of the union of regiments, and greater concentration of forces where they seem almost only needed, between the Missouri and Red rivers—having forced itself upon the perceptions of the powers that be. But much can only be expected from a new Secretary, from whom the subject must attract due consideration. The Administration of the Army presents him a wide field for improvement and industrious reform. May we never again see long lists of officers publicly ordered like delinquents to their posts in the field—by the President, too—and by the next mail receiving private orders from his subordinates to remain where they were. From a new Secretary, the Army, often disappointed, must hope all things.

"Between Red river and the upper Mississippi, in addition to their old inhabitants, a small portion of which could raise a "Black Hawk war," have been located all the emigrating tribes; a kind of emigration that might well receive another name. Half conquered, they have been forced here by the ten thousand; some of them in chains. The iron enters into the soul of the Indian, whose sole birthright is to be untameably free. Between these two points of the frontier, distant about a thousand miles, are now stationed at Fort Gibson, about 200 infantry, (the skeleton of 9 companies.) It follows that the First Regiment of Dragoons, occupying a line of operation of about 700 miles from that post to Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi, must have some very important function. It must be acknowledged that a judicious disposition has been made, as if in anticipation of a general rising of the enemy, (which to us on the spot is out of the range of probability; of supposition at the least.) The centre of this great line of operations on a turbulant river; the right flank rests with equal strength upon the Mississippi at Des Moines: the left flank, or wing of this mighty front, is covered by the Arkansas at Fort Gibson. Too high praise cannot be bestowed upon the judgment displayed in this disposition, sanctioned by all the experience and maxims of war, which so strongly posts the centre, and rests the flanks on obstacles creating a natural defense.

"But I fear too much is left to depend upon the genius of the commander, very properly posted in the van; for though his mounted troops possess great power of locomotion, there may happen contingencies in which his resources will be too greatly taxed. A Tecumseh or an Osceola may stumble upon the great manoeuvre of Napoleon, of forcing a weak point of the line, by a powerfully concentrated effort; then, having no reserve, and the line of operations being too extended for reinforcements to repair the evil, the battle will be with the strong. But now will be discovered a great advantage in the great corps being posted on rivers leading to the interior; it is at once evident that they can retreat with facility, until opportunities offer of establishing a new line of operations of defence. There is no objection, too; the left wing is opposed to by far greater strength of the enemy; and when it is remembered that the Arkansas is generally scarcely navigable, it will be admitted that they are greatly and unfairly exposed. But, perhaps, all the defects of the present disposition might be remedied by a strong corps de reserve, say of 10,000 men, posted somewhere in the rear of the line; Jefferson barracks would be a central point.

"It is difficult to treat the subject seriously. The 1st regiment of dragoons is divided by seven hundred miles, under circumstances which have scarcely been exaggerated. Never having served together, and under a press of duties since its establishment, no opportunity has been offered to revive, to a great degree, a practical knowledge of that important arm; of the service of cavalry, almost lost in the United States. Scattered in huts and sheds of stables, which they have sometimes to build themselves; constantly detached in new patrols, to correct petty disorders among the Indians, they can thus only serve to irritate, and expose numerical weakness.

"The time will come, though perhaps rather late, when 2,500 men will be stationed in this vicinity; and when by adequate pay and bounties, (perhaps of land,) good men will be induced to enlist. There is a very great falling off in the character of the recruits this year for the dragoons; and although the same men will not enlist for five years, that will for three, without greater inducements, this last term is much too short for that service.

"A SUBSCRIBER."

Officers and men of the army were not only persons who suffered illness and death at Fort Gibson. George Catlin was desperately ill while there and Beyrich, the Prussian botanist, and his servant both passed away after their return to the post from the West.

Fevers of several sorts carried off hundreds of men as well as wives and young children of officers and it was many years before the danger from the bites of musquitoes were proven as the cause of malaria and other diseases. The Grand River was a favorite swimming place and many soldiers lost their lives below its waters.

Altogether it took a hardy man to survive the many dangers although no fights with Indians took place in the vicinity there were some bloody encounters with desperate outlaws who took advantage of the lack of laws to carry on their nefarious attempts against both red and white men.

That conditions were still in a deplorable condition in 1839 was confirmed by a report made by the famous General Wool[7] to adjutant General R. Jones from New Orleans May 6, 1839:

I have just arrived from visiting the forts on the Red and Arkansas rivers, when I received your letter of the 22d ultimo. As soon as I have inspected the Arsenal at Baton Rouge I will proceed to execute the duties assigned me by order 25.

"I have only time to add that we never will have well disciplined Regiments or Companies until colonels are compelled to command their regiments and Captains their companies. Of the Dragoons, four Companies at Gibson, two Captains were absent and only one fit for Duty—No field officers with the Command. Of the 4th Infantry several Companies were commanded at the time of inspection by sergeants—The Colonel had arrived but had not yet assumed the Command of his Regiment. I observed the same deficiency of officers in the 3d Infantry.

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[7] John Ellis Wool, a native of Newburg, New York, was born February 20, 1784 and appointed from that state to the United States Army as a captain of the Thirteenth Infantry on April 14, 1812. He became a major of the Twenty-ninth Infantry a year later and served a year in the Sixth Infantry, before he was commissioned a colonel of the Inspector General Department where he remained from April 29, 1816 to June 25, 1841. He later became brigadier and major general and made such a gallant fight in the battle of Buena Vista on February 23, 1847 that he received the thanks of Congress in January, 1854.

"I am very respectfully, Your Obdt. Servt.

"John E. Wool

Brig. Genl. U.S.A."[8]

—Carolyn Thomas Foreman.

CAPTAIN EUSTACE TRENOR: A CORRECTION

Attention is called to an important correction: The name of Captain Eustace Trenor, First Dragoons, is inadvertantly given as ''Captain Eustis Turner'' in the article, ''The March of the First Dragoons from Jefferson Barracks, ''by Hamilton Gardner appearing in the Spring number (1953) of *The Chronicles,* Vol. XXXI, No. 1, pp. 33, 34, 36.

Captain Eustace Trenor accompanied the noted Dragoon Expedition (Leavenworth Expedition) organized at Fort Gibson by General Henry Leavenworth to visit the Plains Indians of Western Oklahoma in 1834.[9] Commissioned Captain, First Dragoons, March 4, 1833, he had an important part in early history of Oklahoma as seen by his military record which included the following service on the Western Frontier: ''Ft. Gibson, I. T., 1834,—Expedition to the Canadian River, 1835,—Ft. Gibson, I.T., 1835-36,—Necogdoches, Tex., 1836,—Ft. Gibson, I.T., 1837-39; . . . . on frontier duty at Ft. Leavenworth, Kan., 1840-41, 1842,—Ft. Gibson, I.T., 1842,—and Ft. Leavenworth, Kan.'' He was commissioned Major, First Dragoons, on June 30, 1846.[10] A native of New York and graduate of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point (July 1, 1822), Major Eustace Trenor died on February 16, 1847, at New York City, aged forty-four.

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[8] National Archives, Office of the Adjutant General 145-W-1839. In many years of research this is the first mention of General Wool being at Fort Gibson ever discovered by the writer.

[9] George H. Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1950), pp. 15, 41. Captain Trenor remained in command of Camp Leavenworth (July 7, 1834) near the present site of Kingston, Oklahoma, where many of the men were sick including General Henry Leavenworth who died on July 21, 1834.

[10] Major-General George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* (New York, 1868), p. 230-31.

See also, "Eustace Trenor" in Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register* (Washington, 1903), Vol. I, p. 970.

SAM HOUSTON: INTERPRETER OF INDIAN STRATEGY

James W. Covington, Professor of History, University of Tampa, Tampa, Florida, has contributed the following notes with copy of a letter signed by the noted Sam Houston soon after he had left the Indian Territory for Texas:

The fame of Sam Houston as the "George Washington of Texas" has overshadowed the fact that Houston had a vast store of knowledge concerning the life and philosophy of the American Indian. He probably knew as much about the Indians as any man of the Nineteenth Century. This informal education was begun in his "teens" when he ran away from home, and his brothers found him among the Cherokees on the banks of the Tennessee River. Sam was happy in this primitive way of life and was found lying under a tree reading Pope's translation of the Iliad. The brothers were not able to return with the young fugitive, and he visited his white family at infrequent intervals. Chief Oo-loo-te-ka of the Cherokees adopted him and gave Sam the Indian of Raven.[11]

This admiration of the Indians lasted throughout Houston's life. He lived with the Cherokees at various times in Tennessee and Oklahoma until he left for Texas and destiny in 1832. The camp of Oo-loo-te-ka's band near Ft. Gibson, Oklahoma served as the home of Sam Houston during most of this period. Federal officials regarded Sam Houston as one who knew the Indian situation thoroughly. The following letter illustrates Houston's knowledge of the Plains Indians and how they maintained a delicate relationship between the British, the Americans, and the neighboring Indian tribes:

"The undersigned have the honor to reply to the note of Gov. Cass, of the 6th Instant, on the subject of Mr. Abbay's captivity among the Indians of the S. W. Prairies.[12]

"From the best general information, on the subject of the Indians who roam these immense plains, we think it certain that Mr. Abbay[13] was captured by the Pawnees[14] of the plains. They are in the habit of constant warfare with the Osages and regard all persons, who approach their country from the East of Red River, as enemies and are ready at all times to steal their horses or to make battle with them.[15] The information of the Pawnees in relation to the Indian Tribes on [the] Arkansas [River] as well as to the relations which these tribes bear to the U. States is very imperfect—[we are] aware however that they are in amity with the U. States and that they derive supplies from them. This fact has doubtless an influence in rendering these Indians hostile to citizens of the U. States. It is conceded that the warriors of the Pawnees amount to at least three thousand in number! They are proud, confident of their strength and sagacious, while all of their movements are executed with great celerity. This policy is to retain the control of the Prairies, in such manner, as will enable them to keep up a correspondence with the British traders of the North West from whom they derive many articles of great use to them.[16] To accomplish this object, intelligence relative to the whites and Indians on [the] Arkansas, is of primary importance to them. In the absence of all friendly intercourse with either, their only source of information is to take prisoners from both, whenever it is in their power—retain them as slaves, and as soon as they can learn the language of the Pawnees, to make interpreters of them. We are therefore led to the conclusion that Mr. Abbay is yet a prisoner among them as it will be their policy to preserve his life.

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[11] Marquis James, *The Raven* (Indianapolis, 1929), p. 19.

[12] Sam Houston and Andrew Hughes to Secretary of War Lewis Cass, March 12, 1834, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives, *Pawnee*, 1834. A copy of the letter from Cass to Houston was not available in the National Archives. Letter of Richard G. Wood to James W. Covington, January 23, 1953. Lewis Cass was previously governor of Michigan Territory.

[13] George B. Abbay, member of a company of Rangers under the command of Lieut. Col. James B. Many on patrol north of Red River, was killed in attack by Plains Indians (Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* [Cleveland, 1926]).—Ed.

[14] The term "Pawnee" was loosely used in referring to the Southern Plains tribes in the 1830's, a general term for the allied Comanche, Kiowa and Wichita in their wars against the Osage. The Comanches, of the three allied tribes, were notoriously the most formidable and usually implicated in any trouble on the frontier (Rupert N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* [Glendale, 1933]). Abbay was reported captured by the "Pawnee Peak," misspelling of "Pani Pique" (Tattooed Pawnee"), the early name for the Wichita. While the Wichita are related to the Pawnee proper (Caddoan stock), the Pawnee proper were not connected with the capture and death of Abbay, for at that time they ranged far north on their lands in the Platte River region of Nebraska (Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* [Norman, 1951]).—Ed.

"To ascertain whether or not, Mr. Abbay yet lives or by whom he was really captured if by those Indians, it will be indispensibly necessary to open a communication with them by the most safe and direct mode.

"This can never be done by the employment of a military force! It is a custom, with all Indians with whom we are acquainted, when they hold a prisoner, and are invaded, or apprehend serious danger, to put their captives to death, that they can boast the first trophy and influence the superstition of their warriors by claiming the first victim, as a good omen; as well as to influence their fierce passions by the exhibition of a bloody spectacle![17] Furthermore there is no force than can be sent against the Indians with any prospect of success. The display of a force on the Prairies would unit all the Indians that inhabit them and overwhelm it at once. Besides if the Pawnees alone could succeed in decoying a force to a proper distance in the Prairies, they would steal their horses, and defeat would be the certain consequence. The conviction that any warlike display would prove prejudicial to the object to be attained if it did not prove fatal to the life of Mr. Abbay.

"We therefore take leave to suggest, as the most feasible plan which presents its-self to us, is to appoint some two or three men, well acquainted with Indian character, possessing courage, sagacity and skill as woodmen, with a few others; as they might think proper: by not more than ten or twelve in number and dispatch them to the Pawnee nation, accompanied by such presents as might be thought fit to send to the Indians. If they should not loose [*sic*] their scalp and find out Mr. Abbay—the presumption is that they could succeed in procuring his release: if not they could at least succeed in contacting the Indians and induce some of their chiefs to visit the frontier Posts of the U. States: which would inevitably lead to a treaty and the release of Mr. Abbay.

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[15] This would be from Arkansas and Louisiana.

[16] Other Indian tribes attempted to serve as "middle men" between the whites and more remote tribes and thus pass on their worn out metal goods at a profit to the former user.

[17] James O. Pattie and his friends attempted to rescue four or five Spanish women from the Comanches, but only two escaped. At the first alarm, the Indians killed the others. Robert G. Cleland, *This Reckless Breed of Men* (New York, 1950), p. 168.

"If a treaty is once concluded with those Indians; their interest, as well as their conveniences, would induce them to remain on good terms with the citizens of the U. States.

"We beg leave to present to the consideration of Gov. Cass, the plan of directing the persons [unreadable] (if any should be) to proceed by way of the West of Red River, and approach the Indians by way of the Old Pawnee village in the mountains of Texas; or to pass up the Brazos, where they will meet the Comanches, who are friendly with the Americans in Texas, and on good terms with the Pawnees, after hunting and camping with them. Should any plan be adopted and that by the route of the Old village be thought best, we would remark that it may be greatly proper to take some of the most *trusty* of the Caddo tribe along as they are said to keep up a regular intercourse with the Pawnees and are charged in many instances, of uniting with them, in war parties, in horse stealing.[18]

"Should the enterprise be undertaken, and men can be procured who are suitable, they will, of course, be left to consult such measures, and adopt such means, as they may deem most proper, to effect the object and meet the wishes of the Government.

"Washington City[19]
Browns' Hotel
12th March 1834

"With great consideration
we have the honor to be
Your Mo Ob. Servants
"Sam Houston
"Andrew Hughes"

PLANS FOR A LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF OKLAHOMA

The following outline for a survey of Indian tribal languages in Oklahoma is contributed by William E. Bittle, Department of Anthropology, University of Oklahoma:

In recent years, the survey method has come to be exploited more fully as a prerequisite to intensive research in a variety of disciplines. Especially in certain of the social sciences, where the formulation of reseach problems is often no more difficult than the determination or limitation of the materials which will be utilized in their solution, the survey has provided a method whereby such materials may be investigated and limited so that any research plan is really feasible in terms of time, money and personnel available. The function of the survey has been recognized, perhaps, most clearly in the field of archaeology. In a recent article, Bell[20] has pointed out that archaeological surveys have frequently been stimulated in this, and other, areas by the threat to pre-historic materials represented by plans of the Federal Government to construct reservoirs and inundate large sections of land. Since neither the extent of archaeological deposits nor their relative importance can be effectively anticipated, it is necessary to sample the materials in a systematic way, and to attempt to provide a more or less adequate description of such materials before they are permanently lost.

In many other areas of the United States, surveys in archaeology have for long been recognized as antecedent to informed research, and have been organized to sample prehistoric remains and to allow scholars to lay careful plans for systematic excavation. It is, of course, this latter, more deliberate kind of survey which is preferable, since in this case the decision to excavate a particular area rests upon factors internal to the discipline rather than upon such accidental and extraneous factors as are represented by a program of soil and water conservation.

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[18] The Caddo Indians aided the Texans in many scouting parties.

[19] Brown's Indian Queen Hotel was located on Pennsylvania Avenue and often served as Houston's base of operations in Washington.

[20] Bell, Robert E., "Recent Archaeological Research in Oklahoma", *The Chronicles* of Oklahoma, Vol. XXVII, No. 3, pp. 303-312.

There is, I think, a self-evident analogy between the archaeological survey and the linguistic survey, especially insofar as aim and method are concerned. The linguistic survey, like the similar venture in archaeology, defines as its primary goal the circumscription of the field of study. Moreover, the need for such a survey of the state today is nearly as pressing as for the survey of prehistorical materials. The study of several languages spoken in Oklahoma is imperative, and must be undertaken within the next year or so, if we intend ever having any information whatever on them. In the past, several languages once spoken by a large number of individuals have been described under the difficult condition of utilizing a sole surviving speaker. Tonkawa, for example, is reported to have been described from the speech of one of the last speakers of that language; and it is far from inconceivable that within the next decade, a number of languages now spoken by a dozen or more individuals will be quite extinct.

However, for the great majority of languages the possibility of extinction is not great. But this in no wise minimizes either the value or the need for a survey of such languages, for the very important reasons outlined above. It is the intent, then, of this discussion, to outline the major steps to be taken in the establishmnt of such a survey.

One of the first steps to be taken by the Survey would be an enumeration of the languages of the state. That is, it would be necessary to determine exactly which languages are still spoken, and by how many individuals. This would not be a separate operation, but rather an adjunct of certain other operations. Of primary interest to the Survey, and to students of linguistics as well, would be a census of native speakers in the state. This information, in part available through individuals who have worked, or are working, with groups in the field, must for the most part come from the Indians themselves, and from the several agencies which serve them. It is tentatively proposed that questionnaires be compiled and sent out both to tribal representatives and to members of the various tribes. The information which will be requested will include estimates, subjective to be sure, of the number of speakers who are relatively fluent in a particular language, along with other information which is regarded as pertinent to the investigation. The personal questionnaires will help provide a check on the materials provided by Tribal Councils, and will also allow for the specifying of native speakers. Thus, in order that the Survey fulfil part of its proposed function, it is desireable that names of individual speakers be maintained on file for purposes of guiding the later program of the Survey.

It need hardly be pointed out that this technique for collecting information is not altogether sound in certain respects. It is, for example, notoriously unsafe to depend too heavily upon estimates made by untrained persons as to self-fluency. A further difficulty lies in the fact that fluency cannot adequately be defined in our questionnaires, with the obvious result that our estimates will cover a range from absolute fluency (perhaps even monolingualism) to something less than fleeting acquaintance with a language. But this problem is at the present time unavoidable. Unfortunately, the Department of the Interior does not maintain census records which provide the information desired. It is clear, however, that these initial estimates will ultimately be checked in the field by trained linguists. The primary job of the estimate, then, will be to provide the Survey with *any* information on native speakers and their location in the state.

At the same time questionnaires are being distributed and received, the second important task will be carried out. It is, of course, necessary to determine exactly what research has been done, and is available, on the languages of Oklahoma. Certain of the languages are quite well documented; others have never been studied. Thus, Kiowa-Apache, one of the important western Oklahoma languages, has, until recently, been touched upon only indirectly in the course of a larger study of the Apachean languages of the Southwest. Similarly, Kiowa, Comanche and several others, lack complete descriptions in print. In order that work not be unnecessarily duplicated, then, the preparation of an extensive and exhaustive bibliography of Oklahoma languages is indicated. This will involve at least two processes. The first of these will include a compilation of all published materials on the languages spoken within the state. The second process, and one equally important with the first, will be the determination of the extent to which materials on Oklahoma languages have been prepared but not published. There are, for example, a number of persons who have, from time to time, worked intensively with one group or another. Much of this material has either never been analyzed, or at least, has never been published. Where possible, those materials which are still unanalyzed, and which are represented only by collections of field notes, will be duplicated in the files of the Survey. Thus, in certain cases individuals may have collected materials which they do not propose to analyze, and which they may well be willing to transmit to us for analysis. On the other hand, in those instances where materials are now being prepared, record of that fact will be kept and taken into consideration when plans for field work are fully formulated.

These, then, are the preliminaries, necessary in order that information may be collected and a general program of research formulated. A third major source of information is, of course, the people of the state. Just as many of the archaeological sites of importance have been called to the attention of the Department of Anthropology by interested citizens, it is hoped that relevant information will be provided by those living in the state who frequently come into contact with Indian groups, and whose acquaintance with those groups is intimate. In many cases, this information will serve as a partial check on the data furnished by the tribes themselves. In other cases, it will constitute the only information we may have in the Survey on a particular language. All such information received will be maintained in the files, and utilized conjointly with other information in defining particular field problems.

When our information on native languages is more or less complete, and when there are available to us trained individuals who are competent to carry out scientific analysis of language, the major task of the Survey will be undertaken.

The discipline of anthropology has come to realize more and more in recent years that linguistic materials are invaluable aids to the solution of historical and synchronic problems. But before any linguistic material can be utilized in conjunction with these problems, it must be ordered according to well-defined descriptive practices. That is, each language must be analyzed by modern phonemic methods in order that it be useful. Thus, the collection of materials from the various groups throughout the state will constitute the primary task of the Survey. It is hoped that individuals, trained in recording techniques, may be utilized for the collection of this data, which will then either be analyzed by them, or by other persons working with the Survey. The Survey will, in any event, remain the central agency for information, maintaining at least duplicate copies of all field materials which will be completed as time allows. In addition, it is hoped that these materials may be made available to individuals throughout the state, or in other areas, who are interested in working on particular languages. In short, the primary importance of such an endeavor is to stimulate directed research in linguistic studies, rather than to monopolize it.

In order that the materials which are prepared on the languages of Oklahoma may be presented to a large group of scholars and interested laymen, it is contemplated that a publication series will be established which will provide such a vehicle for the dissemination of information.

As is clearly indicated by the general tenor of the remarks above, the Survey is as yet sub-embronic. A pilot study is, though, now under way which involves the use of some two hundred questionnaires. In a reasonable time, we will be able to evaluate our methods, and to determine what percent response we may expect.

The success of the endeavor will in large part depend, in the initial phases, upon the cooperation of Indians throughout the state, and equally, upon other persons interested in the systematic study of Indian languages. Whether or not the actual field work program will mature in one year of five, further, depends upon a variety of other factors, not the least of which is the availability of trained analysts. In any event, it appears that the collection of information on spoken languages will provide an invaluable guide to further study in the state by our local scholars and those of other regions. Full fruition of the program is to be hoped for; but the preliminaries will be our first consideration.

—William E. Bittle

Department of Anthropology,
University of Oklahoma.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

June 5, 1953

The regular annual or Birthday meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society usually meets upon May 26 of each year. The Executive Committee was authorized by the Directors to accept the invitation of the City of Guymon to hold the annual meeting of the Society in Guymon. The Executive Committee selected June 5, 1953 as the date of this meeting, inasmuch as an historical tour of western and northwestern Oklahoma comprising three days, June 4, 5 and 6, 1953, would be centered around the meeting of the Board held under the rules and regulations of the Society.

On June 5, 1953, after a banquet had been served by the Chamber of Commerce in the Dale Hotel, Guymon, Oklahoma, General William S. Key, President, called the Board of Directors to order and upon roll call the following members answered present: General William S. Key, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Mr. R. G. Miller, Judge W. J. Peterson, Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, and Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary.

The following members presented letters explaining their absence: Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Dr. I. N. McCash, J. W. Raley, Mr. Milt Phillips, Mr. Baxter Taylor, Judge R. A. Hefner; Col. George Shirk, Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Mr. H. B. Bass were in Europe, and Dr. E. E. Dale is in Australia.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison made a motion that absentee members who had notified the Secretary be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. Judge Edgar S. Vaught seconded the motion which passed.

The President presented the resignation of Mr. Thomas G. Cook of Buffalo, who had stated that his health and demands of business prevented him from serving. A motion was made by Judge Edgar S. Vaught that Mr. Cook's resignation be accepted and that the regrets of the Board of Directors be extended to Mr. Cook for his inability to give further service to this Society. The motion was seconded by Judge Redmond S. Cole and passed.

After discussion for the replacement of a director for this vacancy, the conclusion was reached that further time be given for consideration to so important a matter.

The Secretary presented the resignation of Mrs. Dorothy Holcomb, Director of the Union Memorial Room. He stated that Mrs. Holcomb had received a far higher salary and though she had enjoyed her work, still it was incumbent that she take the position with the Oklahoma City Public Libraries. The Secretary stated that under the direction of the President of the Society he had secured the services, temporarily, of Miss Bertha Barnett, a teacher in the public schools of Oklahoma City. Miss Barnett presented credentials revealing that she holds the Degrees of A.B. and M.A. from the University of Oklahoma. It was the sense of the Board that action would be taken in filling this position permanently at the next Board meeting.

The Secretary presented a letter from Mr. R. M. Mountcastle regretting he was unable to attend this session of the Board, but he was sending a letter from the Chamber of Commerce at Fort Gibson, signed by Mr. Q. B. Boydston, President, in which the Chamber of Commerce acknowledges receipt from Mr. R. M. Mountcastle of the keys to the old Barracks Building. He states that the Chamber of Commerce has taken possession of the building and will maintain it as a community center. The large room on the first floor will be maintained as a museum and will be kept open for inspection by visitors. The Chamber of Commerce, the Ladies Civic Club and the Old Fort Club have acquired sufficient furniture to completely furnish the museum room. He begs the Board of Directors and Society for anything that is available that would be suitable for placing in the museum room. These organizations plan to redecorate the rest of the building and select some suitable person to reside in the living quarters and keep the building open at all times for public inspection. The Board received this letter with much enthusiasm and a letter will be written by the Secretary to Mr. Boydston in appreciation for all this planning for proper reception of the public at this historic spot.

The President called attention to the splendid work carried out by Mr. H. B. Bass, Colonel Shirk and Dr. T. L. Ballenger in clearing and cleaning the old Worcester Cemetery in Cherokee County, Oklahoma. Through the efforts of Judge N. B. Johnson and H. B. Bass, the Board of County Commissioners of Cherokee County, secured a conveyance to the Society of this cemetery. The Board of County Commissioners who executed this deed were Mr. Jack Ballew, Chairman, Cookson, Okla., Buck Thorne, Tahlequah, and Mr. Berry Littlefield, Tahlequah. The Secretary pointed out that Mr. Ballenger had expended thus far in doing this work some $326.07, leaving a balance of $73.93, in the Bass donation for this project. The Secretary reported that Dr. Ballenger believed that a few dollars per month for hiring workmen to cut grass, clear weeds, etc., were essential. The Board voted to appropriate out of the private funds not to exceed $5.00 per month for this project. The Secretary was requested to express the earnest appreciation of the Society to Dr. T. L. Ballenger for his untiring efforts in this work.

It was brought out by Mrs. Rella Looney that the sum of $682.00 was collected from the 62 passengers on the two busses used in this Historical Tour, leaving a deficit of $18.00, the total cost of said busses being $700.00. The Secretary pointed out that the expenses of the Secretary, Miss Muriel H. Wright and Mrs. Rella Looney, allowed by the Board on this Tour, together with the sum of $8.00 each allowed to Mrs. Elsie D. Hand, Mrs. Edith T. Mitchell, Mrs. Louise Cook and Mrs. C. E. Cook, members of the staff on this trip, would reach the sum of $123.00. A motion was made by Mr. Thomas J. Harrison that this amount be allowed from the private funds, which was seconded by Mr. W. J. Peterson, and passed.

The President stated that Col. George Shirk had received an offer of $347.00 for the timber which had been cut from the R. M. Jones property near Hugo, Oklahoma. Mr. W. J. Peterson made a motion that this sum of $347.00 be accepted for this timber and Judge Edgar S. Vaught seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary reported that the Board of Public Affairs had been for several weeks repairing the plaster throughout the Historical Building and had expended the sum of about $1000.00 for this work. In every room this repair made each room better but at the same time made it unpleasant to look upon. Mr. C. R. Smith, Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds, was urged to state to the Board when the painting of each room and all the rooms would begin. His answer, in brief, is as follows: "As of this date, it is even doubtful that we will have money for painting after the 1st of July because certain appropriations have been killed by the current Session of Legislature." Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made a motion that it was the sense of the Board that this painting be done as soon as possible as hundreds of visitors within and without the State are coming into the building day by day. Judge Redmond S. Cole seconded the motion, which passed.

The President pointed out that the Bill setting up a Commission for The Golden Jubilee celebration of the 50th birthday of Oklahoma—1957, had passed the Legislature and was signed by the Governor. Mrs. Anna B. Korn was largely instrumental in fashioning this Bill and pressing it through the Legislature. The Board expressed much gratification in learning that one of its Directors had been instrumental in this fine work.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore's report as Treasurer was read and it revealed that the finances were in most excellent condition. Collections for May, one month, were $694.25. A committee was appointed consisting of the President and the Secretary to act, if the purchase of another Bond is found to be a proper procedure.

It was the sense of the Board that the regular quarterly meeting be held in July.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison made a motion that the Secretary write to all Chambers of Commerce, individuals, etc., who had so efficiently and enthusiasticly assisted in making this Historical Tour so pleasant and profitable, extending the appreciation of the Society. This was seconded by Mr. R. G. Miller and passed.

At this point Mr. Miller stated that the Oklahoma Press Association takes pride in that it organized the Oklahoma Historical Society. This year, this Tour was taken when the Oklahoma Press Association was holding its meeting. He said, "Next year if a Tour is made, I should like to have General Key, Judge Vaught and others impress on the Oklahoma Press Association to go on the Tour as far as convenient. There should be more newspapers than the Daily Oklahoman represented on these tours. Let us plan," said he, "two months ahead with the Press Association. Also let us plan to have as many teachers from the schools of the whole state make this Tour, if possible, The Department of Education, City Superintendents, etc., should be requested to help in this matter." These suggestions of Mr. Miller were cordially received by all members of the Board.

The Secretary presented a remarkable number of applicants for membership secured in the last quarter:

LIFE: Myron E. Andrews, Washington, D. C.; Elizabeth Borden, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Archibald Edwards, Oklahoma City; Carl G. Etling, Boise City; Morton Harrison, Tulsa; Edgar Parish Hunter, Ada; Alvin Ross Jackson, Oklahoma City; Sperry Joanna Jones, Oklahoma City; Floyd E. Maytubby, Oklahoma City; G. C. Spillers, Tulsa; Mrs. G. C. Spillers, Tulsa; J. W. Pearson, Los Angeles, Calif.; C. I. Pontius, Tulsa; Edwin Leo Presley, Oklahoma City; Harry H. Rogers, San Antonio, Texas; Freeda M. Skinner, Oklahoma City; Mary Jo Turner, Washington; John E. Wagner, Chandler.

ANNUAL: G. C. Adams, Ardmore; Sibyl Gee Alexander, Edmond; E. Murial Angelo, Oklahoma City; Francis L. Bacon, Santa Barbara, Calif.; Wendell B. Barnes, Tulsa; M. F. Barno, Atlanta, Ga.; Minnie Bidwell, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Stewart G. Branyan, Tulsa; Mrs. Eva Burke, Corsicana, Texas; Glenwood Buzbee, Lindsay; Mrs. T. C. Canton, Griggs; Ernest B. Cook, Oklahoma City; O. R. Christoph, Oklahoma City; Richard W. Chuculate, Sallisaw; R. D. Cody, Centrahoma; Elizabeth C. Cooper, Oklahoma City; Mrs. A. B. Dana, Ephriam, Wis.; Jim Davis, Muskogee; Earl C. Everett, McMann; Anna Finkelstein, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Mike Grey, Hooker; W. James Gough, Mission, Kans.; Ernestine Gravley, Shawnee; John Richard Green, Tulsa; Joseph Martin Green, Tulsa; J. W. Greenman, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. C. W. Henson, Healdton; L. C. Heydrick, Wichita Falls, Texas; Mrs. R. W. Hill, Healdton; Philip J. Huls, Eufaula; Bert T. Jayne, Oklahoma City; Paul I. Johnston, Tulsa; Kaplan, Muskogee; Leonard Keller, in Service; Norma Kilgore, Muskogee; Wm. H. Leckie, Norman; Eva S. Lee, Tulsa; Gerald C. Leighton, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Ellen Jane Lindsay, Ft. Worth, Texas; Carlos E. Logan, Muskogee; Carrol Loving, Oklahoma City; Orlando McClendon, Oklahoma City; Abner G. McCown, Edmond; C. W. McGilberry, Oglala, So. Dak.; Maureen McKernan, White Plains, N. Y.; Mrs. James W. McMahan, Okemah; Duncan McRee, Tulsa; Mrs. Evelyn Maheras, Bartlesville; Mary Lee Meek, Falls Church, Va.; Mrs. B. B. Mitchell, Healdton; A. G. Moore, Muskogee; Mrs. L. L. Morrison, Tulsa; Shy Munger, Stillwater; C. S. Murray, Seiling; C. T. Mustain, Cleora; Frank Northup, Oklahoma City; Henry L. Peck, Ft. Towson; William A. Pevehouse, Kansas City, Mo.; O. A. Powell, Oklahoma City; Clara Carol Price, Oklahoma City; Mrs. E. F. Pumphrey, Tulsa; Mike Rainbolt, Cordell; John Wesley Raley, Shawnee; James L. Rankin, Granite; S. H. Starkey, Oklahoma City; Martha Wetherell Stewart, Tulsa; Mrs. Leonard Swoverland, Tulsa; Jas. A. Thomas, Shawnee; James P. Thomas, Shawnee; Mrs. James P. Thomas, Shawnee; Charles O. Thompson, Jr., Oklahoma City; Fred V. Verity, Oklahoma City; Charles Temple Walker, Oklahoma City; Virginia Warhurst, Grandfield; Edgar Donnelly Welch, Oklahoma City; W. O. Wethington, Nash; Mrs. Charles J. White, Shattuck; Mrs. Muriel Williams, Tulsa; Mrs. Roxa Wright, Leona, N. J.

Judge Redmond S. Cole made a motion that they each be elected and admitted as members of the Society in the class as indicated in the list. Mr. Thomas J. Harrison seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary reported that the following gifts had been received: Two pair Indian Ball Clubs, donor, Judge John Powell; large old cork screw used in 1880, donor, A. S. Beckner; satin handmade Oklahoma Flag, beaded and trimmed with feathers, donor, Mrs. Reba A. Orr; Steel blade found under the roots of a very old tree, donor Wm. F. Epple, Sr.; stone ax and grinding stone, donor, B. F. Higgins; page from a day book used by John W. Willcutt during the War Between the States, donor, Mrs. Euvie T. Grise; original note dated April 21, 1818, original specifications for the plumbing of the A. L. Colcord residence, original patent for land in Missouri, donor, John Narber; 1914 dime to fill in coin collection, donor, Norma N. Robinson, filing cabinet used by A. S. McKennon, Member of Dawes Commission, donor, W. T. Hardy; papers of the late George W. Choate, President of the last Choctaw Senate, donor, Sybil York Turner, great-grand-daughter of George W. Choate; campaign button with picture of Wm. Jennings Bryan, donor, Mrs. Lee Roberts; hat worn in Run of 1893, hat bought in 1873 worn on the Chisholm Trail, coat worn by a Union Soldier in the War Between the States, wool coverlet, hand made by Cherokee girl when the Cherokees first moved to Arkansas, quirt, made by Geronimo, chaps worn by Will Rogers when he was in the 101 Wild West Show, donor, Edd Stinnett; Beaded bag, Consistory souvenir, razor strap, donor, Sybil York Turner; large framed oil painting of the Elk House, first hotel built in North McAlester in 1870, painted and presented by Mrs. Frank Sittel, Sr.; picture album of Indian Chiefs, donor, Charles Butterworth, 19 military pictures, donor, Mrs. Alva J. Niles; 9 pictures of Sulphur Springs, Ind. Ter., donor Mrs. W. R. Edwards; 33 pictures of Indian Schools, donor, Mrs. W. E. Van Cleve; 3 pictures of the George W. Choate home, donor, Sybil York Turner; 2 pictures of Bob Biffle, donor, Bartlett Boder, president of the St. Joseph Historical Society; Standard Atlas and Plat Book of Woods County, Okla., 1906, Standard Atlas and Plat Book of Woodward Co., 1906, gift of C. E. Washburn, Waynoka, through E. H. Kelley, Okla. City; Papers, clippings and other valuable early Oklahoma history, gift of Fred L. Wenner, Guthrie; Early history and valuable papers of early Osage County history, gift of Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater; Historical pictorial collection and history of Oklahoma City Post Office, gift of Mrs. Maisie Richardson Lollar, Riverside, Calif., through E. H. Kelley, Okla. City; Framed copy of Daily Oklahoman, Sunday, Feb. 28, 1926, containing story and pictures relating to the Old Creek Council House built in 1876; gift of Mrs. C. E. B. Cutler, Okmulgee; Double glass framed copy of Ulster Co. Gazette, containing story of death of General George Washington; gift of Mrs. Marion Jones, Okla. City; gift of James Brooks Wright, "Biographical Sketch of Rev. Allen Wright and Family"; gift of Mrs. Raleigh Kobel, Sallisaw, through Miss Muriel H. Wright, Okla. City; Sequoyah article by Mr. W. J. Weaver and an article by his son, J. Frank Weaver; a book of poems by Miss Genoa Morris, "An now to Avalon," gift through Miss Muriel H. Wright, Okla. City; Pictorial Review of the First Governor-Student Day in the history of the A.&M. College, Mar. 7, 1952, gift of Dr. B. B. Chapman; Copies of the Original Constitution of the State of Oklahoma; 3 copies of Officers and members of Oklahoma State Offices and Boards, Commissions, Courts and the Legislature, gifts of Ralph Hudson, State Librarian; Inaugural Edition of the Washington Post, Washington, D. C., gifts of Mrs. Antonette Sabestian and Miss Mary J. McGeorge, Washington, D. C., Dr. Grant Foreman, Muskogee, and Mrs. Maurine H. Abernathy, Trustee, Okla. State Society in Washington, D. C.; 2 copies Stillwater Daily News-Press, Special A.&M. College Edition, 1953; 3 copies Special Fifty Year Edition Daily Oklahoman and Times, Okla. City; photostat copy of original letter from Wm. Armstrong, Choctaw Agent, to Mr. H. G. Rind, Fort Towsen, Nov. 14, 1836, concerning Indian enrollment, etc., gift of Lee F. Harkins, Tulsa; "The Prehistoric Men of Kentucky" by Col. Bennett H. Young, Filson Club publication "Belgium" Foreign magazine, giving true picture of Belgium at war, 7 volumes 1940-47 inc., gift of Rev. Urban de Hasque, Okla. City; Copy of Presbyterian Life Magazine, May 30, 1953, containing story "He Could not Desert" Elijah Lovejoy, young Presbyterian minister, died for freedom of the press, by Mabel H. Sheibley and James W. Hoffman, gift of Mrs. Zoe Tighlman, Oklahoma City; Speeches on the Passage of the Bill for "Removal of the Indians" delivered in the Congress of the United States, April and May 1830, book published in 1830, New York, gift of James P. Taylor, Haverhill, Mass; Collections Vol. 27, 1952 containing Smith Papers Vol. 3 1814, gift of Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn.; Deacon George Clark (e) of Milford, Connecticut, and Some of His Descendants, by George Clarke Bryant, gift of George Clarke Bryant and Florence Adele Farrel Bryant, Milford, Conn.; C. J. Phillips Collection, Sapulpa, Oklahoma, gift of Jerry Rand, Hudson View Gardens, New York City; Turnpike Souvenier Edition of the Opening of the Turner Turnpike, gift of Stroud American, Stroud, Okla.; Commencement edition, Indian Leader, Haskell 1953, gift of Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas; Minutes of the Forty-seventh Convention (annual) containing historical data of Oklahoma Baptists Organizations, gift of Baptist General Convention, Okla. City; 1898 Census of Pawnee, Okla., complete, 1895 Census of White population Osage Nation, now Osage County, 1895 Census of Pawnee county, without Town of Cleveland, otherwise perhaps almost complete, gift of Mr. C. A. Barnes, County Assessor, Pawnee County, and Lewis Raba, County Attorney, Pawnee County, Pawnee, Oklahoma.

Judge Edgar S. Vaught made a motion that the above gifts be accepted and that letters be sent to each donor expressing the appreciation of the Society. This was seconded by Mr. R. G. Miller, and passed.

TRIBUTE TO DR. GRANT FOREMAN

It being the first meeting of the Board of Directors since the death of Dr. Grant Foreman of Muskogee, the Board, out of profound love of and tribute to this great historian, developer and guardian of the Oklahoma

Historical Society, almost from its very foundation, expressed deep sorrow and distress upon his passing from the earth.

Dr. Foreman, more than fifty years ago, in his early manhood, proceeded to dedicate his whole life and work to the history of Oklahoma, and more especially, to all that related to Indian life in these regions. Books, manuscripts, newspaper and magazine articles flowed from his pen until all Oklahoma and America considered him the chief authority of all things pertaining to Southwestern Indian life. He obtained from the United States Congress in 1934 the great honor and practical value of making the Oklahoma Historical Society a depository of all governmental documents relating to Indian life of this State. He was serving as Director Emeritus and Director of Historical Research of the Oklahoma Historical Society at the time of his death on April 21, 1953. The Board offers this too brief eulogy to his memory.

Mr. W. J. Peterson made a motion since all business was finished that the Board of Directors do now adjourn. This motion was seconded by Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour and passed.

W. S. KEY, President.

CHARLES EVANS, Secretary.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

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GRANT FOREMAN

By Stanley Clark

Many Oklahomans have given years of devoted service to their profession. Many men and women have devoted their professional careers to the betterment of the state. And unnumbered citizens have served their local communities zealously and ably and created better places in which to live. But seldom has a man appeared on the Oklahoma scene with the time and inclination to devote, unselfishly and unstintedly, more than a quarter of a century of service to a state institution.[1]

Such a man was Grant Foreman. As a member of the Board of Directors of the Historical Society he shouldered a full measure of the responsibility assumed by that small coterie of distinguished men and women banded together to build a great institution.

Grant Foreman was born in Detroit, Illinois, June 3, 1869. After graduating from the University of Michigan Law School in June, 1891, he began practice in Chicago, later joining the firm headed by United States Senator William E. Mason. Foreman came to Muskogee in 1899 as a field worker for the Dawes Commission, which was engaged in allotting lands and winding up tribal affairs for the Five Civilized Tribes. Muskogee remained his home until his death, April 21, 1953.

Foreman worked with the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes four years. This experience engendered an interest in the Indians and the territory he never lost. In 1903 Foreman resigned his position with the Commission to practice law with John R. Thomas, who came to Indian Territory as a federal judge in 1896. This partnership at Muskogee continued until Judge Thomas' untimely death in 1914. With sufficient income from oil and farm holdings, Foreman gave up active practice in the early 1920's. Thereafter he devoted his time to the intensive research and writings that brought national recognition.

These earlier years, however, nurtured many of Foreman's finer qualities later expressed in his meticulous research and writing. John D. Benedict in his history of *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma,* published in 1922, wrote of Foreman: "He is a strong advocate with the jury and concise in his appeal to the court. Much of the success which has attended him in his professional career is undoubtedly due to the fact that in no instance will he permit himself to go into the court with a case unless he is absolute in his confidence in the justice of his client's case."

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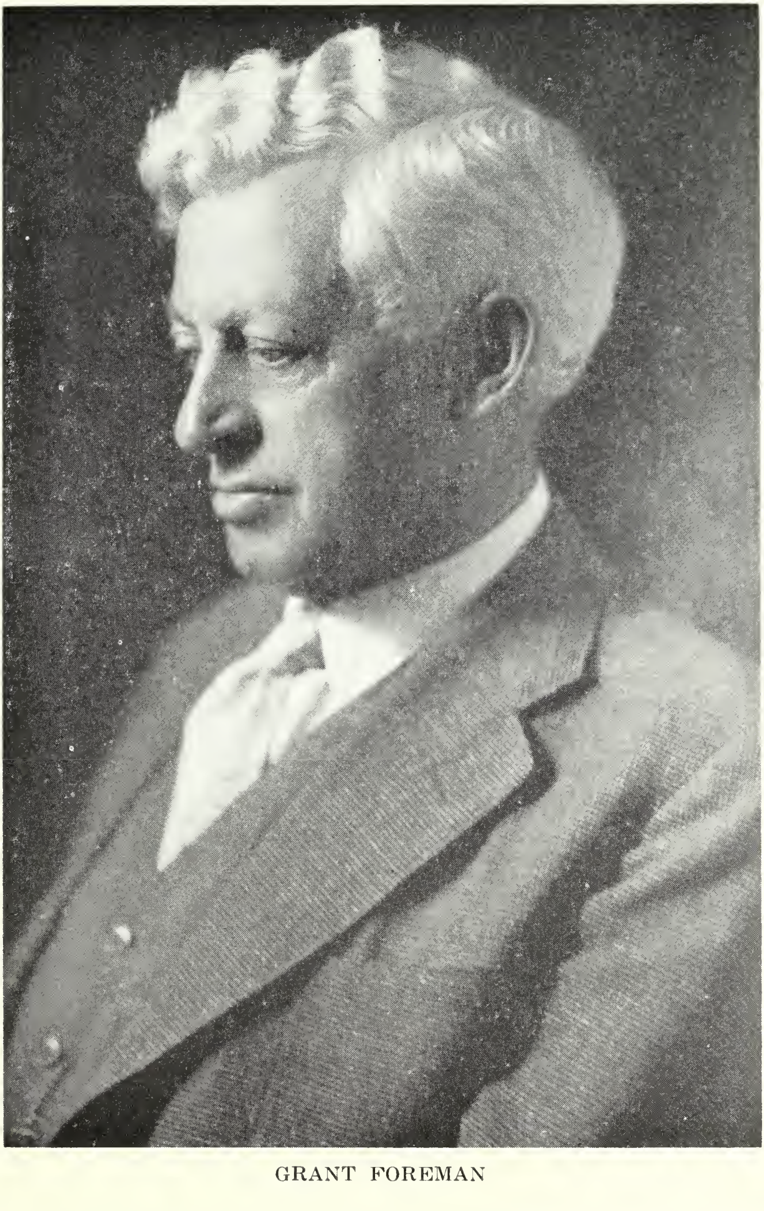
[1] See *Appendix A* for the House Resolution in memory of Dr. Grant Foreman adopted in the 24th State Legislature on April 23, 1953.



GRANT FOREMAN

He was a member of the Muskogee City Council, 1907-1911, a period when many public improvements were underway. Streets were paved, the water system expanded and bonds voted to provide for an adequate public school building program. His interest in better municipal government led to his introduction of a resolution to adopt a charter and install the commission form of government. These recommendations were adopted September 13, 1910 in a citywide election. In January, 1908 he was named to a committee to secure a Carnegie Library. He was a member of the Muskogee Library Board from its inception.

Local interest in navigation on the Arkansas led Foreman to make an exhaustive study of inland waterways His interest in river improvement and navigation was heightened by on-site investigations of waterways of Western Europe in 1907. He attended a national waterways convention in Washington in December, 1908, where he was considered one of the best informed delegates on the subject of river shipping.

Movements toward statehood excited Foreman's interest and, although not an active participant, his keen analysis of the Constitutional Convention was accepted for publication by *Collier's Magazine.* Years later the editor stated that four manuscripts were received on the subject; the Foreman article was accepted because of its lucidity and penetrating analysis.

Articles by Foreman on Oklahoma appeared in other leading periodicals; all expressed faith in the possibilities of the new state. During these years his work in legal matters necessitated many trips to Washington where he examined War and Interior Department records relating to Indian Territory. He began adding to his personal library collections of copied manuscripts, photostats, pictures and government documents relating to the Five Civilized Tribes. This accumulation of archival material was to give him the most extensive functional private library in the country on this subject.

Foreman was in Muskogee April 21, 1904 when Creek Freedmen were permitted to sell their surplus lands. In many instances swindlers took advantage of their incompetence. He witnessed a similar orgy of speculation August 8, 1907 when restrictions were removed from the mixed bloods of the Creek Nation. The ease with with speculators and grafters dispossessed guileless freedmen and mixed bloods of their holdings made a deep impression upon him. He became an active member of the Indian Rights Association, spoke at annual meetings and appeared before congressional committees to protest against hasty and unwise removal of restrictions imposed upon Indian allottees.

These developments increased Foreman's keen interest in local history. Years later he related how he and Mrs. Foreman accompanied a drayman to Sawokla, home of Miss Alice Robertson, and carted away valuable donations to furnish the history museum set up in the Muskogee Public Library. A few days later devastating fire completely destroyed the home. Interest in local history prompted the formation of the Muskogee County Historical Society, chartered as a subsidiary of the State Historical Society in 1920.

When Governor Robert L. Williams' term as chief executive ended in January, 1919 and he received appointment as federal judge over the Eastern District of Oklahoma, his official residence became Muskogee. Here he was thrown into closer contact with Foreman, learned to respect his interest in history and became dependent on him for guidance in historical matters pertaining to the State. As soon as opportunity afforded, Judge Williams proposed his nomination to the Board of Directors of the Historical Society.

Perhaps the finest act performed in the long and useful record of the Board of Directors of the Historical Society occurred February 5, 1924. On that date Foreman was elected a director. His energy, ability and time thenceforward were devoted to making the Society a pre-eminent institution. With associate members of the Board he conceived the idea of a great building to house museum items and records of historic import on the evolution of his adopted State. As a member of that small corps of distinguished citizenry who brought the idea to fruition, he wrote letters, made speeches, contacted legislators and the governor in order to create a strong public opinion for the building of an edifice worthy of a great state.

This was not easy. Oklahoma in the late 1920's was not deeply interested in its cultural heritage. Too many transient Oklahomans came into the state, tapped its rich resources for personal aggrandizement, and moved on to share their newly found wealth in other places. Others were busy with everyday affairs. Look about you. Few cities and towns of Oklahoma or its institutions can point to benefactions or endowments antedating that period.

Foreman forged a weapon used with telling effect by Judge Thomas A. Doyle, Judge Robert L. Williams, General William S. Key and other Board members in direct contact with state legislative leaders and Governor William J. Holloway. From his knowledge of the great historical value of records accumulated by the Indian agencies, he knew how important it would be for future generations to have these records permanently housed. Foreman visited Washington. Honorable W. W. Hastings, member of Congress from our second congressional district, heard his plea. Hastings and Foreman called on Department of Interior officials. These officials agreed to release the records when Oklahoma showed its good faith by providing adequate facilities to assure their safe-keeping. With this promise of co-operation from the nation's capitol, it was not too difficult to win state legislative approval for an appropriation to construct the present Oklahoma Historical Society building. Here the building stands, a monument to all Oklahoma pioneers, particularly to that small group who made it possible.

While construction of the building was underway, Judge Thomas A. Doyle, President of the Society, Judge Robert L. Williams and Grant Foreman renewed the plea of the Board of Directors for federal legislation to make the transfer of the Indian records possible. Foreman prepared a rough draft for congressional legislation embodying their provisions. Hastings interested other members of the Oklahoma congressional delegation in the legislation and personally assumed responsibility for its final passage. Public Law 133, 73 Congress (HR 5631) was approved by President Roosevelt March 27, 1934.

As early as 1929 Foreman felt that this legislation probably would be enacted, and in September of that year Mrs. Rella Watts began calendaring records in possession of the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes. The inventory was completed in October, 1934 and the records transferred to the Historical Society. Thus was established through Dr. Foreman's influence the Indian Archives Division of the Society, nationally recognized by scholars and research students for its source materials.

Public Law 133 likewise provided that records of historical importance from other Indian agencies in Oklahoma should be transferred to the Historical Society. These, too, were added to the Indian Archives Collection. Additional accessions have been gained from Indian Agencies as records have been released to the Society.

Foreman knew that the collections of Indian records and newspapers in the Historical Society would involve any serious student in unnecessarily tedious research unless they were properly indexed. Proper cataloguing and indexing would set up guideposts to assist the student seeking historical accuracy. With these objectives in mind, he introduced a resolution at the Board meeting April 25, 1935 in which attention was called to services which could be performed in cooperation with the federal government's work program. Later he consulted with J. J. Hill, Assistant Librarian, University of Oklahoma, in regard to proper methods of cataloguing and indexing the records. When General Key became WPA Administrator, the Historical Society in 1936 sponsored and Dr. Foreman, at his own expense, assumed supervision over projects to catalog the records, mend and bind newspaper volumes and to prepare a selected index. This work continued after ill health caused him to withdraw from direct supervision, but every student who has reason to sample any of the more than one million index cards and use the catalogued documents can appreciate the foresight of Foreman in having these records made more accessible.

Foreman's record of unselfish devotion to his adopted State and its native people is emphasized by an examination of other research facilities of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Into the vault of the new building, onto the empty stacks and into barren museum showcases came an ever-increasing flow of research items and materials of historic importance gathered by him or contributed by donors through his influence. Included in the archival materials are original records, and more than ten thousand typed copies and photostatic copies of historic documents. Heirs of Lieut. A. W. Whipple, who presented the Whipple Collection to the Society October 28, 1950 were persuaded to make the presentation largely through the influence of Dr. Foreman with the timely co-operation of the Honorable Patrick J. Hurley and Governor Roy J. Turner.[2]

On the date Foreman was elected to the Board of Directors of the State Historical Society, he was placed on the committee on publications. He gave this committee assignment the serious consideration it deserved and, more important, he contributed articles of lasting merit to the *Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

A sampling of three of his earliest articles in the *Chronicles* portrays his style, methods of research and presentation. His first article, which appeared in 1924, concerned the Three Forks country —the Grand, Verdigris and Arkansas River valleys. This was the region he knew and loved so well; much of his research in the libraries of the world centered on this area. Article followed article on the forts, trading posts, salt works, Indian conferences and government, social and economic changes, missionaries, schools and institutions, surveys, trails and military roads among the Osage, Cherokee and Creek settlements, the great drainage area of the Arkansas, which included most of Indian Territory. Though research was tedious, his scholarship was unquestioned; and fact after fact was brought to light on the early beginnings and settlement of Oklahoma.

He once stated:

> "To me there is no avocation, no occupation so interesting and so fascinating, none that offers such rich rewards in proportion to the industry and application devoted, as historical research.

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[2] For a complete listing of accessions to the Historical Society credited to Dr. Foreman see *Minutes of the Board of Directors, Oklahoma Historical Society* published in the quarterly issues of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* during the years 1924-1950. More important accessions, other than the Whipple Collection, credited to Dr. Foreman appear in *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XIV, pp. 3-8, and Vol. XIX, pp. 199-201.

> "To follow a clue to the lair of an elusive historical event; to capture the fact and make it my own brings a glow of satisfaction I would not yield to any big game hunter. Or if the metaphorical hunter may become a gold seeker, whether toilfully digging in low grade pay dirt or in the mother lode of rich old historical records, the treasure I extract there not only dims the glitter of the yellow metal for pure joy of discovery and possession, but it has the greater value of being mine forever to share with others, without fear of theft or loss".

This zest for research he never lost.

In 1924, in addition to other articles by him in the *Chronicles,* there appeared an account of the "Red River and the Spanish Boundary in the Supreme Court." Here he explored the incunabula of source origins, the great mass of testimony, oral and documented, that led to the final decree. His legal training and background fully equipped him to mine court records for items of historic import; more than any other serious student of Oklahoma and the Southwest, he turned to court records for source materials. Other writers in the field of Oklahoma history have profited from his example.

In 1926 there was published in the *Chronicles* "Captain Nathan Boone's Survey of the Creek-Cherokee Boundary Line." Here Foreman disclosed another facet of his versatility in research that has added immeasureably to our knowledge of past events; namely, to take an original document, carefully annotate it in relation to locale and time, then make it available to the general reader. Through the years he searched out records of missionaries, travelers and visitors to Indian Territory that had been published in church journals and early-day newspapers, uncovered private letters and journals, faded diaries and governmental reports and with proper foreword, editorial comment or footnotes published them in the *Chronicles.*

These, then, mark his great contributions to the *Chronicles*: articles of lasting merit based upon the marshalling of facts from hitherto unused sources, the examination of court decisions and documents bearing upon the history of the state, and the annotation of source documents that add a wealth of knowledge on our early beginnings. During the time Dr. Foreman was an active member of the Board of Directors of the Historical Society, until he resigned October 28, 1943 and was unanimously elected Director Emeritus for life, seldom did a quarterly issue of the *Chronicles* appear without a contribution by him.

This period, 1924-43, comprised his years of greatest producttiveness in historical research.[3]

From 1924 to 1943 he wrote and had published twelve of the fifteen volumes produced in his lifetime.

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[3] See *Appendix B* for Bibliography of published works by Grant Foreman, excepting titles of book reviews, necrologies and newspaper feature stories.

During the period he edited and had published four volumes, original manuscripts, rich in the history of this region.

During the period he contributed forty-three articles of lasting interest to the *Chronicles* and thirteen articles to nine other leading historical publications.

During the period he contributed ninety-one special feature articles on various phases of early Oklahoma history to newspapers of the state, principally to *The Daily Oklahoman,* the *Tulsa World,* and the *Muskogee Daily Phoenix.*[4]

During the period he prepared twenty-five book reviews that appeared in scholarly publications in the country, and made annual revisions on articles pertaining to Oklahoma for *The Statesman's Year-Book* (London) and American encyclopedias.

It was during this period, too, he lost use of his writing hand, his right hand, and painstakingly, laboriously began to use his left hand in transcribing notes used in research activities.

In 1930 through conversation with Joe Brandt, director of the University of Oklahoma Press, was conceived the idea of the Civilization of the American Indian Series, which has brought the Press world-wide recognition. The chief contributor to the series has been Dr. Foreman, author of five of the published volumes.

His books are now considered collectors' items. As early as 1950, copies of *Indian and Pioneers* (1930) and *Indian Removal* (1932)[5] were quoted at one hundred dollars per volume.

In recognition of his scholarly attainments he was elected an honorary member to the Alpha of Oklahoma chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa in 1931.

In 1932 the University of Tulsa conferred upon him the degree of Doctorate of Literature.

In 1934, he was elected to Oklahoma's Hall of Fame.

In 1936, a room in the Muskogee Public Library was designated the Foreman Library. Here his portrait hangs and here is housed a complete set of his published volumes.

In 1942, the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma adopted a resolution congratulating him on his historic writings. That same year he was elected a Fellow of the American Geographical Society in recognition of editing the Marcy Journals and Whipple's Report.

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[4] For titles of book reviews, articles and feature stories, miscellaneous publications, and typed copies of historical material by Grant Foreman, see Martin W. Wiesendanger, *Grant and Carolyn Foreman, a Bibliography* (Tulsa, 1948).

[5] The New Edition of *Indian Removal* by Grant Foreman, was published by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, in March, 1953.

In 1943, the faculty of the University wrote a testimonial proclaiming its ''deep appreciation of Grant Foreman and his wife and co-worker, Carolyn Thomas Foreman, for their research and writing in Oklahoma and southwestern history over a period of more than 35 years''. The resolution declared their works '' have placed citizens of their time and of time to come under a lasting debt of gratitude''.

No honor accorded him however, pleased him more than the esteem in which he was held by the Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes. He dedicated funds raised from the sale of a monograph on the Five Tribes to education of Indian youth. The Council designated this the Foreman Fund to which additional contributions have been and will be made.

Three months after his election to the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Foreman was placed on a committee to mark historic spots in Oklahoma. He felt that markers and monuments for this purpose should stem from groups or associations within the locale or region where history had been made. Judge John B. Meserve and James H. Gardner, Tulsa, and other Board members gave timely assistance. In this cause Foreman enlisted the aid of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in Oklahoma, the Indian Territory chapter of Daughters of the American Revolution, U. S. Daughters of 1812, Daughters of the Confederacy, the Old Fort Club of Fort Gibson, the Oklahoma Library Association, faculty and students of Northeastern State College, communities and public-spirited citizens.

By the mid-thirties huge blocks of granite or marble, suitably engraved, were placed and dedicated at Three Forks, Union Mission, and Park Hill; a monument to Montford Stokes at Fort Gibson, one to General Mathew Arbuckle and the Seventh U. S. Cavalry, Fort Gibson, and one to Milly Francis at Bacone College were dedicated; the restoration of the monument over the grave of Rev. Epaphras Chapman at Union Mission was completed, and a rock-walled curb was constructed around the old garrison well at Fort Gibson. At each of the dedicatory ceremonies Dr. Foreman made the principal address in reference to the commemoration. In most instances he had compiled the legends that appear on the markers. He also prepared the inscription that appears on the new City Hall, Muskogee and those at the Sequoyah Memorial.

These were years of greater glory for the Historical Society. The Board of Directors learned to respect the quiet dignity of Foreman, who, with strong support from Judge R. L. Williams, had the Society sponsor several projects which later redounded to the credit of the state.

A few examples will show this influence. Dr. Foreman found in War Department archives blueprints of the garrison grounds and buildings for Fort Gibson. These he showed to Judge Williams. Later he accompanied Williams to the town of Fort Gibson and they visited the site of the well used by the garrison, the grounds near Grand River. Sometime later, as Foreman hoped, Williams had the idea the Stockade, as it originally existed in 1824, should be reconstructed. Through Judge Williams' influence and that of General William S. Key, the state legislature created the Fort Gibson Stockade Commission.

Dr. Foreman, Q. B. Boydstun and G. W. Terry were appointed members. Through private donations and General Key's influence with the Works Progress Administration, reconstruction of the Stockade was realized, a monument to the foresight and perseverance of Foreman.

At another time, Judge Williams accompanied Foreman to the old barracks building erected in 1845 on high ground above the original site of Fort Gibson. Foreman showed Williams the dilapidated condition of the building and he stressed its historical importance as a landmark in the settlement of Indian Territory. Later on, Foreman introduced a resolution adopted by the Board of Directors of the Historical Society which advocated the preservation of the building. Later he learned the property could be purchased from the owner for $400.00, the amount of the investment. When Judge Williams was unwilling to spend state money for this purpose, the late Judge John B. Meserve, member of the Board from Tulsa and Dr. Foreman interested John G. Catlett, Tulsa, and Mrs. J. Garfield Buell of The Homestead, Muskogee, in donating $200.00 each to purchase the property, which was turned over to the state.

Intensive research among the records of the Cherokees caused Dr. Foreman to become interested in the life and times of Sequoyah. This interest, besides resulting in a book and monographs on the great Cherokee, motivated Foreman to spearhead a movement to preserve the log cabin home built by Sequoyah. First came articles in newspapers and pictures by Foreman; later he accompanied Judge Williams and other Board members to the site, and to visit in the nearby home of Mrs. Pearl Mathison to examine relics and articles which had been the property of Sequoyah. Later was introduced a resolution passed by the Board which advocated the preservation of the property, and finally Judge Williams, through the good offices of General Key and WPA assistance, brought to fruition the dream of Foreman: the Sequoyah Shrine, cabin and museum, are enclosed in a rock-walled house, a permanent fixture of the State Park system. Foreman, Judge Williams and W. W. Hastings comprised the Sequoyah Memorial Committee which made this possible.

One other example will suffice to show how Judge Williams and this quiet dignified scholar teamed up to enhance the stature of the Historical Society. Judge Willams kept housed in the basement of the Federal Building, Muskogee, all his correspondence from the time he came to Oklahoma Territory after the opening of the Cherokee Outlet in 1893. When Williams was promoted to the Circuit Court in 1937, he began to wonder what he would do with the letter file cases and letter presses. Foreman, on various trips to th basement with the Judge, suggested there was much of historical value in the correspondence. Thus it was that Judge Williams had the material shipped to the Historical Society. Here it is now housed, the greatest repository of public and private information ever gathered and preserved by a distinguished citizen of Oklahoma.

Foreman's interest in things historical was not confined to archival pursuits. In October of 1934, he introduced a resolution at the Board meeting which called attention to the destruction and multilation of pre-historic mounds in eastern Oklahoma. Vandals, curio seekers and commercial agents were plundering sites long known as archaeological depositories. His resolution was adopted. The next year he and fellow Board members, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Judge Harry Campbell, General William S. Key and Judge Robert L. Williams were appointed members of a committee which leased these sites. Under the supervision of Dr. Forrest Clements, a WPA project co-sponsored by the University of Oklahoma and the Historical Society and later by the University of Tulsa, undertook expert, systematic excavations for the removal of artifacts and other relics of pre-Columbian culture. They are now preserved in the museums of the sponsoring agencies largely because of the foresight of a small body of men prompted to action by Foreman's interest.

He had a more intimate knowledge of pioneers and places of historical importance in the Three Forks region than any other historian. As early as 1931, Dr. T. L. Ballenger, History Department, Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, set up student tours via bus to surrounding points of interest, under the guidance of Dr. Foreman. Later Foreman established the precedent of annual tours for Society members when meetings were held away from Oklahoma City. These pilgrimages have done much to center attention on activities of the Society.

Any trip with Dr. Foreman into the land he loved so well was a memorable experience. Places and people buried in legend and almost lost from memory came alive under his discussion at on-site visitations to historic spots. Whether tramping through tall ragweeds along the east bank below the falls of the Verdigris, picking up broken pieces of crockery and visiting a rock-walled well, signs of earliest settlement; whether walking through Johnson grass to read the legend on the gravestone of Alligator, early-day Seminole leader; or listening to Dr. Foreman at the tomb of Walter Adair explain how this Cherokee leader introduced the first prohibition law in 1836; or standing at the Carlile place below Gore and have him point out traces of the old Texas Road that passed nearby, the site of the ferry of Bullet Foreman and the stage stand, of Jim Jolly's home where Houston stayed; or interviewing old settlers about the Military Road laid out by Pierce Butler in 1925 from Ft. Smith to Ft. Gibson, and walking through pastures along the well-defined trace; or visiting the site of Going Snake Courthouse, of salt works, of North Fork Town, or listening to tales of the Greasy Bend country, of Tom Starr, of how Ned Christy was routed from the hills with the aid of a cannon brought from Ft. Smith; or stopping by for a brief greeting to Boback Christie, hand-carver of walnut furniture; or onto a side road to the home of some old Indian who had been a delegate to Washington or held some minor position in tribal affairs—these and unnumbered similar experiences come to mind when thinking of his intense interest in and knowledge of the region.

Out of this interest grew the Indian-Pioneer History project of 1937-38 in which WPA workers under Dr. Foreman's supervision interviewed pioneers, chartered trails and roads, copied inscriptions from forgotten cemeteries, uncovered diaries and manuscripts and recorded reminiscences of early day settlers throughout the state. The University and the Historical Society were co-sponsors of this project and typewritten copies of these records were placed in each institution (WPA Projects-149). Those deposited in the Society were bound in 112 volumes, properly indexed, and by unanimous resolution the Board designated them the Foreman Collection. This comprises an invaluable collection of folklore, legend, household arts, foods, living conditions, social and economic history of the period from the Civil War to statehood. Any discriminating student finds the records a rich source of information on the life and times of that territorial period.

No appraisal of Dr. Foreman's contributions to Oklahoma would be complete without paying proper deference to Mrs. Foreman. Grant Foreman married Carolyn Thomas, daughter of Judge and Mrs. John R. Thomas, July 27, 1905. This gracious and cultured lady established a home that reflected the refinements and interests of a gentle educated couple. Their lawn, shaded with native trees, was made more attractive by plants and shrubs transplanted from various parts of the globe. Their simple and modest home, dominated by their library collections, and containing unusual mementos of their world travels, was made richer and finer by their gracious hospitality.

Whether visiting in some far off corner of the globe, or browsing through rare collections of famous booksellers, or conducting research in leading libraries of the world, or compiling an index for a new volume, or devoting long hours to Red Cross work in World War I, or enjoying the hospitality of gracious and humble homes in the Three Forks region, or making bird-walks into its forested hills and along its streams, or entertaining famous guests and younger people in their home—they were constant companions. And as national recognition came to Dr. Foreman, so likewise, have honors been accorded Carolyn Thomas Foreman for her historical research and writings.

Those who knew this modest, kindly gentleman recall how freely he gave himself in friendship, in those noble gestures that mark a man a gentlman. His habit of turning at the front gate, when on the smallest errand downtown, to wave goodbye to Mrs. Foreman at the porch, and on his return, the secret delight he took in bringing her a "surprise", a flower or some knick-knack; the christening cups or baby gifts or presents to the children of friends; the open door to all Indian youth who showed an interest in the arts and education; his encouragement to young research students; his compassion for all those WPA workers so often summarily dismissed from projects by the inexplicably cruel expedient of "reduction in force"—these and similar kindnesses are recalled and by recalling mark that his worthiness, his greatness lay not so much in the writings that brought fame but in his character.

When ill health kept him from attending annual meetings of the Board of Directors of the Historical Society, he took an alert and active interest in the deliberations. In October, 1949, he called to the attention of Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, then President of the Society, that more than 1800 bound volumes of records had been obtained from the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes, Muskogee and urged that the Board contact other Indian agencies within the state for additional records accumulated since original accessions were made in the mid-thirties. In December of that year, although bedridden, he dictated a letter to Dr. Harbour in which he urged the Board to contact Andy Payne, Clerk of the Supreme Court, to see if records of law cases reviewed by the Supreme Court could be deposited with the Society. At the annual meeting of the Board, Tahlequah, May 7, 1951, Dr. Angie Debo read a final communication from him in which he again stressed the importance of gathering and preserving records of historical importance pertaining to Oklahoma.

No Director was more courteous to the staff of the Historical Society. Visiting the building, he invariably made a tour of the rooms and offices for greetings with the personnel. Staff members recall too that, invariably, he peered out front to see if his annual bird-friend, a red-headed woodpecker, was nesting in the oil derrick immediately fronting the Capitol.

On the afternoon of April 23, 1953, Board members, the staff of the Historical Society and other friends both Indian and white, gathered in beautiful Greenhill Cemetery overlooking his beloved Three Forks country in memory of this great and good man. In that quiet and heartfelt hour from directly above from a great white oak tree there came strong, clear notes of lyrical beauty, and it appeared as though the mocking bird perched there loosed on the eternal sound waves of time a message of joy, a message that God had permitted those present to walk in His presence with this humble man.

APPENDIX A

HOUSE RESOLUTION NO. 542 BY: HAWORTH, HAMMERS, SMITH (Muskogee)

A RESOLUTION IN MEMORIAM, AND LAMENTING THE PASSING OF A NOTED OKLAHOMA PIONEER AND HISTORIAN, MR. GRANT FOREMAN.

WHEREAS, Mr. Grant Foreman departed this life April 21, 1953, and

WHEREAS, Mr. Foreman was an early resident of this State, and has become noted as the foremost chronicle of Indian history in Oklahoma, he having devoted a great part of his life to study of the same, and

WHEREAS, Mr. Foreman has perpeturated forever the events of early-day Oklahoma, by the writing of many books, and by serving with the Oklahoma Historical Society,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA:

First: That this House feels the deepest regret at the passing of so noted and able gentleman as the late Grant Foreman, and herewith extends its profound sympathy to Mrs. Grant Foreman and the relatives of Mr. Foreman.

Second: That this resolution be spread on the House Journal and that the Chief Clerk be directed to transmit a duly authenticated copy hereof to Mrs. Grant Foreman and one to the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Adopted April 23, 1953.

APPENDIX B

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS BY GRANT FOREMAN

Books:

Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1926.

Indians and Pioneers, the Story of the American Southwest before 1830. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930; London: H. Milford Oxford University Press, 1930. Revised, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936.

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IN MEMORY OF DR. GRANT FOREMAN

With many distinguished friends, eminent leaders of the State and many beyond the borders of Oklahoma gathered to mourn the passing from Earth of one of Oklahoma's most noted authors of history in America, the following program was rendered:

First Presbyterian Church in Muskogee, Oklahoma
April 23, 1953

Clergyman Officiating
Dr. Walter G. Letham, Muskogee

Eulogist
General William S. Key, Oklahoma City
President, Oklahoma State Historical Society

Bacone College Choir, Bacone
Raymond Evans, Director

Soloist
Mrs. Francis Thompson, Bacone College

Organ Music .... Mrs. W. P. Baswell
Chorale: "When Thou Art Near" .... Bach
"Evensong" .... Schumann
"Largo" (New World Symphony) .... Dvorak

Chorale: "My Heart is Filled with Longing" .... Bach
"I'm a Pilgrim" (Johnson) .... Mrs. Francis Thompson

BENEDICTION .... Dr. Walter G. Letham
"Going Home" (Dvorak) .... Mrs. W. P. Baswell

DR. GRANT FOREMAN

By General William S. Key, President
The Oklahoma Historical Society

EULOGY DELIVERED IN THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, MUSKOGEE, OKLAHOMA ON APRIL 23, 1953.

Dr. Letham, family and friends of Dr. Foreman:

It is with heavy hearts and feeble words that we, the associates of Dr. Grant Foreman in the Oklahoma Historical Society, undertake the sad task of paying a richly deserved tribute of respect and honor to him who was our fellow director and peerless leader in the field of history.

Ralph Waldo Emerson said in one of his essays that, "Every institution is but the lengthened shadow of an individual." It could well be said that the Oklahoma Historical Society, in its growth and development as a great storehouse of rich and romantic history of our beloved State, is but the lengthened shadow of this fine gentlemen, this great historian, who has been called home by the Supreme Architect of the Universe, the great Recorder of all history.

Dr. Foreman was first elected a director of the Oklahoma Historical Society on February 5, 1924. He entered upon his duties with initiative and enthusiasm. He was regularly reelected and later, as a reward for his splendid service, he was made a director for life. In this brief tribute I will confine my remarks generally to his association with the Historical Society; even so, I can emphasize only the high lights of his great contribution to the recording and preservation of Oklahoma history.

Upon becoming a director of the Society, Dr. Foreman was appointed on the Committee of Publications, charged with publishing the quarterly magazine of the Society, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, then in its infancy, only one volume having been published up to that time. The second and each succeeding volume, except those of the past two years, has contained feature articles on some phase of Oklahoma history by Dr. Foreman. I recall his first article published in April 1924, in which he commemorated the 100th anniversary of Fort Gibson. It is one of my prized possessions and I attribute my growing interest in Oklahoma's history to the reading of his fascinating story of the history of that famous Post. Dr. Foreman's splendid services as Editor and contributing author made the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* one of the most valuable historical publications of its kind in the Nation.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Historical Society on February 1, 1927, Dr. Foreman sponsored a resolution memorializing Congress to authorize the placing of the records of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Historical Society for permanent file and preservation. This action was to become effective when a fireproof building for safeguarding the records could be provided. He followed through diligently on both the resolution and the need of a new building and was largely responsible for the erection in 1930 of the handsome building in which the Society is now housed. Shortly thereafter, Congress enacted a law making the Society the official depository of the old records of the Five Civilized Tribes and all other Indian Tribes in Oklahoma. As a result of Dr. Foreman's efforts our Indian Archives today contain the largest collection of classified Indian records to be found outside of the National Capitol.

Another important contribution of Dr. Foreman was his sponsorship during the depression of several Federal Works projects employing a great number of qualified persons in collecting historical data and preserving historical sites. The most important of these, perhaps, was the program of interviewing old Indians and pioneers and obtaining first hand stories and recollections of their early life before and after the Civil War. This is known as the Foreman Collection and contains one hundred and twelve volumes of valuable historical memoirs. Other projects included the construction of a replica of the old stockade at Fort Gibson which has been visited by hundreds of thousands of interested citizens. Another project was the erection of a stone building to enclose the original log house home of Sequoyah, the famous author of the Cherokee alphabet, near Sallisaw; still another, was the construction of a stone wall around the family cemetery of the noted Choctaw leader, Robert M. Jones, near the site of his palatial antebellum home near Hugo. Jones was perhaps the wealthiest Indian in Indian Territory and represented the Choctaw Nation in the Confederate Congress at Richmond during the Civil War.

It was Grant Foreman who first struck the spark of interest in the fascinating history of the first permanent citizens of Oklahoma, our Indian ancestors of the Five Civilized Tribes. To him above any other writer is due credit for developing, through intensive study and research, the engrossing story of these tribes in their progress from primitive life to orderly self government and conventional society.

Dr. Foreman's interest and efforts in obtaining and preserving history was not confined to the Indian race. However, since the history of Oklahoma is so closely interwoven with the history of the Indian, naturally his work developed heretofore unpublished facts about their achievement in wresting this beautiful country from a wild state of nature before the coming of the white man.

It was largely through Dr. Foreman's tireless research in the musty and forgotten records and reports of human, and sometimes inhuman, activities and adventure of representatives of the various nations that colonized America, before and after our War of Independence, that we have learned the real history of America and Oklahoma's original citizens.

Dr. Foreman recognized that the documentary history of our State has been in progress of recording for many years and that the source material was scattered far and wide. He spent much time and money in patient and laborious study and research in libraries scattered over the United States and Europe, and in doing so he assembled a priceless collection of historical information. To him there was no vocation so interesting and so fascinating as historical research. We Oklahomans owe him a great debt of gratitude for his contribution to the history of our great State.

His historical books are too numerous to mention individually but his absorbing stories of the *Five Civilized Tribes, Indian Removal,* and *Advancing the Frontier,* belong in the front rank of historical research and reporting. Dr. Foreman was a good man and a good citizen, proud of his adopted State and loyal to his Nation; his life was an inspiration to his many friends and admirers in all walks of life; and to his associates in the Oklahoma Historical Society he was the Dean of Historians. His gentle spirit will linger long with us:

> ''Fading away like stars of the morning,
> Losing their light in the glorious sun,
> So do we pass from the earth and its toiling,
> Only remembered by what we have done''

FISHERTOWN

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

Several villages that sprang up along the Texas Road in the Creek Nation gradually vanished after the railroad was built and became ghost towns. This was the case during the gold rush when the road was crowded with men eager to reach the gold fields. Many of them never realized the fortunes they expected to reap, but canny men along the routes made much money in furnishing supplies for men and beast; in repairing wagons and other equipment. Since all the adventurers traveled with horses, mules or oxen, progress was slow and small towns were settled every few miles in the Indian Territory.

North Fork Town became a thriving village with many prosperous citizens, and finally, an educational center with the establishment of Asbury Mission, but like other places it was deserted in a short time when it was learned that the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad was going to pass it by a few miles to the west and all of the merchants removed to a point on the road and established their stores and homes at what became known as Eufaula.

A few miles north of North Fork Town a small village grew up named Fishertown from the principal family that settled there. No trace of it remains and few citizens of the present Oklahoma have ever heard of it.

Just when the first settlers arrived is not definitely known but Cobray Hill of Beggs, Oklahoma was born in Fishertown in 1840. He related that William and George Fisher maintained trading posts there and the firm prospered but George lost his place giving too much credit to people.[1]

According to E. F. Vann of Muskogee, Fishertown was east of the present town of Eufaula; one of the Fisher brothers operated a store while the other ran a blacksmith shop.[2]

According to Annie V. Noble of Checotah, Oklahoma the place was established in 1847 by her grand father, Samuel Fisher. He was born in Alabama and served in the Creek War of 1812 which became known as the Red Stick War. When he removed to the West in 1847 he brought his family with him. Among them was his son, William who married Sarah P. Lampkin in 1850; both were of Creek blood and they had nine children five of whom lived, Henry Clay, Emma, Martha, Samuel, and Annie.

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[1] Grant Foreman, *Indian-Pioneer History* (Oklahoma Historical Society), Vol. 85, pp. 8, 9.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol., pp. 95, 73.

William Fisher was born in Alabama where he received his early education. After coming to the western Creek Nation in 1847 he was sent to school at the Shawnee Mission in Kansas for two years.

When Samuel Fisher came from Alabama, two young men accompanied him who became prominent in the Creek Nation: They were the substantial citizens, William E. Gentry and Elijah H. LeBlanche.

The biography of William E. Gentry in *The Indian Territory* by H. F. and E. S. O'Beirne, states that he came to the Creek Nation with his parents in 1855. Elijah Hermigine Lerblance, born in March, 1836, removed to the Creek Nation with his parents at the age of twelve years. Fisher also brought many slaves and with their labor he engaged in farming on a large scale until the Civil War. Mr. Fisher died soon after that conflict and his slaves were freed; some of them moved away, but several faithful ones remained on the old plantation for a number of years.

William Fisher started his store at Fishertown in 1855 and by the time the Civil War commenced he had accumulated a large stock of goods and was rated as a rich man. He joined the Confederate army, serving under Col. Chilly McIntosh as sergeant major and first lieutenant. When he returned at the end of the war his property had been dissipated and he was obliged to start again in a store which he was able to build up to its former prosperous state. In 1892 Mr. Fisher moved his business to Checotah where he continued to operate for three years; at that time he retired to his old home at Fishertown and remained there until his death in 1902. He served the Creek Nation in the National Council for eight years and he was Supreme Judge of the courts.

When William Fisher had reestablished his business after his return from the war, he resumed his farming activities, acquired more land and engaged in the cattle business on his ranch which was about fifteen miles west of Fishertown. He built the first cotton gin in that section of the Indian Territory and he was also the owner of a saw mill.

The Reverend Thomas B. Ruble wrote an account of his travels through a portion of the Indian country and it was published in the *Fort Smith Herald,* June 6, 1867. He left Fort Smith on May 6 for North Fork Town by way of Skullyville and crossed the Canadian at a deep ford, which was dangerous because of quicksand. On entering the Cherokee Nation he found many new houses, and fields in a better state of cultivation than he had seen in the Choctaw country.

After crossing the mountains he entered the rich valley of the North Fork River where the Creek element began to show.

There lived the Fishers who returned to find all but one of their buildings intact after the war. There was one small store and with plenty of corn and fodder that would have done well that year except for a plague of grasshoppers. The Fife family was settled close by—they were descendants of old Captain Fife of Creek War fame—and they were industrious farmers who always had plenty of food.

Principal Chief Samuel Checote issued a warrant dated May 20, 1871 to William Fisher in the sum of $150.00 for services rendered as public blacksmith at Fishertown.[3]

Henry Clay Fisher was born at Fishertown, in the Creek Nation, March 16, 1862; he was a son of William and Sarah Lampkin Fisher of Fishertown. Henry attended the public schools in the Creek Nation until he was fourteen years of age when he was entered in the Franklin High School at Clinton, Missouri. After two years he matriculated in Drury College, at Springfield, Missouri, from which he was graduated in the scientific course in 1881. He then joined his father in his mercantile establishment in Fishertown until 1892 when he removed to Checotah.

Fisher was married to Miss Lucy B. Willison, a daughter of James D. Willison of the Creek Nation, on February 23, 1882. Mrs. Willison was Hettie McIntosh, a daughter of the celebrated General William McIntosh. Through her McIntosh ancestors, who were related to Martha Washington, she received knee buckles and a punch spoon once owned by the first president. Mrs. Fisher taught for four years in the Creek schools before her marriage. She was the mother of Carrie, Ollie, and Martha Belle Fisher.

Between the years 1890 and 1894 Fisher was coal weigher for the nation; he was elected a member of the House of Warriors in 1895 and was appointed auditor to fill the unexpired term of William Whitlow, deceased.[4]

When Henry Clay Fisher moved to Eufaula he built a small slab side house and opened the first store. In the beginning his supplies were brought by wagon train from Fort Smith, Arkansas, until the railroad commenced hauling freight. The second store was owned and operated by John Wadsworth.[5]

Henry C. Fisher was the first postmaster of Fishertown. The office was established July 10, 1883 and he served until succeeded by George Grayson. Among other citizens on the place were the Carrs, and Wells families, the Butlers and Stidhams.

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[3] *Creek-Blacksmiths*, No. 24713, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[4] D. C. Gideon, *Indian Territory* (New York and Chicago, 1901), pp. 453-54; Indian Archives, *Creek Records*, Nos. 24664, 33293; *Creek National Council*, Dec. 5, 1895, No. 32321, *loc. cit.* Interview with H. C. Fisher, *Indian-Pioneer History*, Vol. 3, p. 488.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. 81, pp. 239-242, interview with Mrs. Sarah Odom, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

Bose Scott of Muskogee, related an interesting account of his life at Fishertown where he lived many years. He was born in the Muskogee District of the Creek Nation and shortly after the Civil War his parents moved to Fishertown where his first recollection of life began. His father established a claim through the tribal right of his wife, improved it, and built a double log house with a stone fireplace at the north end. In that home they reared two daughters and two sons.

At the time the Scott children attended the Creek National School at Fishertown it was housed in a one room log building. This burned about 1880, and it was replaced by a frame building which was used for church and school. The pupils studied in the Third Reader, the "Blue Back" Speller and they were instructed in simple mathematics.

When Bose Scott was a lad he went to work for Mr. Fisher as a general work hand about the mill, the cotton gin or ranch. He remained with him for several years and he fell in love with Fisher's young daughter Martha. While she was at home in 1884, on vacation from the boarding school she attended at Springfield, Missouri, the young people decided to get married.

As the end of her holiday drew near, young Scott asked Mr. Fisher's permission to marry his daughter; after thinking the matter over very seriously Mr. Fisher told the young man that his only objection was that he and Martha were too young and he wished his daughter to attend school another year.

The day Martha left for school at Springfield her family saw her aboard the train at Eufaula. In the meantime young Scott mounted his pony and flagged down the train at Bond Switch, north of Eufaula; he and Martha rode as far as Gibson Station, drove to Fort Gibson where they were united in marriage under the Cherokee laws.[6]

Mrs. Annie Fisher Noble was born at Fishertown May 30, 1875 and her schooling commenced in that village in the Creek public school.[7]

Andrew Jackson Berryhill, a son of Jeff and Nancy Berryhill, was born in Fishertown September 15, 1856. His father was a Creek and his mother a white woman. Like other citizens of the place the Berryhill family went south to Red River at the beginning of the Civil War and they did not return to their homes until 1867.[8]

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[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. 69, pp. 188-192.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. 39, pp. 108-10, interview with Annie V. Noble, Checotah, Oklahoma; H. F. & E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory* (St. Louis, 1892), pp. 214-16.

[8] *Indian-Pioneer History*, Vol. 77, p. 186.

Woods Buckner Rogers, born in Fort Smith in 1836, was a white man who married a Creek wife at Webbers Falls in 1869. They made their home at Honey Springs where their son, Buck Rogers was born. Shortly thereafter the family moved to North Fork Town where Mr. Rogers operated the cotton gin belonging to William Fisher for one year before removing to Eufaula.[9]

A post office was established at Fishertown July 10, 1883. with Henry Clay Fisher as postmaster.[10]

A letter in the file of *Creek Courts, Eufaula District,* in the Oklahoma Historical Society, depicts conditions in the neighborhood of Fishertown. The letter, written May 14, 1883, by William Fisher was addressed to:

> "Hon. Saml. Chekotie, Okmulgee, I. T.
>
> "Dear Sir I have been thinking for some time doant you think it would be well for you to issue your proclamation for Eufaula District to lay down the carrying of fierarms I do See no use for Eufaula District to be alowed to be carrying fierarms into all publick gatherings & at religious meetings & at Sunday Schools Now we have a Sunday School here at Fishertown & this practice of bringing fierarms rite into the house is a grate annoyance to the welfare of the good intention that it is intended for & just so long as young people is allowed to carry fierarms just as thay pleas we will never have any law & order it may be well for the verry out side District to be allowed the carrying of fierarms a while longer but I see no use of Eufaula District of carrying them only to do devilment with & it will be so untill stoped by law now as there is others that has requested me to write you on this question pleas let me hear from you soon & mutch oblige your friend."

At the Creek election held September 3, 1883, William and George Fisher voted for J. M. Perryman for principal cheif and Coweta Misso as second cheif. This election was held at Cheyarher Town but "Taskagee" was written opposite the names of the two voters, showing that they were from the latter town, but voted at Cheyarher Town.[11]

Mrs. Pearl Call, Bixby, Oklahoma, was only seven years old when her family arrived in the Indian Territory, in 1884. They settled at Fishertown which she described as "quite a lively little village." It became very active before her father died in 1889, because many people stopped there enroute to the opening of the Oklahoma Lands that year. There were two stores, a blacksmith shop, post office, and a small church. The blacksmith did the most business as the emigrants stopped to have their horses shod and their wagons repaired.[12]

In December, 1891 William Fisher and Henry Clay Fisher were bondsmen for Samuel Grayson when he became treasurer of the

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[9] *Ibid.,* Vol. 52, pp. 428-33.

[10] Grant Foreman, "Early Post Offices of Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. 6, No. 1 (March, 1928), p. 23.

[11] *Creek-Election,* No. 29390, *loc. cit.*

[12] *Indian-Pioneer History,* Vol. 104, pp. 199, 200.

Creek Nation. Each of the men filed an itemized statement showing the worth of their resources and liabilities. William Fisher listed:[13]

RESOURCES

"1600 Head of Cattle, mostly 2,3,&4 year old steers at $12.00	$19200.
Located in Muscogee Dist. on what is known as Wm. Fisher Ranch Store House, Contents and Fixtures &c	8000.
Cotton Gin, Mill & Machinery	1200.
1 mile Square Pasture, 5 wires	500.
Dwelling House, 50 acres in cultivation, and other improvements at Ranch	1500.
All of my Horses on ranch	1200.
Dwelling House here at home, Farms &c	3500.
	$35100.

LIABILITIES

Note on Cattle, Payable 15th July, 1892	$1250.00	
Total due on Mdse.	1200.00	2450.
		$32650.

RESOURCES

"An Itemized statement, showing the Net Worth of
H. C. Fisher of Fishertown, I. T.

600 Head of Cattle, mostly 2 and 3 year old steers at 11.00 in Muscogee Dist. in what is known as Henry Fisher's ranch	$6600.00
1 Wire Pasture, 5 wires, 1 mile square	500.00
Improvements at Ranch, 15 acres in cultivation, Lots, &c and 5000 New Walnut Rails, good well &c	500.00
A Farm right at the town of Checotah, new and substantial buildings, good wells of water, &c	2000.00
Dwelling House and Improvements here at Home	1500.00
Horses, colt &c	450.00
	$11,550.00

LIABILITIES

I owe the following amount on my cattle payable the 15th of July 1892	500.00
Net Worth	$11,050.00

An election was held at Tuskegee Town on September 1, 1891 and G. W. Fisher and William Fisher voted for John Reed as principal chief and W. A. Palmer as second chief. Henry Clay Fisher was a clerk of this election.[14]

From the following law suit it appears that William Fisher did not forgive his daughter for eloping and marrying Bose Scott:[15]

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[13] Indian Archives, *Creek-Treasurer*, No. 39350, *loc. cit.*

[14] Indian Archives, *Creek-Elections*, No. 29535, *loc. cit.* L. C. Perryman and Hotulke Emarthla were reelected in 1891 over Isparhecher and Tulwa Fixico, John Reed and James Colbert. Hotulke Emarthla was elected by a plurality of 250 over Palmer. Palmer was selected for another term as national auditor.—Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941), p. 325.

[15] Indian Archives, *loc. cit.*, *Creek-Courts-Supreme*, No. 29006.

WM. FISHER
vs
Bosie Scott

The plaintiff William Fisher, by his attorney hereby files complaint in the will case of George W. Fisher, now deceased, against Bosie Scott, who represents the interests of his wife Martha Scott, and who, it is claimed by defendant, is the true and only beneficiary of said estate. The plaintiff William Fisher, represents the interests of his son Samuel W. Fisher, and his daughter, Annie Noble, who the plaintiff claims, and proposes to prove, are the real and true beneficiaries by the desires of the said George W. Fisher, according to the last will and testament of the deceased. The plaintiff hereby states that this complaint is based upon an appeal taken by him, from a decision from the Judge of Eufaula District, who rendered a verdict in favor of said Bosie Scott's wife, without any form or trial, and without hearing any evidence on the part of plaintiff, Now therefore, he prays for the fixing of an early date by which he may substantiate his claims for a reversal of the decision of the Eufaula District Judge. His witnesses are Mrs. Melissa Thomas H. C. Fisher and Caddo Wadsworth.

Respe.
William Fisher.

Attached to the above is the following:

Eufaula, Jan. 25, 1896

Hon. T. J. Adams
Chief Justice.

You are hereby notified by this court that Wm. Fisher and Bossie Scott, both were compromise the suit on Estate of G. W. Fisher last term of Supreme Court. Fisher and Scott was here before this office on 13 day of Jan. 1896 and settle the matter before me.

Very Respectfully
Larfe Manly
Judge Eufaula Dist.

According to the archives in the Oklahoma Historical Society the Fishertown school was taught from February 13, 1871 to February 20 1875 by Miss Amanda Davis, Martha Lynch, Cheesie McIntosh, and Wade R. West.

William Fisher, Cad Wadsworth and Tobe Alexander sent a report of the Fisher Town School to David Yargee, superintendent of Creek Schools, on March 18, 1875, saying that the term had commenced February 11 and closed March 15 owing to the illness of the teacher Mr. W. H. Campbell. On April 22 the three trustees again reported to David Yargee that Mr. Thomas Grayson commenced to teach the school on April 5; "The children or schollars seam to be doing tolerable well but you will see from Teachers report that we have not yet an average school on the account of the children not yet coming in on account of having to help their parents get in their crops but we are in hopes now to soon have a full school and we cheerfully recommend that Mr. Grayson be paid for services from the first of the month because he had to use his time from then in procuring books for this school."[16]

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[16] *Creek-Schools, Neighborhood*, Nos. 37842, 37843, 47843 (warrants to Thomas Grayson for teaching Fisher Town school), *loc. cit.*

J. M. Sloan was the teacher who reported to the trustees for the 1875-76 term of the school. The aggregate number of pupils was eighteen. Reading, writing, spelling and defining, grammar, geography, vocal music arithmetic and morals were taught. In a letter dated November 22, 1875, from William Fisher and Cad Wadsworth to Superintendent of Schools William McCombs, attached to the above report, it is stated that the cause of the low attendance was due to illness, but as the sickly season was passing they hoped to show a better report thereafter. "Our teacher . . . . has lost no time since he commenced and he has given general satisfaction as a teacher."[17]

> June 29, 1877
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> Fishertown School closed on the 22nd of June. This school reports an average attendance of twelve pupils. The ages of the children range from four to ten years. They deserve the commendation of their teacher, and of all their friends for regularity of their attendance, their diligence in study and their rapid progress.
>
> J. M. Sloan . . . . teacher.
> Wm. Fisher, Caddo Wadsworth, Trustees.[18]

Henry Clay Earnest appears to have taught the school from September 2, 1878 through 1880 and Mrs. R. Weldon was the teacher for four quarters in 1880-81. During that period William McCombs and Samuel Brown were superintendents of public instruction and Ward Coachman and Samuel Checote were the principal chiefs of the Creek Nation.[19]

The number of students in Fisher Town school had increased to thirty-nine by November, 1881 when E. M. Corner made his report to William Fisher and Tom Fife, the board of directors. There were seventy books on hand, ten of which were in good condition, forty were bad and twenty worthless. They had nineteen copy books and four slates. John McIntosh superintendent sent an order with this report asking Chief Checote to issue a warrant for Mr. Corner for $100 for his services as teacher for the first quarter 1881-82.[20]

Mrs. J. D. Willison[21] taught the school from January 1, 1882 through the second quarter of 1883. She reported that twenty-five of the pupils out of the whole number of twenty-eight, understood and spoke the English language. In the following years the school was taught by Miss Hattie Simpson. Stella B. Wadsworth, Catherine J. Rector (later Mrs. William M. Patterson of Muskogee). Irving Brodie, J. T. Turpin, and Miss Ethel Fair of Checotah.[22]

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[17] *Creek-Schools, Neighborhood*, No. 37844, *loc. cit.* Commencing January 10, 1876 and ending April 15 the Fisher Town school was taught by Thomas Grayson with an average attendance of 15 (*Ibid.*, No. 37845).

[18] *Indian Journal*, Eufaula, Creek Nation, Thursday, July 5, 1877, p. 2, Col. 4.

[19] *Creek-Schools, Neighborhood*, Nos. 37846, 37847, *loc. cit.*

[20] *Ibid.*, No. 37848.

[21] Mrs. James Dandridge Willison was Mary Mackey, daughter of W. T. Mackey, auditor of the Cherokee Nation. She and Mr. Willison were married in June, 1879 (O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, p. 225).

[22] *Creek-Schools, Neighborhood*, Nos. 37849-37853, 37855-37861, *loc. cit.*

A HISTORY OF CIMARRON COUNTY

By William E. Baker[*]

The history in which Cimarron County has had a part now comprises many volumes. All that can be done in this paper is to name a few of the more important historical events.

First in time of age is our dinosaur quarries. Had this caravan, at the close of the Jurassic Age, some 155,000,000 years ago, have made this trip from where Oklahoma City now stands to the present site of Cimarron County, they would have passed through, and would have seen an entirely different world. The caravan at that time, would at least a part, and possibly the greater portion of the way, have been traveling down hill and following water courses flowing to the west. In the western part of the county they would have come upon a barrier in the way of a large inland sea, geologically called the Logan Sea. This sea extended some 400 miles to the west and nearly 700 miles north and south, covering nearly all of Colorado, Wyoming, the north two-thirds of New Mexico, the western part of Cimarron County, a portion of western Kansas and Nebraska, the southwest corner of South Dakota, the southern part of Montana, eastern Utah and Arizona. Around the edge of this majestic sea were numerous islands and extensive swamp lands, covered with a luxurious growth of tropical vegetation. This would have been a far cry from what you see today. In the waters and marsh lands around the edge of this sea you would have seen the Dinosaur or Reptillian Age in its fullest. Cimarron County's part of this ancient geological history is made manifest by three outstanding dinosaur quarries and six smaller pits in the northwest part of the county, from which many thousands of fossil bones have been removed under the supervision of the late Dr. J. Willis Stovall of the Oklahoma University. Over 15,000 of these bones have been taken from one of these quarries on the highway some 8 miles east of Kenton. The most important of these is the almost complete skeleton of a Brontosaurus, some 65 feet long together with numerous other fossil bones.

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[*] This "History of Cimarron County" has been adapted for publication in *The Chronicles* from a paper by William E. "Uncle Bill" Baker, read before members of the Oklahoma Historical Society Tour, meeting at Boise City, Cimarron County, on June 5, 1953. "Uncle Bill" Baker is widely known for his interest in the history of Cimarron County, especially the archeology of the region and the sites that reveal the pre-historic period. A native of Indiana, he came at the age of twelve years with his parents to Oklahoma Territory in 1890, and settled on a farm near Guthrie where his father planted an orchard and operated at nursery. Beginning in 1897, Bill Baker taught in rural schools for ten years, and subsequently made a special study of agriculture and stock raising. In 1922, he was appointed through the Extension Division of Oklahoma A. and M. College to the position of County Agent in Cimarron County, in which position he accomplished a great work in the development of this "last pioneer county in Oklahoma." At the Achievement Day Dinner on April 8, 1952, the University of Oklahoma and the University of Oklahoma Association presented the Distinguished Service Citation on "William Ellmore Baker in recognition of his services to the people and their lands in Western Oklahoma, his original thinking on agricultural problems and soil conservation, his contributions to archeology, and his vision and faith during twenty-five years as County Agent of Cimarron County."—Ed.

Next to mention in geological time, several million years later, are petrified logs identified by geologists as the father of the giant redwood now found only in California. One of the outstanding examples of this species is on a hillside on the north side of the Cimarron River, 17½ miles west and 13 north of Boise City. Remnants of this tree indicate that it at least was a few hundred feet high and several feet in diameter.

Next for discussion in our meeting today is the Early Man who occupied North America, at, or just following, the close of the Glacial Age. This ice cap came down from the north into the United States as far as southern Nebraska. This period, known as the rainy or pluvial period, following the last cap, has been timed by geologists at from about 10,000 to 15,000 years ago. During this period, the Columbi elephant, the camel, the ancient horse, the giant ground sloth and the large Taylori bison, all of which became extinct and disappeared many thousands of years ago, roamed the Great Plains here in abundance. Many fossil remains of these now-extinct animals have been found in Cimarron County.

Associated with the bones of some of these now-extinct animals have been found flint spearpoints, which are the oldest evidence of human habitation and which are recognized as those of the Early Man of America. These implements now, by a recently developed manner of dating known as Carbon Radio Activity, have been given an age of 10,000 to 12,000 years old.

These flint artifacts represent several different types in shape and flaking techniques, indicating quite conclusively that they represent several different cultures. The Archaeological Association has given those different cultures names as follows: the Clovis fluted points, the Folsom fluted, the diagonal parallel flaked points, the horizontal parallel flaked points, the Plainview points, the Eden points, the Scott Bluff points, the Gypsum Cave points, the San Dia points, the Borax Lake points, the Sliver Lake points and the Pinto points. In fact, we have an almost embarrassing number of named ancient cultures. Personally, I believe the time will come when two or more of these cultures may be merged into variations of the same culture and thereby lessen the number of ancient cultures as now listed.

I have in my collection over 1,500 of these ancient pieces either whole or broken and over half of these flint artifacts have been found here in Cimarron County.

For some unknown reason, these people seem to have migrated from this area along with the disappearance of the Columbi elephant, the Taylori bison and other extinct animals. The next definite evidence of human habitation in Cimarron County is what archaeologists call the Basket Maker's Culture Number Two. That you may more fully understand the genealogy of the recent, or sedentary Indians of the Rocky Mountains dating back to a little over 2,000 years ago, the following classification has been given them by archaeologists: First, Basket Maker's Culture Number One, a little more than 2,000 years ago; Second, Basket Maker's Culture Number Two, about 2,000 years ago; Third, Basket Maker's Culture Number Three, or post basket makers, a little under 2,000 years ago. Following the Basket Maker's Cultures, their descendants began the Pueblo Cultures. Archaeologists have changed the names of their descendants we see today and designated them as Pueblo Cultures numbers One, Two, Three, Four and Five, the last, or Number Five, being th Pueblos of today. Three Basket Makers Number Two caves have been found in this county. In those we found both ears of corn and shelled corn and stems from pumpkins and small bits of pumpkins vines, proving that agriculture had been carried on in Cimarron County during the time of Christ. No other county in the state of Oklahoma has produced proof of having been an agricultural county at that early date.

First of the white man's history of Cimarron County was when Coronado crossed it in 1541 on his return trip from the Quivira Indian villages in north central Kansas. I know this route has been questioned and contradicted by some writers. While several others of the historians are as equally sure that when Coronado on his return trip from the Quivira Indians he turned to the Southwest when he came to the Arkansas River. They state they turned to the right and being led by Indian guides who led them by watering places till they came in sight of landmarks which they recognized as those seen on their outward journey. In my life the last thirty-one years in this area and having traveled over this entire area almost hundreds of times, I believe I can state advisably that there is no other landmark in this area which can be seen so plainly and at so great a distance from both the south on their outward journey and the east on their return journey than the Rabbit Ears in eastern Union County, New Mexico. If this is the landmark they referred to they would on their return journey, have had to approach it from the east through Cimarron County, as they could not have seen it if they passed east of Cimarron County. This would indicate to me that their Indian guides who were perfectly familiar with the country followed very closely the watering places, afterward followed by those establishing the Santa Fe Trail.

However, in a careful study of the English translation of the three Spaniards who made this trip and wrote the only reliable information describing their route, I do not see how this location can be justly disputed. This information referred to is contained in the *14th Annual Report,* the Bureau of Enthnology, Smithsonian Institute, published in 1893. I have one of the very few copies of this publication now available.

Last and probably of the most interest to those assembled here today is the Old Santa Fe Trail and Camp Nichols.[1]

During the life of the Santa Fe Trail from the time that McKnight, Beard, Chambers and others made the first trip in 1812 to its close in the late Seventies, there were various places on the Missouri river where the caravans assembled to start their trek across the prairies. I feel that the most complete and probably the most reliable information I have is to be found in the ''Santa Fe Trail'' by the Kansas State Historical Society, published in 1913. From this the following information is obtained.

While there were several early trading expeditions from various places to Santa Fe between the years 1804 and 1820 the expeditions that went out from Franklin, Missouri, mark the beginning of the important Santa Fe trade. This point was so used for a period for about ten years. Joseph C. Brown, during the years 1825 to 1827 inclusive, made a survey of the Santa Fe Trail via the Cimarron Cut off from Fort Osage, Missouri, to the Valley of Toas. About 1827, trading posts were established in Missouri, at Fort Osage, Blue Mills, and Independence. Independence soon became the recognized American headquarters of the overland trade to Santa Fe. About 1840, the town of Westport, three or four miles south of the junction of the Kansas and Missouri rivers, and Westport Landing became rivals of Independence, and by 1848 had absorbed most of the Santa Fe trade, becoming the center for the Trail's business. The immigration to California, 1849-50, gave added importance to Westport, as fully half of the thousands of emigrants of those years outfitted there.

From Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies,* we gain the following information:[2] That Captain Pike in 1806 was sent on an exploring expedition up the Arkansas river with instructions to pass to the source of the Red river for which those of the Canadian were then mistaken. It was on this memorable trip that he discovered the mountan which now bears his name, ''Pikes Peak.'' Captain Pike however passed around the head of the latter and crossed over the mountains to the Rio Del Norte, (Rio Grande).

He was now in Mexican territory, but believing he was within the boundary of the United States, he erected a fortification for his company of fifteen men for their protection until the coming

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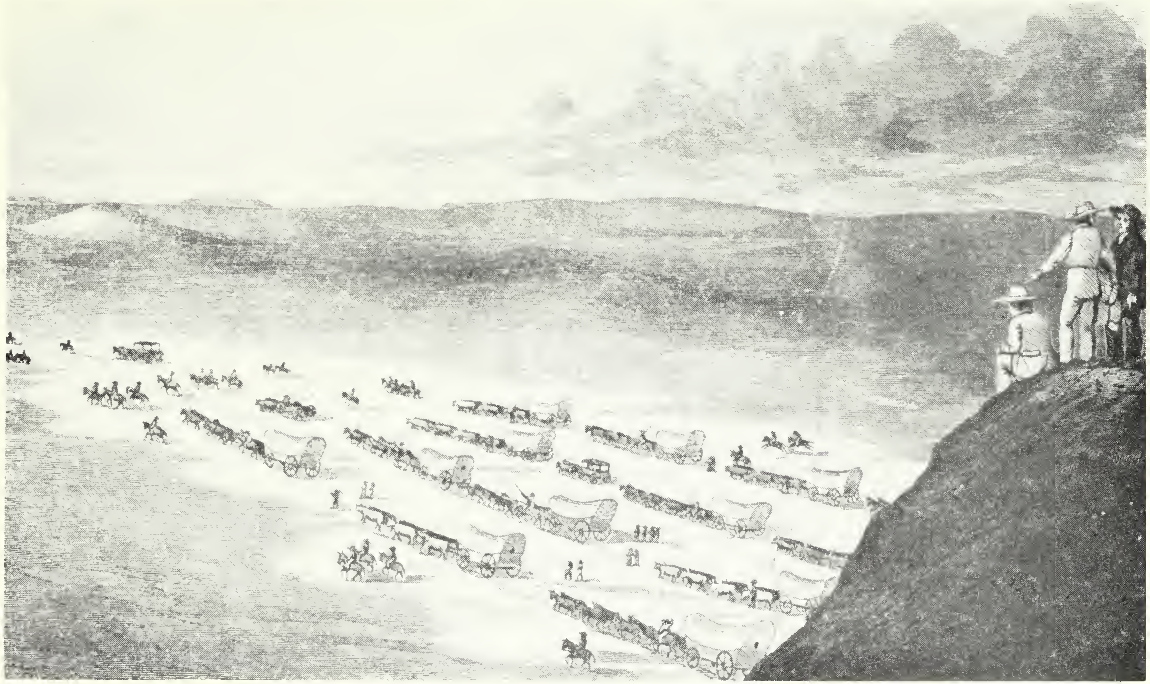
[1] For an account of "Old Fort Nichols" see George Rainey, *No Man's Land* (Guthrie, 1937), pp. 76-84.

[2] Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (New York, first edition, 1844). Vol. I, reprinted and annotated by Reuben Gold Thwaites in *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1905), Vol. XIX, pp. 173-5.



(Print from Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies*)

"March of the Caravan" on the Santa Fe Trail

of spring when they could continue their journey. The Governor at Santa Fe learning of his presence there sent a force to invite him to Santa Fe for a council. Upon his arrival at Santa Fe, the Governor sent him and his party to Chihuahua where all their papers were confiscated and they were sent back under escort via San Antonia de Bexar to the United States. It was from the glowing account of this western country given by Captain Pike that caused the trade caravans to be organized to attempt the trips to Santa Fe. These first trips were entirely with pack mules and followed the trail of Captain Pike from a few miles east of Great Bend, Kansas, to near where Las Animas, Colorado, now stands and from here took a southwesterly course via Raton, New Mexico, and Toas to Santa Fe. After the Cimarron Cut-off was established this route above mentioned was known as the "Far Western Route."

The first wagon train to travel the Cimarron Cut-off of the Santa Fe Trail was in 1824, leaving the Arkansas River some place west of Kinsley, Kansas, and coming into the old trail again at Wagon Mound, New Mexico, passed through Cimarron County.

We learn from Josiah Gregg in his *Commerce of the Prairies* that commercial trade with the English in the east and the Spaniards in the southwest prior to 1804 was unknown. The first trade trip as recorded by Gregg was made by a French Creole, named La Lande, who ascended the Platte River to the Rocky Mountains in 1804 with a small amount of goods and with the aid of Indian guides found his way to Santa Fe, where he remained until he died. Another Indian trader, Pursley, wandering over the Great Plains in 1805, fell in with some Indians near the Rocky Mountains and with their aid, also reached Santa Fe, where he remained until he died. The next and first real expedition to make the trip was fitted out in 1812 by Messrs. McKnight, Beard, Chambers and several others, and by following the trail traveled by Captain Pike in 1806 to the mountains, made the trip successfully. This, then, was the beginning of the Santa Fe Trail and the trip made over the Far Western Trail. However, the rulers in Mexico had changed in the meantime, and the party, upon reaching Santa Fe, had their goods confiscated and they were placed in the Calobozos at Chihuauha, where they were kept for nearly nine years when the republican forces again came into power and the party was released from prison. Under this new ruler in Santa Fe, the real trade over the Old Santa Fe Trail began. A merchant from Ohio, Glen, made the trip in 1821. Captain Becknell and others from Missouri also made the trip in 1821. Colonel Copper and son made the trip in 1822 successfully. All of the afore mentioned used pack trains only and traveled over the far western trail. Captain Becknell again started with a caravan in 1822 and was the first to attempt the cut-off from the Arkansas River near Dodge City, Kansas. directly southwest to Santa Fe. In this he was doomed to failure, and the party had to return to the Arkansas River and follow the old western route. It was from the year 1822 that the real trade with Santa Fe began.

Another outstanding epoch in the Santa Fe Trail was when wagons and carriages were introduced. Colonel Marmaduke and others, along with some pack mules, employed some 25 wheeled vehicles to transport $25,000 to $30,000 worth of merchandise. So far as history states, this was the first caravan over the Cimarron Cut-off. This cut-off enters Cimarron County 13 miles due North of Keyes and passes out into New Mexico 27 miles west in the center of the section line extending west from the south side of Boise City. From this date the trade grew by leaps and bounds. The trail became so popular that the government had it surveyed in 1826 and 1827 by Joseph C. Brown, giving directions and distances from one waterhole to another. This survey passed through Cimarron County.

From this time on, the trail became the most-used and noted trail in the United States. Records show that early in the Sixties, the trade had grown to such an extent that caravans started every few days. The trade in 1859 had risen to $10,000,000 annually. Between March and July it was reported that 2,300 men, 1,970 wagons, 840 horses, 4,000 mules, 15,000 oxen, 73 carriages and over 1,900 tons of freight left for New Mexico. In 1862, the trade had grown to the extent of 3,000 wagons, 618 horses, 20,812 oxen, 6,406 mules, 96 carriages and 3,720 men, with a freight cargo of over 10,000 tons valued at over $40,000,000.

The attacks of the Indians became much more frequent and in 1865 the government ordered Christopher (Kit) Carson to advance to the east side of New Mexico, where he was to erect a camp for the protection of the freight caravans. (I wish here to call attention to the fact that the War Department designates this as Camp Nichols and not Fort Nichols. Also, they maintain that it is in eastern New Mexico; however, its exact location is west one-half of Section 2, Twp. 3, north Range 1, ECM, Cimarron County, Oklahoma, 4½ miles east of the New Mexico line.)

A brief synopsis of the building of this camp by Kit Carson is as follows. His orders from the War Department are given below:

Department of New Mexico,
Assistant Adjutant Gen.'s Office
Santa Fe, New Mexico
May 7th, 1865

"Colonel Christopher Carson with Major Albert H. Pleiffer and Company C and L of his regiment, and Company F, First Cavalry Volunteers will proceed from Ft. Union, New Mexico, starting on the 20th inst. to Cedar Bluff or Cold Springs on the Cimarron route to the states, where, at or near one of these places, Colonel Carson will select and establish a camp. The object of establishing this camp is to have troops at that dangerous part of the toure in order to give protection to the trans passing to and from the States. The details as to how this force can best affect its object is left entirely up to Col. Carson."

By Command Brig. Gen. Carlton Assistant Adj. Gen. Ben C. Cutler.

Acting upon these instructions, Carson proceeded from Fort Union with troops delegated to this expedition, and selected a site on the rocky bluff of a small stream which debauches into the Cimarron River and just off the great Santa Fe Trail. This location was about half way between the crossing of the trail at the Carrumpa and Cold Springs.

The soldiers, some 300 in number, slept in tents and dug-outs within the enclosure. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes were especially prevalent along the trail, and every two weeks, as the wagon trains collected from the west at Camp Nichols, an escort of soldiers would accompany them to Fort Dodge or Fort Larned and return with wagons west-bound.

Each morning the ten Indian scouts would quietly ride away, to return at sunset. Two pickets were kept out during the day, one two miles west, and the other about the same distance to the east, mounted always on fast horses, and at night sentinals were posted near the camp. No Indians, however, ever ventured to attack the camp, though a few miles down the trail they continued their raids.

This routine life lasted until the later part of September, and then orders came to return to Fort Union.

Thus closed the chapter of the occupation of Camp Nichols.

The camp was never occupied by the soldiers after this date. From the best information available, it appears that the Indians were either conquered to a considerable extent or treaties were made with them which caused a cessation of their raids upon the caravans about the time of the completion of the camp.

Incidents on the Trail in or near Cimarron County.

The trip of Captain Becknell and others mentioned earlier in this narrative in which they attempted to explore and lay out a more direct and shorter route to Santa Fe experienced untold hardships and resulted in failure. In 1822 Captain Becknell and others with about $5,000.00 worth of goods started from Missouri and followed the same route he had followed the previous year until he came to a point a few miles west of where Dodge City now stands. Here he crossed the Arkansas river and took a southwesterly course in an effort to avoid the rocky and treacherous roads over the mountains. No American having ever been over this portion of the Great West had no thought but that he would find water at reasonable intervals the same as the other trails then in use. With nothing more than the stars of heaven and possibly a pocket compass to guide them, they struck directly southwest towards Santa Fe. No preparations were made for a water supply, and after two days of wandering over these barren plains the suffering of both men and beasts became almost unbearable. The party was at last reduced to the cruel necessity of killing their dogs, and cutting off the ears of their mules in the vain attempt to assuage their burning thirst with the hot blood. This only served to make their condition worse. In this condition they determined to return to the Arkansas river but were no longer able to undertake the task. They would undoubtedly have perished in those arid regions, had not a buffalo, fresh from the river side and with stomach extended with water, been discovered by some of the party and the hapless animal was immediately killed and the water contents of the stomach greedily devoured by the party. One of the party afterwards remarked that nothing ever passed his lips which gave him such exquisite delight as this filthy beverage.

Some of the stronger men retracted the trail the buffalo had followed until they came to a stream with abundance of good water. This was the Cimarron river, and had they have known it they were at a point from which they could have continued their journey with abundance of water from there to their destination. However, being ignorant of what lay ahead of them they got a supply of water and returned to the Arkansas river and proceeded over the Far Western Route to Santa Fe.

The first deaths recorded on the Santa Fe Trail in or near Cimarron County was that of McNees and Monroe in 1828. This was at the crossing on the Carrumpa three miles west of the Oklahoma-New Mexico line, in New Mexico. Gregg gives the following account:[3]

> Two young men, McNees and Monroe having carelessly lain down to sleep on the banks of a stream, since known as McNees's creek [now Carrumpa] were barbarously shot with their own guns, as it was supposed, in very sight of the caravan. When their comrads came up, they found McNees lifeless and the other almost expiring. In this state the latter was carried nearly forty miles to the Cimarron river where he died, and was buried according to the custom of the Prairies.

Evidently McNees was buried on the banks of the Carrumpa and Monroe about ten miles west at the Willowbar crossing north of Keyes, Oklahoma. Just as the funeral ceremonies were about over, six or seven Indians appeared on the opposite side of the Cimarron river. It was quite possible that the Indians were friendly and entirely unaware of the murder of McNees and Monroe. Some of the party wanted to invite them to a parley but others yearning for revenge fired upon them killing one of the horses. This brought the Indian to the ground where he was immediately riddled with bullets. Almost immediately another discharge of several guns killed all but one of the Indians who managed to make his escape and bore the terrible news of the catastrophe to his tribe.

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[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 184.

Gregg continues:[4]

> These wanton cruelties had a most disastrous effect upon the prospects of the trade; for the exasperated children of the desert became more and more hostile to the 'pale faces' against whom they continued to wage a cruel war for many successive years. In fact this same party suffered very severely a few days later. They were pursued by the enraged comrades of the slain savages to the Arkansas river where they were robbed of nearly a thousand horses and mules.

The next year, 1829, the following incident occurred. While Gregg gives a short report of this battle a more complete one is given in Inman's *Old Santa Fe Trail* from which most of the details here given have been taken. These details were formerly written by a Mr. Bryant of Kansas who was one of the party:

> "On the first day of September, those of us who had remained in Santa Fe commenced our homeward journey. We started with one hundred and fifty mules and horses, four wagons and a large amount of silver coin. Northing of an eventful character happened until we arrived at the Upper Cimarron Springs [now Flag Springs eight miles north of Boise City] where we intended to camp for the night. . . . . When we rode upon the summit of the hill the sight that met our eyes . . . . was a large camp of Comanches, evidently there for robbery and murder. We could neither turn back or go on either side of them on account of the mountainous character of the country, and we realized, when too late that we were in a trap. There was only one road open to us: That right through the camp. . . . . The chief met us with a smile of welcome, and said in Spanish, 'You must stay with us tonight. Our young men will guard your stock, and we have plenty of buffalo meat.' Realizing the danger of our situation, we took advantage of every moment of spare time to hurry through the camp.
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> "Captain Means, Ellison and myself were a little distance behind the wagons, on horseback; observing that the balance of our men were evading them, the blood thirsty savages at once threw off their mask of dissimulation and in an instant we knew the time for a struggle had arrived. The Indians as we rode on, seized our bridle-reins and began to fire upon us. Ellison and I put spurs to our horses and got away, but Captain Means, a brave man, was ruthlessly shot and cruelly scalped while the life blood was pouring from his ghastly wound. We succeeded in fighting them off until we had left their camp a mile behind. [This would have placed them about one half mile west of where highway 287 crosses the Santa Fe Trail nine miles north of Boise City.] Darkness having settled down we went into camp ourselves. . . . . We corralled our wagons for better protection, and the Indians kept us busy all night resisting their furious charges. The next day we made but five miles; it was a continuous fight, and a very difficult matter to prevent their capturing us. This annoyance was kept up for four days; . . . . they continued to thus harrass us until we were almost exhausted from loss of sleep. After leacing the Cimarron we once more emerged on the open plains and flattered ourselves we were well rid of the savages; about twelve o'clock they came down on us again, uttering demoniacal yells, which frightened our horses and mules so terribly, that we lost every hoof"

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[4] *Ibid.*

One of the party, a Mr. Hitt in attempting to recapture some of the horses was captured by the Indians but managed to escape after being wounded in sixteen places on his body. They succeeded in killing one of the Indians but the Indians continued to charge them where they were barricaded behind their wagons, until two hours after dark. In the dead of night, carrying what silver they could and leaving the rest they crept away traveling nearly north to the Arkansas river where they buried the silver on an island and after untold hardships and almost starvation they reached the settlement. The next spring they returned and found the silver they had cached uncovered by high waters fully exposed to any one passing that way.

From Josiah Gregg's report, are the details of his first trip over the plains in 1831: "After following the course of the Cimarron two days longer we came to the place called the Willow Bar (crossing ten miles north and one mile west of Keyes) where we took the usual mid-day respite of two to three hours to afford the animals time to feed and our cook to prepare dinner."[5] Here they had a skirmish with a band of Indians with no casualties on either side.[6] Gregg states that the next day they encamped near the "Battle Ground" famous for a skirmish with a caravan of traders, accompanied by a detachment of Mexican troops under the command of Colonel Vizarra, had in 1829 with a band of the Gros Ventres tribe. The united command had encamped on the south bank of the Cimarron where the previous year the burial catastrophe had occurred. (The burial of Monroe and the killing of six or seven possibly friendly Indians.) Gregg does not say, but I believe this encampment must have been made the following noon-day period as the caravan was averaging about ten miles per day and the trail at near ten miles up the river from Willowbar leaves the Cimarron river and takes a southwesterly course towards Upper Cimarron Springs. If this reasoning is correct Monroe lies buried some ten miles west of the Willowbar crossing on the south bank of the river, also where the battle between the Mexicans and Indians occurred. In this battle one Mexican captain and two or three privates were killed.

Josiah Gregg and his party left Independence, Missouri, on his first trip to Santa Fe, May 15, 1831. On the night of July the 3rd, they camped at McNees Creek, now known as Carrumpa, and the location where McNees was killed and Monroe, fatally wounded in 1828. The next morning the 4th of July was celebrated by the party, being the first 4th of July celebration ever held in the state of New Mexico. The following quotation is from Gregg in his *Commerce of the Prairies*:[7]

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 229.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 230-31.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

> Scarce had gray twilight brushed his dusky brow, when our patriotic camp gave lively demonstrations of that joy which plays around the heart of every American on the anniversary of this triumphant day. The roar of our artillery and rifle platoons resounded from every hill, while the rumbling of the drum and the shrill whistle of the fife, imparted a degree of martial interest to the scene which was well calculated to stir the souls of men. There was no limit to the huzzas and enthusiastic ejaculations of our people; and at every new shout the dales around sent forth a gladsome response. This anniversary is always hailed with heart-felt joy by the wayfarer in the remote desert; for here the strifes and intrigues of party spirit are unknown: nothing intrudes, in this wild solitudes, to mar that harmony of feeling, and almost pious exultation, which every true hearted American experiences on this great day.

A monument has been erected at this location by the American Legion of New Mexico commemorating the first 4th of July celebration ever held in that state.

As they were proceeding on their march from McNees Creek, they observed a horseman approaching, who was soon identified as a Mexican *Cibolero* or Buffalo Hunter:[8]

> These hardy devotees of the chase usually wear leathern trousers and jackets, and flat straw hats; while, swung upon the shoulders of each hangs his *carcage* or quiver of bow and arrows. The long handle of their lance being set in a case, and suspended by the side with a strap from the pommel of the saddle, leaves the point waving over the head, with a tassel of gay parti-colored stuffs dangling at the tip of the scabbard. Their fusil if they have one, is suspended in like manner at the other side, with a stopper in the muzzle fantastically tasseled.

It was from this *Cibolero* that they learned that fate of that intrepid hunter, scout, and Indian fighter, Captain John Smith. Captain Sublet together with Captain John Smith and others had left Independence nearly a month in advance of the Gregg party. None in this party had ever been over the Trail before and after crossing the Arkansas river, tracks left by former caravans were not sufficiently plain to be followed with any accuracy. The party became lost and wandered around for several days until all the horrors of death from thirst stared them in the face. At last Captain John Smith resolved to follow one of the buffalo paths in hopes of it leading him to water. He set out alone as his nature was, to ever been a stranger to fear. Gregg says of him: "And, if but one half of what has been told of him be true—of his bold interprises—his perilous wanderings—his skirmishes with the savages—his hair breadth escapes, etc.—he surely would be entitled to one of the most exalted seats in the Olympus of Prairie Mythology." Many other historians have paid tribute to this brave and pioneer scout and hunter of the west. No one knows the miles and hours traveled by Captain Smith but finally he came to a stream with a sandy bed but no water. Being familiar with this type of stream in the west in which often there is an under flow of water not far beneath the surface, Smith immediately dug a hole some two feet deep in the sand and obtained a seepage of water. As soon as a sufficient amount has seeped into the excavation he stooped over to get the much needed drink. As he did so his body was pierced by an arrow. The Indians who were in the party that killed Captain Smith gave the details of his death. They said although mortally wounded he arose and struggled to the last, killing two or three of the Indians before he was subdued.[9] Since the party was lost, no one knows just where Captain Smith died but it was on the Cimarron river some place north and east of Elkhart, Kansas.

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

The Strong Ranch lying north of Boise City on the south side of the Cimarron River is of historical interest. The old "ZH Ranch" bunk house, being the oldest house in Cimarron County, is on this ranch and the Upper Cimarron Springs (Flag Springs) is also on this ranch. Willam Strong migrated from New Mexico with his family to Cimarron county and acquired the old ZH ranch in 1894. His youngest son, Cy Strong, still owns and operates this ranch. Uncle Mike Ryan, a relative of the Strongs, as a boy of sixteen years of age made various trips with freight caravans over the Santa Fe Trail acting in the capacity as night ox watchmen. His duty was to look after and care for the oxen when they were not in service, driving them to water and back and looking after them of night time and rounding them up for the teamsters when they were ready to yoke them up for the day's work. He related that in 1860, he was with a caravan eastward bound following closely another caravan operated by the Armijo Brothers of Las Vegas, New Mexico. The Armijo Brothers were large operators, and owned many wagons and teams which they used in freighting goods from Missouri to Santa Fe. Uncle Mike relates that when his party reached the Upper Cimarron Springs they found five dead Mexicans of the Armijo caravan which had been murdered by the Indians. They buried the five unfortunate victims there at the springs. Uncle Mike in the latter years of his life erected a small rock house at Flag Springs (Upper Cimarron Springs) where he lived until he passed away many years ago. While this incident is not recorded in history there are many people still living here who knew Uncle Mike during his many years of life in Cimarron County, and I have never heard of one that doubted his truthfulness. No doubt that during the fifty odd years the trail was in operation and the thousands of caravans passing over this trail hundred of miles from settlements or possible means of communication of any kind, that many other battles were fought and lives lost which have not been recorded in history.

Before closing this narrative there is one more thing of historical interest which I feel would be beneficial here. Most writers and all the drawings I have ever seen depicting manner of caravans forming a circle when going into camp shows each wagon following another. Gregg gives an entirely different version of the procedure used in forming the camp. He states that the caravans traveled four lines abreast. This was in case of attack the train would be more compact and better able to resist the invasion. Also it was more easy to form the inclosure when camping at night. But best I give it in Gregg's own words. I quote:[10]

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[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 235-9.

> As the caravan was passing under the northern base of the Round Mountain, it presented a very fine and imposing spectacle to those who were upon its summit. The wagons marched slowly in four parallel columns, but in broken lines, often at intervals of many rods between . . . . As our camp was pitched but a mile west of Round Mound those who lingered upon its summit could have an interesting view of the evolution of 'forming' the wagons in which the drivers by this time had become very expert. When marching four abreast, the two exterior lines spread out and then meet at the front angle; while the two inner lines keep close together until they reach the point of the rear angle, when they swing suddenly out and close with the hinder ends of the other two; thus systematically concluding a right-lined quadrangle, with a gap left in the rear corner for the introduction of the animals.

Other places of interest in Cimarron County and along the Santa Fe Trail:

Willowbar Crossing on the Cimarron River, 1 mile west and 10 north of Keyes; Upper Cimarron Springs, now known as Flag Springs, 8 miles north and 1½ west of Boise City; Cold Springs Camp, 7½ miles west and 6½ north of Boise City; the Santa Fe Trail Autograph Album at Cold Springs Camp, where hundreds of names of the trail drivers were carved; the Black Mesa in northwest Cimarron County, rising 700 feet above the Cimarron River bed at its base: Robber's Roost, where the noted outlaw Coe and his band held out for some years; Indian pictographs carved on rock escarpments, and paintings in North Canyon and other places in the County; and the highest point in Oklahoma, 4,983 feet, on the Black Mesa near the New Mexico line. And many other places of minor historical interest to numerous to mention here.

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[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 244, 247.

THE TAOVAYAS INDIANS IN FRONTIER TRADE AND DIPLOMACY 1719-1768

*By Elizabeth Ann Harper**

The story of the Taovayas Indians epitomizes two significant aspects of the history of the northern border lands of New Spain; first, the varied policies of the French, Spanish, and American governments which successively competed there for supremacy; and second, the Indian population movements, wars and alliances which interplayed with the work of the white empire-builders. To the Taovayas, a small, semi-sedentary village group of the so-called Wichita confederacy, fell the role of middlemen in the commerce and diplomacy of the southern Plains in the eighteenth century. For some fifty years they bore an importance far out of proportion to their numbers, but they declined as suddenly as they had risen to power, and, curiously enough, by the middle of the nineteenth century even the name of the Taovayas was no longer current. This study will trace the Taovayas in their ascendancy in co-operation with the French and their decline under the Spanish and American regimes, showing their influence upon the development of the Louisiana-Texas frontier and, conversely, the impact of the struggle for empire upon an Indian band in whose range the powers clashed.

At the beginning of the European period, the upper Arkansas Valley was peopled by dark-skinned, tattooed Indians whom ethnologists call Wichita and whose few hundred descendants comprise the modern Wichita tribe. Their origin was probably in the southeast around the lower Red River whence they migrated northward with their kinsmen, the Pawnees before the Europeans came. Tradition among both the Wichitas and Pawnees is that the two groups separated somewhere in the Platte River region, the Wichitas turning back to the south.[1] A semi-sedentary agricultural people, the Wichitas lived in small villages of grass huts.

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* Elizabeth Ann Harper prepared her thesis on the "Taovayas Indians" in the trading relations on the Oklahoma and the Texas frontiers (1719 to 1835) for the M. A. degree in the History Department of the University of Oklahoma, in 1951. The article contributed here is Part I covering the Oklahoma scene, adapted from Miss Harper's thesis for publication in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* in the plan to present her complete manuscript in co-operation with *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (Austin, Texas) that will publish Part II, "The Taovayas Indians in Frontier Trade and Diplomacy, 1769-1779," in Vol. LVII, No. 2 (October, 1953); and with *The Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* (Canyon, Texas) that will publish Part III, "The Taovayas Indians in Frontier Trade and Diplomacy, 1779-1835," Vol. XXIII (October, 1953). Miss Harper is a teaching assistant in the University of Oklahoma where she is now a candidate for the Ph. D. in history with a minor field in anthropology.—Ed. (M.H.W.).

[1] John B. Dunbar, "The Pawnee Indians, Their History and Ethnology," *Magazine of American History,* Vol. IV (April, 1880), p. 251.

Although they recognized that they were related to each other, the Wichita village groups were never organized as a tribe; each village was autonomous, functioning somewhat as a band under its own name. The Taovayas were such a unit.

The Eighteenth Century saw important changes in the lives of the Wichita people. The advent of the horse furthered a greater dependence on hunting for subsistence, making it practicable to supply larger village groups. Shortly thereafter came the influx of European trade goods, virtually unlimited new wealth which could be acquired by trading buffalo robes to the French adventurers. Large-scale hunting operations became not only feasible, but enormously profitable. As a result, many small villages merged. Pressure from the Osages on the north and the Comanches on the west accelerated the diminution of the number of villages because larger groups could defend themselves more effectively. The names of many village bands were lost in the process of consolidation. Wichita is merely one village designation which has survived to apply to the entire people. But at the climax of their history, the Wichita were a minor band. It was the large village called Taovayas, probably itself the result of the combination of several smaller groups, which overshadowed all the kindred bands in the history of the northern border lands of New Spain in the latter eighteenth century.

The story of European contact with the Wichita people is a long one. Quivira, discovered by Coronado in 1541, was not the land of fabulous wealth which he had sought, but a series of grass-hut villages of the Wichitas. The Spaniards first reached them in July, 1541, on the Arkansas River in the vicinity of modern Lyons, Kansas, where there were six or seven settlements some distance apart in the first group. During the twenty-five days which he spent in Quivira, Coronado saw or heard of twenty-five towns. Swinging northeast across Little River and Smoky Hill River to the vicinity of present Lindsborg, Kansas he reached Tabas, which the Indians said was the remotest area of Quivira and a region of very great importance. Tabas perhaps equates with the band name which the Spaniards spelled Taovayas two centuries later[2]

The fleeting contact with the Coronado expedition had no apparent influence on the Wichita villages, and there was little more direct contact with Europeans for another century.[3] However, by the time French explorers encountered the Wichitas, they had acquired the horse, the European importation which set in motion a virtual revolution on the Plains.[4] The old ways of life were already in a process of re-orientation around the horse, but the advent of the commercially-minded Frenchmen helped to determine the course of the reorganization. Because the French traders seized upon their villages as trading posts, the Wichita bands remained semi-sedentary villages at a time when many similar Indian groups abandoned their villages in favor of a roving life on the Plains.

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[2] Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (New York, 1949), pp. 291-298.

That the French explorers knew the Wichitas by 1673 is shown by early maps which picture Paniassa villages scattered along the Arkansas River in present Oklahoma and northern Kansas.[5] The French often called the Wichita people Panis with a qualifying adjective, as in Paniassa. Panipiquets (some records give this "Pani Pique"). Panis Noirs because they so closely resembled the Pawnee Indians whom the French had encountered farther north. The descriptive names coined by various French traders, which persisted into the Nineteenth Century, thus add to the confusion in nomenclature created by the presence of the many Indian Village names.

The French opened trade relations with the Wichita villages in 1719 and sponsored a Wichita-Comanche alliance about 1747.[6] With the establishment of that alliance the Wichita villages assumed great commercial importance. Some village bands established themselves side-by-side at favorable trade locations, retaining their separate identities but functioning as a single market-place. Other groups moved south under pressure from the hostile Osages. The maps of the early eighteenth century indicate a steadily decreasing number of villages[7] Such a strong trend toward consolidation developed among the remaining groups in the Arkansas

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[3] The early Indian tribes and the Spanish and the French expeditions and trading relations in Oklahoma of the 18th Century are the subject of condensed accounts by the late Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn, at one time Secretary and later Director of Research in the Oklahoma Historical Society, under the titles "Indigenous Indian Tribes," "Spanish Explorations," and "French Trading Operations." (Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* [New York, 1929], Vol. I, pp. 21-45).—Ed.

[4] Clark Wissler, "The Influence of the Horse in Plains Culture," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. XVI (January-March, 1914), pp. 1-32; Francis Haines, "Where Did the Plains Indians Get Their Horses?", *ibid.,* Vol. XL (January-March, 1938), pp. 112-117.

[5] *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, Part I, Atlas (*Scientific Papers of the Illinois State Museum,* II), Compiled by Sara Jones Tucker (Springfield, 1942), Plates IV, V, VI.

[6] Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Athanase De Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier*, 1768-1780 (Cleveland, 1914), Vol. I, p. 58.

[7] Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, Part I, Atlas, Plates IV, V, VI, VII, XIA, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVII, XIX.

Valley that by 1749 there was only one large Wichita-speaking village on the river, located east of present Newkirk, Oklahoma.[8] Its inhabitants were called Panipiquets by the French voyagers.

The large Panipiquet group moved their village south to Red River about 1757 to escape the damages which they continually suffered at the hands of the Osages and to improve their commercial opportunities. Established on both sides of Red River near present Spanish Fort, Texas, they had easy access to the French trading posts of Louisiana. Shortly after their southward migration, they encountered the Spaniards of Texas. It was these Europeans who called them Taovayas, possibly a Spanish rendition of the Indian village name heard by Coronado in 1541 and by La Harpe in 1719. And it was as Taovayas that the leading band of the Wichita people appeared in the history of the northern frontier of New Spain.[9]

Although one of the twin villages on Red River was that of the Wichita band, the Taovayas were larger and more powerful and their name was generally applied to both villages. These villages, named San Bernardo and San Teodoro by Athanase de

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[8] Joseph B. Thoburn, "The Northern Caddoan Peoples of Prehistoric Times and the Human Origin of the Natural Mounts, So Called, of Oklahoma and Neighboring States," manuscript in the Oklahoma Historical Society. The Caddoan (Wichita speaking peoples) village site east of present Newkirk, in Kay County, was the location for work of an archeological expedition headed by Dr. Thoburn, under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society, in the summer of 1926. It was during the work of this expedition that Dr. Thoburn brought to light evidences here of a trading post indicated on old foreign maps as "Fernandino" which was probably operated by the French about 1749, on the Arkansas River in Oklahoma (Thoburn, Ms., *ibid.;* Muriel H. Wright, "Pioneer Historian and Archeologist of the State of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4 [Winter, 1946-47], p. 404; also, historical data on Fernandino as Oklahoma's first white settlement, in the feature article by George H. Shirk, under the title "Real Estate Deal No. 1" in the magazine section of *The Daily Oklahoman* for August 27, 1950, pp. 14-15).—Ed.

[9] Wide variations resulted when Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Americans tried to spell the Indian band name, as in these examples: Tabas, Tabayas, Taboyages, Taguas, Taguayas, Tahuayces, Tahuaves, Taobaianes, Taoballases, Taobayaces, Taobayais, Taobayas, Taobayases, Taovayash, Taoriayaces, Taouaiches, Taouaiares, Taouaires, Taouaiazes, Taouyayaches, Taovaianes, Tauaiches, Tauaires, Tauaiases, Tauaias, Tauayares, Tauayas, Tauovayases, Tauoyases, Tauviares, Tavaises, Tavaiaz, Tavaiazes, Tavayas, Tavoiages, Tovoyache, Towehas, Toauyaces, Toavaiazes, Toayas, Tobiaches, Towaahack, Towash, Towe-ash, Towiaches.

(The Taovayas are generally referred to as "Tawehash" in the early Indian records in Oklahoma. The Confederate treaty signed August 12, 1861, at the Wichita Agency [east of present Ft. Cobb, Oklahoma], concluded by Confederate Commissioner Albert Pike with nine Indian tribes and bands bears the name of "Isadowa, Principal Chief of the Wichitas" as one of the signers together with two other Wichita chiefs. The supplementary article to this treaty has this statement: "It being well known to all surrounding tribes and universally acknowledged that, from time immemorial, the Ta-wa-i-hash people of Indians, now called by white men the Wichitas, of whom the Hue-cos and Ta-hua-ca-ros are offshoots, possessed and inhabited, to the exclusion of all other tribes and bands of Indians, the whole country lying between the Red River and the False Washita. . . . ." [*War of the Rebellion Official Records,* Series IV, Vol. I, pp. 546, 547].—Ed.)

Mézières in 1778, became strategically important in both the commercial and military affairs of the northern border lands.[10] By virtue of their favorable location, their alliance with the Comanches, and their trade connections, the Taovayas prospered. Until the end of the Eighteenth Century they were the most numerous and powerful of the bands which the Spaniards called the Norteños, or Nations of the North, and were a force to be reckoned with by San Antonio, New Orleans, and Santa Fe. The Taovayas appeared in the Spanish literature of New Mexico as the Jumanos. In that province they were known largely as eastern allies of the Comanches, to be dreaded chiefly because they supplied that tribe with French guns and ammunition.

The Comanche Indians figured prominently in the story of the Taovayas after the French-sponsored alliance of the two groups in 1747. Nomadic hunters and warriors, they found the Taovayas village a convenient market for buffalo skins, horses, mules, and war captives. The Taovayas bartered their surplus agricultural produce to the Comanches as well as French trade goods.

The Waco, Tawakoni (or Touacara), Wichita, and Iscani were bands of Wichita people who maintained their identity during the period of Taovayan predominence. The smaller of the "Taovayas towns" at the Spanish Fort site on Red River was actually the Wichita village, and those two bands were joined there by the Iscanis on at least one occasion. The others were located in villages in northern Texas, where they usually operated in alliance with the Taovayas and Comanches. The Kichais were a band of similar character. The Caddo bands around the Natchitoches area, of whom the Cadodacho (or Kadohadacho) are considered the "real" Caddo, were linguistic relatives of the Wichita bands. While the relationship was not recognized, they were usually on good terms during the Eighteenth Century, and the Caddos acted as intermediaries between the Taovayas and the successive French, Spanish, and American officials at Natchitoches. The Taovayas and their friends collectively were called the Nations of the North, or Norteños, by the Spaniards.

The most dangerous enemies of the Taovayas were the Osages, who drove them south from the Arkansas to the Red River and played an important part in their ultimate downfall. The Taovayas in turn, in alliance with the Comanches and other Nations of the North, drove the Lipan Apaches south from Red River, threatening them with extinction and forcing them to seek refuge in Spanish missions. Their common hatred of the Apaches was the force which welded the northern Indians into the offensive alliance which produced their first conflict with the Spaniards of Texas.

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[10] Bolton, *Athanase De Mézières*, Vol. I, p. 114.

The only Europeans who dealt successfully with the Taovayas were the French traders, who continued their work long after the territory had passed to the Spanish crown. No efforts of Spanish officials, friars or soldiers could approach the success of that free-trade relationship, so firmly was it rooted in mutual self-interest. Its break-down under the restrictive Spanish commercial regulations, when the Taovayas had become dependent upon trade goods and while their northern enemies, the Osages, still had easy access to firearms, was a severe blow from which the Taovayas did not recover.

French traders in the Mississippi Valley strove from the beginning of the Eighteenth Century to establish trade relations with the Spaniards of New Mexico. The first requirement was peace on the intervening plains, in itself a threefold task. The French had first to establish alliances with the Indians along the proposed routes, then to make peace between warring tribes, and finally, to convince the western-most tribes that it would be more profitable to trade with the New Mexicans than to raid them. Success in the undertaking would open a lucrative trade with the Indians themselves as well as the New Mexicans.

The tributaries of the Mississippi River were the obvious highways to the Spanish province, and the villages of the semi-sedentary tribes on those streams formed ready-made trading posts. The Indians found French goods, especially guns and ammunition, so attractive that they could be induced to move to locations preferred by the voyageurs and even to consolidate their villages for commercial advantages. The Wichita people of the Arkansas Valley figured in such a scheme in 1702 when Louisiana's Governor Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville proposed to bribe the Panis to move a hundred leagues up the Arkansas to join the Mentos[11] at a site accessible by water the year around, both to facilitate trade and, by strengthening French influence, to discourage Panis raids on New Mexico.[12] The project was not accomplished.

Actual trade relations with the Wichita bands were initiated in 1719 by Benard de la Harpe and Claude Du Tisne, French agents who came from Louisiana and Illinois, respectively, to make peace pacts with the Indians and establish outposts from which to launch the New Mexico trade. La Harpe, travelling north from Natchitoches, found nine Wichita villages[13] located together along the Arkansas above the Forks of the river in present eastern Oklahoma.[14] The alliance which he proffered was debated in council by the Indians and accepted on September 4. It seemed to them that the French must be a very powerful nation if thy could send such a small party as La Harpe's all the way from Louisiana without fearing enemies along the way, but probably the most telling argument was their desire for French arms to use in warfare. Whatever their motives, they now entered into a mutually profitable relationship which was to endure throughout the period of French dominion.

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[11] The Mentos, who appear only in the earlier European accounts and maps of the Arkansas country, apparently were another of the Wichita bands who lost their identity in the eighteenth century. See fn. 8 for reference (Vol. IV, p. 11).

[12] Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, *Memoire sur le pays du Mississippi, la Mobile et ses environs, leur riviéres, les peuples qui habitent, sur le commerce qui s'y pourra faire dans moins de cinq a six annees, en etablissant ce pays*, 30 *juin*, 1702, *a bord de la Renommée, in Découvertes et Etablissements des Francais dans l 'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale* ed. by Pierre Margry (Paris, 1846), Vol. IV, p. 599.

When La Harpe inquired about the route to New Mexico, the chiefs admitted that the Arkansas was navigable in winter as far as the Spanish territory, but they refused to take him there because they feared the Padoucas (Comanches) who roamed the region of the sources of the Canadian and Arkansas rivers. The Spaniards were said to frequent the same region for gold, furs and slaves.

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[13] Bernard de la Harpe, "Relation du Voyage," December 12, 1719, *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 289 ff. The nine village names were recorded as Touecaras, Toayas, Caumuches, Aderos, Ousitas, Ascanis, Qustaquois, Quiscapquiris, and Honenchas. Taoyas is generally equated with Taovayas.

(Touacaras [or variants Tahuacaros, Towoccaros, etc.] was the name by which the Tawakonis were known even after they were listed under the designation "Wichita and Affiliated Tribes" at the Wichita Agency, after their removal [1859] from Texas, and settlement on the Washita River in Oklahoma. The Touacaras or Tawakonis were leaders among the Wichita speaking groups from the time of La Harpe's visit to their village on the Arkansas in 1719. Ochillas, the principal chief of the Tawakonis [1861], was long the recognized leader of the tribal group, and again a Tawakoni was the chief of the Wichitas as late as 1901. La Harpe's designation "Ousitas" or Wusitas" referred to the Wichitas, the name of which was carried west by the French from their contacts with the Choctaw speaking peoples of the Lower Mississippi Valley. This name, now Wichita, is from *wia-chitoh*, a Choctaw descriptive name [from the Choctaw words *wia*, "arbor" (brush arbor") and *chitoh*, "big"] meaning "big arbor," referring to the grass thatched arbors and houses for the which the Wichita peoples have been noted since their discovery. While the name Wichita, or a variant, is found in a few references to the Taovayas, or Tawehash, it was first officially applied to the tribe by the U. S. Commissioners in the Camp Holmes Treaty of 1835, made in council on the Canadian River in Oklahoma, at which time the tribe was living in country owned by the Choctaws. The Choctaw delegation headed by some of their noted chiefs formed one of the largest tribal groups in attendance at the Camp Holmes Council, and their position as owners of the country in which the Wichita lived apparently led the U. S. Commissioners to adopt this name in the treaty. The Towocarro, or Tawakoni, were the leaders of the Taovayas and the allied Comanche delegation to Camp Holmes where the old name Taovayas evidently was unheard and finally lost in the council proceedings, the treaty officially designating the tribe under the name *Wichitaw* [Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951), pp. 247, 248, 255, 256, 258, 259]—Ed.)

[14] La Harpe's first expedition in Oklahoma was the subject of close study by the late Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn whose notes on La Harpe's Journal and map showing the route of the expedition northeast from Red River to the Arkansas are a part of Dr. Anna Lewis's article, "La Harpe's First Expedition in Oklahoma, 1718-1719," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 4 (December, 1924), pp. 331-49. Dr. Lewis here presents La Harpe's Journal translated from the French, found in Margry's *Decouvertes et Etablisment des Francais.*—Ed.

La Harpe learned that his new allies lived in their villages only from March until October in order to cultivate their crops. Tobacco, which they dried and braided in great quantities, was one of the most important. For the rest of the year they became roving hunters, and they owned many beautiful horses, equipped with saddles and bridles.

When La Harpe left the villages the chiefs brought him farewell gifts, one of which was an eight-year-old slave.[15] The Taovayas chief apologized for having no slaves to present, saying that if La Harpe had come only a month sooner he could have given him seventeen war prisoners which unfortunately had since been eaten at a public feast. This is the first of several early reports of cannibalism in the Wichita villages.

Coincident with La Harpe's journey to the Canadian in September, 1719, was Claude Du Tisne's expedition from Illinois to the Arkansas Valley, where he encountered Wichita villages which he called Panis.[16] The Osages, whom he met first, tried to dissuade him from visiting the Panis because they were loath to see their enemies acquire French guns. Failing to sway Du Tisne from his purpose, the Osages told the Panis that the Frenchmen had come to catch them for slaves, and the Du Tisne party was received with hostile suspicion until he convinced the Panis of his peaceful intent. Then they readily consented to an alliance.[17]

Du Tisne thought the Panis a very brutal people, but he found that they could readily be appeased with guns, highly prized articles of which they had only six. The village which Du Tisne first visited comprised one hundred and thirty houses and two hundred warriors. It lay forty leagues west of the Osages, on the bank of a small stream twelve leagues west of the Arkansas. Around the village lay a high prairie and to the southwest rose a forest which was very useful to the Indians. One league northwest, on the banks of the same stream, was another village, stronger than the first, and several other Panis villages were said to be located farther west and northwest. In the two villages which Du Tisne visited were some three hundred horses which the Panis valued so greatly that they were reluctant to part with them. Du Tisne traded goods to them in return for two horses, a mule which bore a Spanish brand, and an old silver cup. Inquiring about the source of the Spanish articles, he learned that the Panis had been to the Spanish settlements in years past, but that the powerful Comanches now barred the way.

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[15] A Cancy Indian, identified as Lipan Apache in *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology), ed. by Frederick Webb Hodge (Washington, 1907), Vol. I, p. 709.)

[16] *Voyage Fait par M. Du Tisne en* 1719, *chez les Missouris pour aller aux Paniassas, Extrait de la Relation de Bénard de la Harpe.* Margry, Vol. VI, pp. 311-312.

[17] Claude Du Tisne to Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, Kaskaskias, November 22, 1719, *ibid.*, p. 314.

The Panis vigorously opposed Du Tisne's plan to go to the big Comanche camp which they said was five days west, for they too wished to keep French guns out of the hands of their enemies as long as possible. Despite their protests Du Tisne visited the Comanches whom he found after six days of travel. They treated him kindly, and he returned convinced that if the French could conciliate the Panis and the Comanches, they would gain the route to New Mexico which they desired.

In 1724 Etienne Veniard de Bourgmont, charged with the responsibility of broadening French control of the Plains tribes, sponsored a peace meeting of Otoes, Osages, Iowas, Kansas, Panis, Mahas, Missouris and Illinois with the Comanches at a Kansas village.[18] But French activity in the Arkansas Valley lagged and the peace achieved by Bourgmont was not extended south to the Wichita villages for some twenty years. When the Mallet brothers Pierre and Paul, blazed the trail from Illinois to Santa Fe and made their way back from New Mexico to Louisiana on the Arkansas River in 1739, they found no French activity above the forks of the Arkansas.[19]

French interest in the Arkansas route to New Mexico was renewed by the report of the Mallet brothers. The French and Spanish crowns were then allied under the first Family Compact and good trade relations between their colonies seemed quite possible if only the Indians could be controlled. The ambitious Louisiana officials failed to realize that the Spanish colonial officials would not sanction the French traders, regardless of their respective home governments, because they dreaded above all else a commerce which would place guns in the hands of the Plains Indians.

In 1741 Fabry de la Bruyere was dispatched from New Orleans by Governor Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville to follow up the Mallets by exploring the Arkansas and making alliances with any unknown tribes that he encountered.[20]

One of his principal errands was to exhort the Osages, Panis and Comanches to quit attacking New Mexico. Difficulties along the route and dissension within the party caused the abandonment of the expedition in 1742 before anything could be accomplished, but Fabry's report furnishes an approximate date for the southward migration of part of the Wichita people, proving that most of the related bands preceded the Taovayas-Wichita contingent into the Red River region. An Osage war party visited his camp, seeking a Panis band called Mentos who formerly lived on the Arkanasa, but had recently moved south.[21] The Mentos were then located near the Cadodacho on the lower Red River, where they were counted allies of the Caddo bands, as were also the Tawakonis and Kichais.[22]

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[18] Etienne Veniard de Bourgmont, *Relation du Voyage de la Riviere Missouri, sur le Haut de Celle des Arkansas et du Missouri aux Padoucas,* June 25, 1724—*le Haut de Celle,* November 1, 1724, *ibid.*, VI, p. 312 ff.

[19] *Voyage des Freres Mallet, avec Six Autres Francais, depuis la Riviere des Panimahas dans le Missouri jusqu'a Santa-Fe* (1739-1740), *Extrait du Journal, ibid.*, p. 457.

[20] Jean Baptiste Le Moyne Bienville et Salmon, "Lettre," New Orleans, April 30, 1741, *ibid.*, p. 468.

By 1749 the Wichita people remaining in the Arkansas Valley were concentrated in two adjacent villages on the upper Arkansas River in present Kay County, Oklahoma. Several French traders who had continued west from those villages with Comanche guides were arrested in Taos, New Mexico, at the annual mercantile fair, by Spanish officials who were alarmed by the increasing traffic in firearms on the Plains. From the interrogation of men arrested in Taos in 1749 and 1752 emerged the story of French activities among their Indian allies.[23]

The Panipiquets, as the French called the Wichita people who remained on the Arkansas River, were described as warlike cannibals, distinguished by their tattooed faces. Their two large, neighboring villages, in which they lived throughout the year, were strongholds composed of numerous grass huts, which were built close together and surrounded by moated and loopholed fortifications of post and earth. Extensive fields of corn, beans, and pumpkins lay outside the villages.

All of the five hundred men of the Panipiquets used firearms, although not very skillfully, and the French furnished them an ample supply of guns and ammunition. The other trade goods which they desired most were vermillion, hats, cloth, knives, and miscellaneous hardware. One of their most cherished possessions, given them by the French commandant in the name of his king, was a French flag, which they kept in their village with a great deal of care and affection.

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[21] "January 24, 1742, he (Fabry) witnessed the arrival in his camp of a party of 35 Osages who were going on the warpath against the Mentos, whom these savages call also Panis, who used to be on the Arkansas River, above the Forks and about 25 leagues above the Panis noirs, from which they withdrew on the Saint-Andrew River, where one still sees their old village, and for the last 4 or 5 years near the Cadodacho where they are now."—Fabry de la Bruyere, *Extrait des Lettres (du Fabry de la Bruyere) a l'Occasion du Voyages Projete a Santa-Fe, ibid.*, p. 474.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 483.

[23] The testimonies of the prisoners, Luis del Fierro, Felipe Sandoval, Pedro Sartre, Luis Fuesi, and Jean Chapuis, were in substantial agreement on the following information. They appear in these two documents: *Autos fhos sre averiguar que rumbo han ttraido ttres franzeses que llegaron al Pueblo de taos con la Nazn Cumanche q benian a hazer sus aconstum brados resgattes*, and *Testimonio de los Autos fhos a Consulta del Govor del nuebo Mexco sobre haver llegado dos franzeses cargados de efectos que conduzian de la Nueba Orleans*, Archivo General y Publica (Mexico City), Provincias Internas, Tomo XXIV (William Edward Dunn Transcripts, Library of the University of Texas). Hereinafter cited as *Autos de los Franceses.*

The Panipiquets were very well disposed toward the French and since 1747 had been allies of the Comanches, an arrangement accomplished by French mediation. That alliance had made possible the safe passage of French merchants over the Plains. The Comanches still did not go to the French colonies, however, and traded with them only through the Panipiquets. The French traders came up the Arkansas River to the Panipiquet villages in their canoes, and returned to the Arkansas Post laden with skins, suet and buffalo robes. The Panipiquets conducted them from villages by land on trading expeditions to the Comanches. The merchants who were arrested in New Mexico sought the permission of the Spanish officials to proceed regularly to that province with Comanche guides, but the New Mexican officials would not countenance a trading arrangement which would provide firearms to the Plains Indians.

Even though the attempt to establish a legal French commerce with New Mexico failed, the Panipiquets enjoyed an unprecedented prosperity. Taking advantage of their location at the head of navigation on the Arkansas and near the easternmost range of the Comanches, they had become important middlemen in the expanding commerce of the Plains. But their good fortune was short lived.

About 1752 the French and Indian trade network was further extended when the Comanches, through the mediation of the Panipiquets made peace with the Pananas (modern Pawnees). The French traders then projected a trade route directly from the Illinois country up the Missouri River to the Pananas, where they could buy horses and proceed to Santa Fe with Comanche guides.[24] This meant that the Panipiquets would be largely by-passed in their Arkansas River location, for the Missouri was a more convenient highway for the Illinois traders. Meanwhile, the Louisiana traders were trying to open the Red River route for more direct passage to New Mexico. As the Arkansas route dwindled in importance activity lagged at the Arkansas Post, the early trading establishment near the juncture of the Arkansas and Mississippi Rivers from which the French had carried on much of the Wichita trade.

Moreover, the French guns proved to be a mixed blessing, because the hostile Osages were more skillful in their use and owned more of them than did the Panipiquets. The continuous damages which they suffered at the hands of the Osages and the dimunition of the Arkansas trade forced the Panipiquets to move. They migrated south to Red River about 1757, driving out the Lipan Apaches who lived there. The statement of a prisoner whom the Taovayas released in 1765 is th only information concerning their removal, but it is quite possible that the Louisiana traders encouraged the move, since it operated as much to their advantage as to that of the Panipiquets themselves.[25]

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[24] *Ibid.*

On Red River the Panipiquets established twin villages across the stream from each other at the western edge of the Cross Timbers.[26] There, at the eastern limits of the Comanche range, they resumed their role of middlemen, and their villages became the farthest western resort of the traders from the post of Natchitoches, Louisiana. Strengthened by alliance with their kinsmen who had already moved south, and cooperating more closely than ever before with the Comanches, the Panipiquets could now prey on the Lipan Apaches just as they themselves had been harried by the Osages in the north.

The Taovayas emerged on the scene in Spanish Texas as warriors engaged in a full-scale offensive. It was in pursuit of the Lipan Apaches that they invaded the Spanish frontier in Texas, abruptly introducing themselves as a new factor in Spain's control of that northern province. The Spaniards became involved in the Indian wars caused by the general southward migration of the Wichita and Comanche bands without realizing what had happened to them. The southward drive of the Norteños pushed the Lipan Apaches into Spain's Texan outposts. Such was the strength of the Panipiquets with their French firearms that the Apaches were forced to seek a European alliance of their own to combat their enemies. They necessarily turned to the Spaniards in Texas.

Spain's strict prohibition of the distribution of guns to the Indians precluded any possibility that she might arm the Apaches so that they could fight on equal terms with their enemies. The alternative for the hard-pressed Apaches was to place themselves under Spanish protection by accepting mission life. The friars of the Texas frontier had long hoped to convert the Apaches, so they welcomed the change in the Apache attitude without making a very critical examination of their motives. When, in the spring of 1757, the Apaches requested a religious establishment, Father Alonso Giraldo de Terreros led in founding a mission for them on the San Saba River. To protect the friars and their neophytes, the presidio of San Luis de las Amarillas was built nearby and encharged to Colonel Diego Oritz Parilla.[27]

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[25] Antonio Trevino, *Testimonio*, August 13, 1765, Bexar Archives, Library of the University of Texas.

[26] The village sites were at present Spanish Fort in Montague County, Texas, and just across the river in Jefferson county, Oklahoma. (Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 43).

[27] The mission and presidio were established near modern Menard, Texas. William E. Dunn, "The Apaches Mission on the San Saba River, Its Founding and Failure," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI (April, 1914), pp. 404-411.

Father Terreros' wealthy brother in Mexico liberally endowed the mission, so that it was richer in worldly goods than were most frontier religious establishments.[28] The Apaches boasted widely to other tribes of the splendor of their mission and the power of their new allies, doing everything in their power to make the Spaniards seem to be actively leagued with them. They probably thought to intimidate the Norteños but, contrary to their expectations, such braggadocio cost the Apaches dearly. It drew the jealous wrath of the Nations of the North upon the San Saba settlement, and the Apaches never found mission life there the haven which they had imagined.

The Apaches slowly gathered at San Saba in 1757, but the friars found it impossible to make them settle there. The cause of their extreme restlessness that summer, even more than their native reluctance to assume the trappings of civilization, was the rumor that the Nations of the North had formed an alliance and were mounting an attack to destroy the new asylum of the Apaches.

Of the northern Indians the Texan Spaniards then knew only the easternmost, located in the Nacogdoches mission area, and it was probably from the Apaches that they first learned of the newcomers on the upper Red River. The latter, known to the French as Panipiquets and to most Indians as Taovayas, were already leaders among the Nations of the North.

The Spaniards were precipitately introduced to their northern neighbors on March 16, 1758, when more than two thousand mounted warriors attacked the San Saba mission and presidio. Most of the Nations of the North and the Comanches were represented in the attacking force. Well equipped with guns and ammunition and ably led by a Comanche chief, they all but destroyed the mission. Fathers Terreros and Santiesteban and eight other persons were killed in the raid, the mission was sacked, and the Apaches were frightened away from the site.[29]

The Spaniards had either to punish the raiders or forfeit the respect and confidence of the Apaches and the other mission Indians in Texas. The commandant of the San Saba presidio, Colonel Parrilla offered to lead a punitive expedition against the Nations of the North, and his project was approved by the council which met at Mexico City to consider the problem.[30]

The prominent role played by French guns in the San Saba raid directed Spanish suspicion to the French Louisianans. Since first aroused by the activities of La Salle on the Texas coast and, particularly, since the later commercial overtures of St. Denis, the Spaniards had viewed French presence on the Texas border with jealous alarm. The Spanish officials accused the French of instigating the attack on San Saba.[31]

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[28] Fray Juan Augustin Morfi, *History of Texas*, 1673-1779, ed. by Carlos Eduardo Castaneda (Albuquerque, 1935), pp. 353-357.

[29] Dunn, "Apache Mission," p. 407; Morfi, *History*, pp. 377-385.

[30] Henry Easton Allen, "The Parrilla Expedition to the Red River in 1759," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XLIII (July, 1939), pp. 55, 70; Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1915), p. 89.

Indignantly the French authorities repudiated the suggestion, pointing out that nothing could be more contrary to their persistent policy of seeking to establish friendly commercial relations with Spanish Texas. They fully agreed that the San Saba culprits should be punished and claimed that, in deference to Spanish opinion, their traders had withdrawn from the offending villages. In token of his good will the commandant of Natchitoches, Cesaire de Blanc, kept the San Antonio authorities informed on developments among the Nations of the North. Through De Blanc the Spaniards learned that some of the silver articles from the San Saba mission were traded to Frenchmen at the Tawakoni village on the Sabine, but that most of the valuable loot was in the village of the Taovayas, who, because of their superior numbers, had obtained most of the spoils.[32]

De Blanc tried in vain to convince the Spaniards of the futility of their proposed campaign in the north. Conceding the justice of the Spaniards' desire for reprisal, he argued nevertheless that such a course could only lead to a prolonged warfare in which the Spaniards must operate at a disadvantage. The Nations of the North and the Comanches were even then inciting each other to a renewed attack on San Saba, and a Spanish expedition, however justifiable, would only precipitate a series of deadly raids on the frontier. De Blanc warned that even among Spanish mission Indians there were accomplices of the Norteños, who would strike when and where the Spaniards least expected. In the event of warfare in their home territory, the Indians could simply vanish into the vast open spaces, to dart about like wild beasts and at last fall upon the Spaniards when they least anticipated an attack.

De Blanc's tender of his good offices as mediator was sincere, for it stemmed from his desire to keep the frontier at peace in order to prevent a disruption of commerce. But the Spanish officials spurned his interference. His realistic arguments as to the impossibility of winning a war with the Nations of the North and the dire consequences for Texas which must accompany failure carried no weight with the angry Spaniards . Parrilla's faction pressed for a chance to vindicate Spanish arms. The Apaches declared that they could not settle at the mission until their enemies were subdued, so the missionaries joined in the clamor for a northern campaign. Finally, a new raid on San Saba presidio, followed by reports from Nacogdoches that the Nations of the North were preparing a concerted offensive against San Antonio as well as San Saba, convinced the Spaniards that a vigorous policy against the Norteños was imperative.[33]

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[31] *Ibid.*, p. 90; Allen, "Parrilla Expedition," p. 70.

[32] Césaire de Blanc to Governor Jacinto de Barrios y Jáuregui, Natchitoches, August 16, 1758, in Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, (Cunningham Transcripts, University of Texas).

Parrilla was an able soldier who had seen service in both Europe and New Spain. He had been governor of the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa, and had learned something of Indian warfare in campaigns against the Apaches of the Gila region.[34] The encounter with the Norteños at San Saba had inspired in him a healthy respect for the new enemies: ''These northern Indians, treacherous in their conduct and arrogant in their preparations, so magnificent and numerous, are unique among the tribes of the Indies . . . . They are similar to the Moors in their manner of attack.[35]

Parrilla's estimate of the enemy indicated the need for a large regular force for the northern campaign, but the inadequate frontier garrisons could spare only a few soldiers. The Spaniards finally mustered a makeshift army of five hundred men, largely new to Indian warfare: one hundred thirty-nine presidials and officers, two hundred forty-one militia, thirty Tlascalteco Indians, and ninety mission Indians accompanied by the Franciscan Fathers Acayos and Pelaez.[36] A herd of more than sixteen hundred head of horses, mules, and cattle considerably impeded their march.

Intelligence from the French and the Indians of the Nacogdoches region showed the Nations of the North concentrated somewhere north of the Brazos River. The military council at San Antonio in January 1759, recommended that only the Wichita, Tawakoni, Tonkawa, and Iscani bands be punished because the Comanches were too far away in unknown territory and were too fierce for Parrilla's small force to tackle. Accordingly, in August, 1759, the expedition struck a northeasterly direction from San Antonio. Parrilla's own official report furnishes the particulars of the campaign.[37]

Just north of the Brazos River on October 2 the Spaniards surprised a Tonkawa village where they killed several warriors and took one hundred forty-nine captives. Using the prisoners as guides, the expedition pushed north toward the Taovayas village on Red River. On October 7 some sixty or seventy mounted Indians attacked the group. One determined charge by the Spaniards seemed to disperse the attackers, who fled into a forest. The Spanish cavalrymen following them closely, emerged abruptly onto a clear plain, just in time to see the Indians disappear into a fort on the bank of a large river. The Indians, safe within the stockade, laughed tauntingly at the Spaniards, challenging them to enter if they could.

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[33] Allen, "Parrilla Expedition," pp. 57, 58; Carlos Eduardo Castaneda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, 1519-1936 (Austin, 1936), Vol. IV, pp. 110-113.

[34] Dunn, "Apache Mission," p. 407.

[35] Parrilla to the Viceroy, April 8, 1758, quoted in Allen, "Parrilla Expedition," p. 55.

[36] Bolton, *Texas*, p. 90; Allen, "Parrilla Expedition," p. 60.

[37] Diego Ortiz Parrilla, *Testimonio de Campana contra Indios Nortenos,* October 7, 1759, in A.G.I., Audiencia de Mexico (Dunn Transcripts, *loc. cit.*).

Parrilla saw that the fortified Taovayas village to which the Tonkawa prisoners had led him was a more formidable stronghold than the Spaniards had anticipated. The Indians occupied an enviable defensive position. Their village of high, oval-shaped huts was surrounded by both a stockade and a moat. The winding road which led along the bank from the village to Red River was protected in the same manner, and a sizeable force of Indians was stationed at the ford to forestall attack from that direction. A corral inside the stockade secured their livestock. Just beyond the village loomed the tents of their Comanche allies. As the Spaniards approached, the inhabitants of huts outside the palisade scurried into the fort, and Indians armed with guns manned their posts in front of the stockade.

While the Spaniards paused to consider their strategy, the Indians took the initiative. They made repeated sallies from the fort under the leadership of a daring Taovayas chief who finally fell in the battle. Each mounted warrior had a companion on foot who kept a reserve supply of loaded guns ready for him. Thus they kept the Spaniards under constant fire for about four hours, never allowing them to gain the offensive. Indian reinforcements continued to arrive all afternoon and well into the night, when they stopped fighting to hold a great firelight celebration inside the fort.

One of Parrilla's worst problems was desertion. Many of his raw recruits and all of his Apaches were so frightened that they fled the battlefield. The two cannons which the Spaniards had expected to weigh heavily in their favor were so ineffectual that the Indians jeered at their volleys, adding to the demoralization of Parrilla's men. At the insistance of his remaining troops, the commander ordered a retreat that night. In the hasty withdrawal the Spaniards lost the two cannons, dangerous trophies which they were unable to retrieve from the Taovayas for nineteen years.

Parrilla blamed his failure on French intervention. The Taovayas stockade flaunted a French flag, the Indian warriors were well supplied with French weapons, and the Spanish soldiers had clearly heard a fife and drum within the fort. Emphasizing those damning evidences of French complicity, Parrilla contended that the well-built fort, the excellent strategy, and the disciplined military action of the Indians could be explained only in terms of French coaching.[38]

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[38] *Ibid.*

The Spaniards did not realize that the materials seen by Parrilla were the usual currency of long-established French trading practices rather than the implements of a conspiracy against the Spanish control of Texas. Nor could they believe that good war strategy might bo of Indian as well as European origin.

After the failure of Parrilla's punitive expedition in 1759, some of the Spaniards realized the truth of de Blanc's argument that the Norteños would in all likelihood remain the masters of the northern prairies and that new conciliatory techniques would be required to restore peace. Spanish colonials divided into two bitterly opposing groups: one faction wished to continue the attempt to subdue the Nations of the North by force; the other, convinced of the improbability of a military defeat of the Norteños, thought that it would be wiser to make allies of them. The former argued that the Apache mission of San Saba should be continued, regardless of its primary role in causing the northern war. The latter wanted to abandon San Saba and even to go to war against the Apaches if necessary to win the friendship of the Nations of the North. The Apaches, they contended, obviously wanted military protection rather than religion, and the Norteños, if allied with the Spaniards, would be powerful agents for the extension of Spanish control in the north.[39]

Parrilla led the faction which demanded that the Apache mission be continued and that another attempt be made to conquer the Norteños although he insisted that a large, highly-trained and well-equipped army would be necessary to defeat them. He preferred to continue the missionary effort among the Apaches because he was convinced that the Nations of the North would never make trustworthy allies. The continual raids of the Norteños on the San Saba establishment and other frontier settlements tended to support this argument. He proposed to discourage raids at San Saba by removing the livestock to San Antonio and increasing the presidial garrison to protect the mission until a decisive campaign could be launched against the Nations of the North.[40]

The group which opposed the projected military solution resorted to the services of unarmed friars for the restoration of peace. Their leading proponent was Father Joseph de Calahorra y Saenz, a veteran missionary at Nacogdoches who enjoyed the confidence of most of the Indians in northeastern Texas. The Tawakonis came to him repeatedly in the spring of 1760 to ask forgiveness for the San Saba raid and to plead for a restoration of peace with the Spaniards. They even offered to return to him the horses which they had stolen from the mission in years past if he would intercede with San Antonio in their behalf, and they begged him to come to their village for a peace parley.[41]

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[39] Bolton, *Texas*, p. 91.

[40] Parrilla, Carta Consultiva, San Antonio, November 18, 1759, in A.G.I., Audiencia de México, (Dunn Transcripts, *loc. cit.*).

Calahorra, having obtained the permission of Texas' Governor Angel de Martos y Navarette, went to the Tawakoni village in September, 1760.[42] He found the Tawakoni and Iscani villages located side by side, divided only by a street. The two towns, which together comprised forty-six large households, could muster two hundred fifty warriors. Despite their peaceful overtures, they were building a fort at their Sabine River villages comparable to the Taovayas establishment on Red River.

The Tawakonis told the priest that the Taovayas lived five days farther on toward New Mexico, in a village very similar to their own. That they had six hundred warriors, more than twice as many as the Tawakoni-Iscani group, helped to explain their dominant position in the northern league.

A Taovayas delegation came to the Tawakoni village to treat with Calahorra. They were so eager to make peace that they offered to restore the two cannons which Parrilla had lost, and they seemed to react favorably to the friar's request that they return their Spanish captives. Calahorra learned that the Taovayas were then at war with New Mexican Apaches whom they called Pelones, and that they could easily conduct him to that province in fifteen days. The Taovayas left only after securing Calahorra's promise to visit them in the following spring.

The Indians requested that Calahorra found a mission among them, and agreed to live under Spanish law as a condition for its establishment. Armed with that promise, Calahorra advocated to the government that the San Saba mission and presidio be moved to the Tawakoni village, for he believed that the Apaches could never be Christianized and only feigned a desire for conversion in order to be protected in Spanish missions. The Norteños seemed to him far more promising as potential converts and allies. Too canny to rely upon religious arguments alone, Calahorra stressed the strategic value of a post among the Nations of the North. If further military campaigns were almost certainly doomed to defeat, the Spaniards must cultivate the friendship of the Norteños in order to counteract the increasing influence of the French among them. At the Taovayas village there were already said to be five houses occupied by French hunters. Calahorra hoped to offset that potentially malicious force by winning the Indians over to Spanish mission life.[43]

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[41] Fray Joseph de Calahorra y Saenz to Governor Angel de Martos y Navarette, Nacogdoches, May 26, 1760, in A.G.I., Audiencia de México (Dunn Transcripts, *loc. cit.*).

[42] Calahorra, Diario del Viage, September 16-October 24, 1760, A.G.I., Audiencia de México (Dunn Transcripts, *loc. cit.*).

[43] Calahorra to Governor Martos, Nacogdoches, October 18, 1761, in A.G.I., Audiencia de México, (Dunn Transcripts, *loc. cit.*).

In asking for peace with the Spaniards, the Nations of the North probably hoped to secure another connection as pleasant and profitable as the French trade alliance which had been their only prolonged association with Europeans up to that time. Another motive must have been their jealously of the Apache mission, which prompted them to seek a sanctuary for themselves. Whatever their reasons, however, the negotiations failed.

Calahorra's recommendation for the transfer of the San Saba mission to the north was rejected. Parrilla's steady insistence that the Nations of the North could not be trusted prevailed over the priest's arguments. Furthermore, according to a modern historian, the Apaches, alarmed by the news of Spanish talks with the Norteños, undertook a systematic campaign to prevent a peaceful settlement. They raided in the south, leaving objects of northern origin along the trail; then they raided in the north, leaving Spanish articles along the way. The Spaniards and Norteños soon distrusted each other more than ever.[44] From 1762 to 1769 San Saba sustained frequent attacks from the Comanches and Norteños, who usually made them in pursuit of the Apaches. Captain Rabago y Teran of San Saba, whose championship of the Apaches had been partially responsible for the rejection of the northerners' peace overtures,[45] proposed another campaign against the Taovayas fort in 1766. He estimated that a successful expedition would require one thousand men. The matter was deferred until the Marques de Rubi could complete his tour of presidial inspection, and by 1767 Indian raids were almost a daily occurrence at San Saba.

Rubi's inspection of Texas in August, 1767, was only one portion of a general survey which had been ordered by the crown with a view to the comprehensive military reorganization of New Spain, a step necessitated by Spain's defensive expansion into Louisiana and California. Rubi's report formed the basis of the policies instituted by Teodoro de Croix in 1776 with the organization of the so-called Provinces Internas, the interior, or more accurately the northern, provinces of New Spain.[46] Rubi's recommedations on Indian policy marked a turning point in the official Spanish attitude toward the Nations of the North. Advocating a reversal of the previous stand, he prescribed a relentless war of extermination against the Apaches, whom he regarded as the root of Texas' Indian troubles. He commended the Norteños for their good disposition, recalling that they had never attacked Spanish dominions until provoked by the Apaches, and then only for just revenge on their traditional enemies.[47]

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[44] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Texas and the North Mexican States* (San Francisco, 1890), Vol. I, p. 401.

[45] Castaneda, *Catholic Heritage*, Vol. IV, pp. 146-147.

[46] Bolton, *Texas*, p. 139; Antonio Bonilla, "Bonilla's Brief Compendium of the History of Texas, 1772," ed. by Elizabeth Howard West in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII (July, 1904), p. 58.

Another factor in the modification of Spanish views of the Nations of the North was the return of Antonio Treviño, a Spanish lieutenant who was released in 1765 after two years of captivity in the Taovayas village.[48] Treviño gave the Spaniards their first eye-witness account of the leading northern village, and his official report[49] may have helped to convince the Spaniards that an alliance with the Norteños would be wiser than continued hostility. The following information is derived from Treviño's testimony.

Although the Taovayas were guilty of extremely cruel treatment of many prisoners, they admired bravery above all other virtues. Treviño's courageous stand at the time that he was captured in a skirmish between a Taovayas party and a Spanish frontier patrol so impressed the Taovayas chief that he took Treviño back to the Red River village, where the Indians cared for him until he recovered from his severe wounds. Treviño lived as a member of the tribe for two years. He and his captors regarded each other with a great deal of affection but his homesickness became so apparent that the Taovayas, declaring that he had never been considered a prisoner, released him and escorted him safely back to San Antonio. The intimate knowledge of the Taovayas which Treviño gained during his captivity made him a valuable liason agent between that tribe and Spanish officialdom when diplomatic relations were established a few years later. Treviño, informed the government that the Taovayas village fortress from which the Nations of the North had repulsed Parrilla could withstand a much stronger attack than any which the Spaniards were then able to mount. A very deep ditch about four paces in front of the palisade ensured that no one could reach it on horseback. Four great subterranean houses inside the stockade would, in the event of a siege, hold all of the villagers who were unable to participate in the fighting. Most disturbing of all was the news that the Taovayas had learned from French traders how to operate the two cannons which they had captured from Parrilla and that those two pieces were now mounted in the fort.

If a military expedition against them seemed futile, so did a revival of Calahorra's plan to convert them to mission life. Game was abundant around the village and its inhabitants made frequent buffalo hunts. Their extensive fields yielded far more agricultural produce than the villagers needed. Since the principle attraction of the missions to most Indians was a dependable food supply, it was unlikely that the prosperous Taovayas would be interested in mission life.

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[47] Rubi, *Dictamen*, cited in Bolton, *Texas*, p. 382; Bonilla, "Brief Compendium," p. 59; Morfi, *History*, p. 415.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 108, n. 38.

[49] Trevino, *Testimonio*, August 13, 1765.

A brisk trade with the French in buffalo robes, Apache slaves, and horses and mules stolen from the Spanish settlements assured the Taovayas a plentiful supply of ammunition, guns, and other manufactured goods. Raids on Spanish settlements and Apache camps had become excellent business for the Taovayas.

The only enemies who seriously threatened Taovayan well-being were the Osages of the north, who had driven them south to Red River some eight years before. Their alliance with the fierce, numerous Comanches substantially increased the war threat of the Taovayas, and their village had recently been augmented by another related band. In addition to the Wichita village, which had been located just across the stream north of the Taovayas since the first years at the Red River site, there was now an Iscani village adjoining the Taovayas town on the south.[50] The Iscanis apparently had moved to the Taovayas village from the Tawakoni village on the Sabine River where Calahorra had visited them.

Treviño's first-hand information on the strength of the Taovayas obviously argued the desirability of conciliating them. At the same time, the considerate treatment which he had received at their hands somewhat discredited Parrilla's old argument that the Norteños could not be trusted.

Some hope for improved relations with the Nations of the North was born in December, 1767, when a party of Taovayas and Comanches appeared at San Saba. Although they intended to fight any Apaches whom they found, they requested a peace parley with the Spaniards. The presidial garrison refused to let them inside the fort for fear of treachery, but they gave them presents of clothes, brown sugar loaves, tortillas, and trinkets. On their part, the visiting Indians allowed a supply train to enter the presidio unmolested and left in good spirits.[51]

The garrison of San Saba looked forward to a respite in their long war, but sporadic horse-stealing raids by the northerners continued all month, and on January 2, 1768, there was another attempt to take the presidio. An Indian captive told the Spaniards that the French were encouraging the Taovayas, Tawakonis, Tonkawas, and Comanches to harass the garrison. Tales that the mission had rich stores and that its Apache residents enjoyed such luxuries as silver plate had led to the new attempt to sack San Saba.

The Rubi recommendations and the Treviño report might have led to marked changes in the Indian policy of Texas, but they came too late. Spain had acquired Louisiana and the French inhabitants of the new crown province henceforth overshadowed the Texans in Spain's relations with the border tribes. By their earlier failure to act upon Calahorra's recommendations, the Texans had forfeited their only opportunity to win the Nations of the North, an expensive mistake which threw those frontier tribes permanently into the Louisiana camp.

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[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Castaneda, *Catholic Heritage*, Vol. IV, pp. 194-196, citing Felipe de Rabago y Teran, A.G.N., Historia, Tomo XCIV.

ANNETTE BLACKBURN EHLER AND THE PAT HENNESSEY MEMORIAL GARDEN

*By Athie Sale Davis**

Annette Blackburn Ehler, one of Oklahoma's outstanding pioneer women, was interested in literature, art and music. She was also interested and active in the social, fraternal and political life of the state. She was a Life Member of the Oklahoma Historical Society and, in 1936, was inducted into the Hall of Fame by the Oklahoma Memorial Association.

Annette Blackburn, who according to the family Bible and an announcement of her first marriage was born Annette Belle,[1] in Lawrenceville, Illinois, August 10, 1864 the daughter of William and Amanda Ellen (Rawlings) Blackburn.

She completed the elementary and high school of her native Lawrenceville, and attended Ohio State Normal School in Ada, Ohio. She taught in a country school in Lawrence County, Illinois when she was sixteen years old. Then every summer for a few years she attended school herself, and taught the winter terms at different times in Lawrenceville and in Palestine, Illinois, also in Danville. She later taught in Missoula, Montana.

In 1892 she married Marion Allen Haskett, of Danville, Illinois. Their daughter Helen was born February 18, 1899. Mr. Haskett died January 3, 1900 and little Helen died in 1901. After Mr. Haskett's death, she came to Hennessey, Oklahoma Territory, where her two brothers, William and Marshall Blackburn and her sister, Mrs. Ella Courter, and their families were residing.[2] She taught in the Hennessey schools, and served one year as Deputy Register of Deeds of Kingfisher County. She resigned this position to buy the *Hennessey Press-Democrat* newspaper which she owned and operated for three years. Annette Haskett married Frederick Ehler, pioneer merchant and banker in 1907, and from that time devoted herself to her home and the social, fraternal and cultural

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* Athie Sale Davis is one of Oklahoma's most gifted poets, her poems appearing in outstanding, national publications. She is well known in the poetry field for having assisted her husband, the late Frank P. Davis, M.D., in the annual publication of *Davis' Anthology of Newspaper Verse*, a work she continued after his death until 1942. Mrs. Davis' father, Charles T. Sale of Missouri, made the run at the Opening of the Cherokee Outlet, September 16, 1893, and the following spring brought his family to Enid where Athie was reared and attended school and college. She taught in the public schools of Enid and Okmulgee before her marriage to Dr. Davis in 1919. She makes her home in Oklahoma City where she is a member of the National League of American Pen Women, State Poetry Society and State Writers. —Ed.

[1] Letter dated August 5, 1953, from Ida Blackburn Vandivier (Indianapolis), a niece of Mrs. Ehler, to Mrs. Frank P. Davis.

[2] *Ibid.*

ANNETTE BLACKBURN EHLER

organizations she loved.[3] As a girl in Lawrenceville she joined the Christian Church, and was always an active worker in the church, after coming to Oklahoma teaching in the Sunday school and giving of her talent as a pianist and musician.

Mrs. Ehler's chief interest in organizations was in the work of the Order of the Eastern Star and that of the Rainbow Girls. Her work in the Eastern Star organization was outstanding. She had been a charter member when the Lawrenceville Chapter was organized in 1890, and she was a member of the Hennessey Chapter for forty-seven years. She served in various appointive and elective positions of the Grand Chapter Order of the Eastern Star of Oklahoma, and in 1915 was elected Worthy Grand Matron. In 1917, she first published the Eastern Star "Blue Book" revising this as necessary through the 19th and last edition published in 1945. Mrs. Ehler was Eastern Star editor of *The Oklahoma Mason* for eight years. Intensely interested in the Rainbow Girls, she held the position of "Supreme Hope" in this organization.

Mrs. Ehler regarded civic and political participation as a patriotic responsibility, and was a tireless worker. She was delegate to the first Democratic convention in which women participated, was the first County Vice-Chairman of Kingfisher County, delegate-at-large to National Democratic Convention held in New York City in 1924. She served as President of the Hennessey school board, was the first woman Mayor of Hennessey, serving two terms in this office in which she promoted paving of Hennessey streets and many other projects that contributed to the city's improvement.

A musician and pianist, she was the composer of several songs, among them *Sweet Face Beneath the Roses* which was written after the death of her little daughter, and later *Welcoming Ode* which was used in Eastern Star.

She was author of *Study Outline of Greek Mythology, Rhetorical and Literature Outline* and *A Text on Grammar.* She wrote and published these booklets when she served as State Chairman of Literature of the Oklahoma Federated Women's Clubs. She wrote and published in serial form a novel titled *Back to the Old Ambraw.*[4] She also had published a book of her own poems, *The Fire Fly,* and a small booklet, *Echoes of the Chisholm Trail,* as well as the "Blue Book" of the Eastern Star (19 editions).

In addition to her membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society, the Oklahoma Memorial Association, the Order of the Eastern Star, and Rainbow Girls, Mrs. Ehler was also a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, The National League of American Pen Women, Pi Gamma Mu, and the Delphian Chapter. She contributed to Oklahoma's culture by sponsoring struggling young artists and by arranging art exhibits, and acquiring a sizable collection of paintings by Oklahoma artists.

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[3] Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), Vol. III, pp. 215-16.

[4] Letter from Ida Blackburn Vandivier, *op. cit.*

It was her intense interest in history and in marking the historical spots in Oklahoma as well as her desire that the facts of history should be kept straight, that caused Mrs. Ehler to spend $4,000 on a memorial for the murdered teamster for whom the City of Hennessey was named, and then present the memorial as a gift to the city. This presentation took place May 30, 1941.

THE PAT HENNESSEY MEMORIAL GARDEN

This outstanding memorial is a corner lot (75x150 feet) located at the north edge of Hennessey, just one block west of Highway #81.

On July 4, 1874 Government employees found and buried the body of Patrick Hennessey beside the Chisholm Trail. In her book *Echoes of the Chisholm Trail,* Mrs. Ehler writes:[5]

> "Sometime after the Town of Hennessey was established, the women of the town placed an iron fence around his grave with an arch upon which was inscribed his name. As the town grew larger and it became necessary to open a street along the old Chisholm Trail, it was necessary to remove this grave, as it was directly in the center of the new street, and the grave with its fence was moved about one hundred and thirty feet west of its original place. About thirteen years ago the City sold the plot of ground to which they had moved the Hennessey grave when the street was opened, and they again moved the grave about one-half mile away from its original place. The State Historical Society objected to the removal of this historical marker and I asked permission of the City Council to take it back at my expense as nearly to the original spot as it was possible. In 1939 when Hennessey celebrated its fiftieth anniversary and put on a 'Pat Hennessey Pageant,' I purchased the plot of ground around this grave and proceeded to build a Memorial to the Memory of the man for whom our town was named."

The first iron fence around the grave is incorporated in the fence around the Garden. Mrs. Ehler had the grave covered with native stones, set in cement and a small head stone and foot stone erected. Just east and south of the grave is a rock lighthouse twenty-four feet high, in the top of which is installed a large light and musical chimes which operate by automatic control. From the many small windows shine electric light through bulbs of all colors. Directly to the south of the grave is a five ton granite boulder bearing a bronze marker which gives a statement showing that Hennessey was not killed by Indians, but by white out-laws.

In the winter of 1940, the writer visited Mrs. Ehler. After return from a visit to the Garden, there was comment on the fact that many historians tell that Indians murdered Pat Hennessey.

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[5] Annette B. Ehler, *Echoes of the Chisholm Trail* (Hennessey, n.d.).

Mrs. Ehler smiled, ''Yes, I know. I once spoke to one writer about that and he replied, 'But it makes such a colorful story.' However there is one thing upon which all agree and that is the fact that William E. Malaley found and buried the body, and I personally interviewed Mr. Malaley.''

Then she told me the details of the Pat Hennessey story that she had gathered through the years.

THE STORY OF PAT HENNESSEY

Pat Hennesey had a government contract in 1874, to haul freight from Wichita, Kansas to Fort Sill and Anadarko, two government posts in the southern part of Indian Territory. As there were no railroads through this part of the Territory all freight was handled by such as Hennessey.

Mrs. Ehler said she was first intrigued by hearing one man say to another ''Have a Pat Hennessey cigar.'' Then finding that the grave was a shrine to which all new comers were directed and to which she, too, wended her footsteps, she asked:

''Who was Pat Hennessey?''

''Ask Mr. Malaley, he found and buried Pat Hennessey's body,'' was the reply.

Upon further inquiry Mrs. Ehler found that William E. Malaley had been a Deputy Marshal and that he was a man well trained for his work.[6] He spoke the Indian language fluently, and knew Indian habits. He was always most cordial in his relations with the various tribes with which he came in contact. She learned also that Mr. Malaley was then living in Hennessey and was operating a livery stable. She went to see him and asked him to tell her the story of Pat Hennessey.

From Mr. Malaley, Mrs. Ehler learned that on the night of July 3, 1874, Patrick Hennessey and three other teamsters spent the night at one of the small relay stations located at a point called Buffalo Springs, now known as Bison, six miles north of the present site of Hennessey. The other teamsters were: George Fand, Thomas Calloway and Ed Cook. Each man was driving a six mule team hauling a wagon well loaded with supplies. Next morning the freighters made preparation to start on their way, but the keeper of the inn, Mr. Mosier, urged them to wait a while longer because he had received word that the Indians were reported to be on an uprising. To this the genial Irishman, who was always friendly with the Indians is reported to have said ''No Indian will harm me.'' So the men and teams headed south.

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[6] For a biography of "William E. Malaley," see *The Chisholm Trail* by Sam P. Ridings (Guthrie, 1936), pp. 100-115.—Ed.

This same morning another party was headed northward across the plains. This party left the Indian Agency at Darlington to go to Wichita, Kansas. The Agency employees, composed of John D. Miles, the Indian Agent in charge of the Darlington agency, Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Covington and their daughter, Katie were riding in a light spring wagon and were accompanied by three horsemen, William Malaley, J. S. Brink and an Army Lieutenant from Fort Sill.[7]

They had spent the night of July 4th at a ranch house near Kingfisher, and started out very early the next morning. When they reached Red Fork, now known as Dover, they found an excited group barricaded in Charlie Russell's store because of an attack and bombardment supposedly by the Indians which had occurred early that morning.

The Government party left the women at the store while the men went out into the timber and sand hills to reconnoiter. They found no signs of Indians, but found a place where a large number of horses had been tied for a considerable length of time. Malaley and others noted that they had been tied by white men. An Indian would have tied the horses close to the trees so they would have had very little room to move about and the stamping of their hooves would have made a small trampled place where each one stood, Instead these horses had been given a long, loose rope as was plainly evident from their tracks.

Another important and startling bit of evidence was the prints of high heeled boots all about. Indians all wore moccasins in those days, no Indian ever wore boots! But boots were worn by white men who were much in the saddle.

From all these signs the men decided that the attacks on the store had been by white outlaws, who had disguised themselves as Indians. It was a known fact that there were roving bands of outlaws in the territory who were doing much mischief that was being charged to the Indians.[8] So the investigators were satisfied in their own minds that the attack on the store had been by white outlaws.

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[7] "The party consisted of Agent John D. Miles, J. A. Covington, Sarah (Darlington) Covington, his wife, Katy Covington, their daughter, a babe in arms, Marshal William E. Malaley, a lieutenant, two or three soldiers, and a few other persons."—*Ibid.*, p. 104.—Ed.

[8] In her booklet *Echoes of the Chisholm Trail*, p. 9, Mrs. Ehler quotes an excerpt from a letter dated July 10, 1874, from Agent J. D. Miles to the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington: "I do not hesitate to say that had we been furnished with a detachment of troops sufficient to have protected their own (Indians) reservation from buffalo hunters and the continuous incursions from white horse thieves, all of which was promised them (and my records show that these troops have been earnestly appealed for), I do not hesitate to give it as my firm conviction that all our present troubles would have been avoided. But now it will not do to stop to ask 'whose cow it was that kicked over the lamp that burned up Chicago,' the hostile movement must be controlled and at the proper time when order is restored, deal out justice to the *original cause.* I claim to know almost every whiskey-horse-thief in this country and hope to be able at some future day to bring them to justice, as they are the parties who have *set the match on fire.*"—Ed.

Then the Government party, with its mounted escort proceeded on its way north, Mr. Malaley was riding in front of the spring wagon.

Between one and two o'clock in the afternoon they came upon signs of trouble along the trail. Sugar, coffee, empty boxes and barrels were scattered about. The horsemen rode rapidly forward and soon came upon the body of a man. He was lying on the east side of the Chisholm Trail, covered by smoldering grain. Ashes of the wagon were about him, its iron tires alone were left. Attached to these tires were chain traces. The position of the burning body gave evidence that the man, while still alive, had been tied to the two back wheels of the wagon with his head to the southwest and his feet to the northeast, by the chain traces of his own wagon. He had then been covered with sacks of grain and the whole outfit set on fire.

Mr. Malaley, in his official capacity as Deputy Marshal, carefully checked everything for clues. Again he noted the numerous prints of high heels all about! He also noted that the man had not been scalped.

Despite fear of a return of the outlaws, or a possible attack by an Indian war party it was decided to bury the body before proceeding on the way. The only implement the men had for digging was an axe. With this they chopped the prairie grass and loosened the dirt, then set to work with their hands and threw out the dirt. It was a difficult job, and the hot July sun made it even more unpleasant. At last they had a rude hole which was about eighteen inches deep and in this shallow grave they laid the body, then threw the loose dirt back over it.

When the party reached the inn at Buffalo Springs they told of the incident and learned the identity of the victim—Patrick Hennessey. It was also learned that the massacre of the freighters was known. Mr. Malaley especially noted the loquacity of one individual. The man's name was reported to be Brooks, and he had been a guest at the inn for some time. He claimed that he had been down on Turkey Creek hunting, and said that he heard shooting so hurried to a spot where he could see.

This man, Brooks, said: "I saw that a fight was going on between the Indians and the freighters. After the freighters used up their ammunition the Indians closed in on them and killed them. I returned to the inn and later got another man to go with me to get the bodies. We brought the three teamsters in and buried them."

Mr. Malaley asked why they did not bring Hennessey too, and the man paused, stammered and then replied that the wagon would not hold them all. As Mr. Malaley continued his questions the man became more and more reluctant to talk, and finally got away and left the inn. Others said that Hennessey's body was in such shape that the men were reluctant to touch it, to this Mr. Malaley responded: "Well, we did. We buried it."

However the government employees all noted the shifting glances, evasive replies and restless manner of the man who at first had been so quick to furnish information.

Mr. Malaley continued his investigation. From others who saw the bodies of the three men who were brought in for burial, he learned that none of them had been scalped. Since the Indians regarded a scalp as a prized possession it seemed strange that they had passed up these four trophies of war.[9]

The Government party continued their trip. Upon arrival in Wichita, the Indian Agent, Mr. Miles, sent his report to Washington and in it he attributed the deaths of the four men to Indians. Just why he did so in the face of the evidence is not clearly known.[10]

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[9] According to B. K. Wetherell writing on July 4, 1874 near Red Fork, a "Texas Outfit" reported that four men had been killed and scalped and their wagons burned this day on the Chisholm Trail. Existing communications and reports from the military posts, ranches, Indian agencies and stations on the Chisholm Trail, written in 1874, reveal that there was virtually a reign of terror throughout western Indian Territory in this year. Wetherell wrote: "The Araphahoes killed and scalped a young man named Wm. Watkins, just across Red Fork, and chased a man to this Ranche. They shot his horse; they also tried to run off stock from here. This was on the 2nd inst. I was at Baker's at the time, and remained there until this morning when a Texas Outfit came down and reported four men killed and scalped, with their wagons burning, laying about four miles above Bakers on the trail. The names of two of the men are Pat Hennesseey & Geo Farr, the other two unknown. They were freighting to Sill. They were cautioned at Moshiers not to come down, as two men who left Bakers yesterday evening were chased into the Ranche. Baker had left here some days ago. Capt. Leach & Stage driver were at Baker's. Upon receipt of news of murders, we abandoned the place and came here. I think it possible a party will go up, and bury the men tonight. We are closely watched here. I will go up the trail when I can but I look for the Ranches to be all cleaned up except this. . . . ." Copy of letter signed by B. K. Wetherell, dated "Lee & Reynolds Ranche near Red Fork, I. T. 7" 4" 1874," to Enoch Hoag, Supt. Ind. Affairs, in *Kiowa Depredations*, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society. —Ed.

[10] Agent Jno. B. Miles in his report dated September 30, 1874, states that it "was Cheyennes that killed William Watkins near King Fisher ranche on Seven month 2d; was Cheyennes that attacked Lee & Reynold's ranche on same day near Red Fork, killing some valuable horses; was Cheyennes that attacked Hennessey's train, loaded with sugar and coffee for Agent Hayworth, killing Pat Hennessey, George Fand, Thomas Calloway, and Ed. Cook; Osages arriving at the scene of the massacre while the Cheyennes were yet present, and securing the largest portion of the plunder, and afterward firing the wagons, to one of which the body of Pat Hennessey was evidently affixed."—*Report of the Commissioner Indian Affairs*, 1874, p. 234.

Agent Miles further states in this same report of September 30, 1874 (*ibid.*): "During last fall and winter I became aware of the presence of a number of notorious horse-thieves, who had their headquarters established in the Black Jack Woods, bordering on Turkey Creek, a small tributary of Cimarron River [Red Fork], and made several ineffectual attempts to capture or drive them from the country, Pat Hennessey's shallow grave was kept tended by freighters, who put a few stones or bits of earth upon it as they passed by on the Trail so that the winds would not blow away the sands which covered the body. The freighters and stage-coach drivers called the nearby bluffs "Hennessey Bluffs."

When the Rock Island railway was built through the Territory the company gave their station the name "Hennessey." In the early days of the town there was a cigar factory there which named their product the "Pat Hennessey Cigar."

When Mrs. Ehler concluded her story, the writer asked, "When your story was published what was the reaction to it?"

She smiled and said that following the printing of the story several of the readers told her that she was mistaken, insisting that Patrick Hennessey had been killed by Indians. So she again sought Mr. Malaley. He verified every point in her story! He stressed the fact that at the Red Fork attack the manner of tying the horses had convinced all witnesses that the attack had been by white men in Indian garb. The most significant fact however was that none of the victims had been scalped.

Mrs. Ehler said, "Mr. Malaley was most emphatic in his final statement when he said, 'NO INDIAN EVER KILLED PAT HENNESSEY.' "[11]

Then she took from her files a book of clippings. Among them were published letters that had been received after her story had appeared in print. Most significant was one from Mr. J. W. House of Texas City, Texas. With Mrs. Ehler's permission, these notes were made from it. Mr. House said in part: "I recently read in the Hennessey Clipper the article on 'Who Killed Pat Hennessey'

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feeling assured that their frequent depredations on the herds of Indian ponies would sooner or later bring on trouble with the Indians of this reservation. But my efforts in that direction were unsuccessful, owing to the lack of necessary force to warrant their successful arrest. A few thieves only have been arrested, and one killed in his attempt to resist the marshal who had demanded his surrender."

[11] "He [Malaley] loved to talk of the old days on the range, and he often stated that he wanted the writer [Ridings] to record his statement of the death of Hennessey. These matters were not considered so important at that time, and it was not attended to until it was too late."—Sam P. Ridings, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

William R. Malaley died at Kansas City, Missouri, on January 14, 1919 (*ibid.*, p. 115).

In his chapter on "The Death of Pat Hennessey," (*ibid.*, pp. 432-44), Mr. Ridings states definitely that Hennessey and his companions were killed by a roving band of young Cheyenne warriors from Stone Calf's contingent. However, Ridings further states that he found the subject of Hennessey's death very difficult to present, and closes his chapter on Hennessey with the statement (*ibid.*, p. 444): "Regardless of the uncertain items entering into the details of this important and historical happening, the fact remains uncontroverted that Hennessey died—was killed—and buried at the time and place heretofore stated."—Ed.

This called to my mind the early eighties I spent in southern Kansas, when that question would have been answered by 'The Horse Thieves' who had given so much trouble to early settlers and caused them to organize vigilance committees."

The letter went on to say: "I talked to Jack Hastie, a very prominent and reliable business man in Wellington, Kansas, just after Pat Hennessey's death ,and he said they caught in southern Kansas a number of men who had in their possession the mules and harness reported to have belonged to Pat Hennessy, the freighter, at the time of his murder. The men were brought to Wellington and lodged in jail. They were taken from jail one night and hanged on one tree on the north bank of Slate Creek. about a mile north of Wellington."

The letter closed by saying: "I never heard anyone in southern Kansas even intimate that the Indians killed Pat Hennessey, and I talked to many who knew the circumstances. I think you are right in your contention that the Indians did not kill Pat Hennessey."

In her generous giving of the beautiful Pat Hennessey Memorial Garden to the city she certainly fulfilled her desire to keep the facts of history straight.[12]

Her interest in the Oklahoma Memorial Association was also demonstrated by her gift of a large legacy to that Association. In appreciation of her interest in this organization, Mrs. Ehler's name is inscribed on a bronze tablet on the south wall of the entrance to the Oklahoma Historical Building which reads as follows:

MRS. ANNETTE BLACKBURN EHLER

1864 1947

THIS TRIBUTE IS PLACED IN THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL BUILDING, TO THE LIFE AND SERVICE OF MRS. ANNETTE BLACKBURN EHLER, BY THE OKLAHOMA MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION TO WHICH SHE GAVE A RICH LEGACY AND GREAT DEVOTION, A PHILANTHROPIST, A DISTINGUISHED CITIZEN, AND A NOBLE WOMAN. IN HONORING HER WE HONOR THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA.

OKLAHOMA MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.

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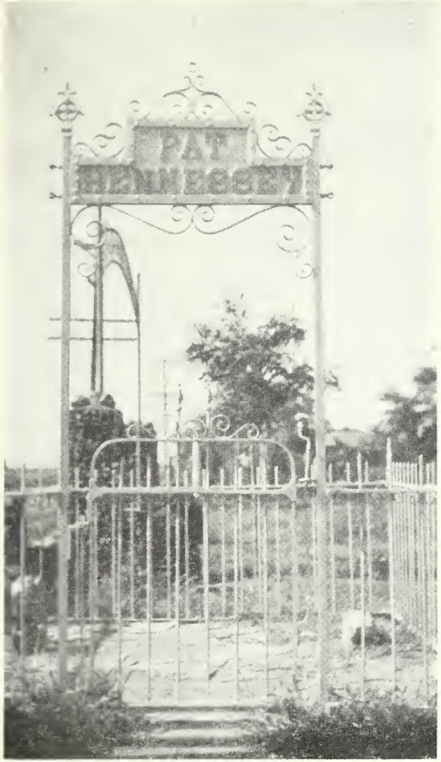
[12] The question "Who killed Pat Hennessey?" still receives heated replies in the Chisholm Trail region north of the Cimarron (formerly the Red Fork) in Western Oklahoma. Many people will not even countenance discussion of the probability that Hennessey was killed by white outlaws.—Ed.



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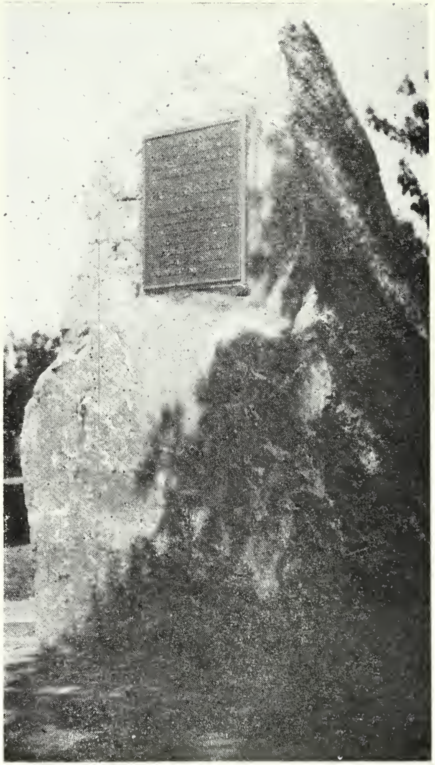
Iron fence with arch bearing his name placed around the grave of Pat Hennessey, by the women of Hennessey after the town was established. For many years this was the only marker.

☞

The eight foot granite boulder, with a bronze plate, in the Pat Hennessey Memorial Garden marks the place where Pat Hennessey, a Government freighter, was massacred on July 4, 1874. Memorial presented to the town of Hennessey by Annette B. Ehler in 1941.



THE CONFEDERATE STATES GOVERNMENT AND THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES

By Ohland Morton

Part II*

In the South, especially Arkansas and Texas, the interest concerning the Indian Territory was chiefly due to a desire to keep that country true to the southern cause. The mixed blood Indians were of the planter class, and it was through them that those concerned worked to hold them in line with their southern sympathies. The Texas State Convention that passed the ordinance of secession, appointed Charles A. Hamilton, James Bourland and James E. Harrison as commissioners to the Five Civilized Tribes in February, 1861, with instructions "to invite their speedy and prompt co-operation with the Southern Confederacy."[99] These commissioners left on their mission to the Indian country on February 27, 1861. Their report made in April, 1861, was apparently acted upon immediately, for Texas troops were soon thereafter in possession of the forts in the Indian Territory.[100]

On January 5, 1861, the Chickasaw Council had issued a call for an intertribal council should political separation between the North and South take place. This suggestion met with favor from all the tribes except the Cherokees. Chief John Ross objected to the plan on the ground that the controversy between the North and South was strictly a white man's quarrel and no concern of the Indians. He was overruled and an intertribal council was called for February 17.[101] On February 8, the Choctaw General Council provided for the election of twelve delegates who, with the Principal Chief, were to meet a similar Chickasaw delegation in joint convention at Boggy Depot, March 11, "to consult for the common safety of these two tribes, in the event of the dissolution of the American Union." This convention met on the appointed day and was attended by the Texas Commissioners.[102] When the intertribal council met on the 17th, neither the Choctaw nor Chickasaw delegates were present. The Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole delegations discussed the situation at length and arrived at the conclusion simply to do nothing; to keep quiet and comply with their treaty obligations. Mutual expressions of good feeling were given and promises exchanged that whatever exigencies of the future might arise, bound by a common destiny, they would act in concert for the greatest good to all.[103]

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* Part I of this study by Dr. Ohland Morton was published in the Summer number (1953), *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXI.

The part that the Cherokees, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Seminole and Creek nations had in behalf of the Confederacy in the War between the States, is ably presented by Jessie Randolph Moore in "The Five Great Indian Nations," published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXIX, No. 3 (Autumn, 1951), pp. 324-336.—Ed.

[99] *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas* (1861), pp. 37, 81, 244. See also pp. 217-222 for treaty discussion.

[100] The Commissioners' report of their activities is interesting, and since it contains so much information of value in this study, it is reproduced in *Appendix B* at the end of this Part II (Reference: Harrison et al. to Clark, April 23, 1861, *Official Records,* Series IV, Vol. I, pp. 322-25.)

[101] Rachel Caroline Eaton, *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians* (Menasha, 1914), p. 176.

On February 7, in General Council, the Choctaws had indicated that in the event of a permanent dissolution of the American Union, they would follow the natural affections, education, institutions, and interests of their people which indissolubly bound them in every way to the South.[104] On May 25, the Chickasaw legislature adopted violent resolutions which set forth that the Government of the United States had deserted them and ignored their treaty rights. A sort of declaration of independence was issued, and the other tribes were called upon to assert their independence.[105] The Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, George Hudson, responded to this on June 14, with a proclamation declaring the Choctaws independent.[106] Chief Hudson had prepared a neutrality message to be delivered at a special session of the Choctaw Council which he had called to convene on June 1, but was persuaded to change his mind by Robert M. Jones, a slave owner and ardent secessionist.[107] In these actions the Indians were concerned chiefly for their own welfare. Among the Chickasaws and Choctaws some enthusiasm was shown for the Southern cause; but as the territory of these tribes was dominated by the Confederates it was natural that their partisans should be active. These partisans seem to have been the Indians of mixed blood. A few mixed bloods in the Cherokee Nation opposed to Ross supported the Confederates but the great majority sought to remain neutral so far as this could be done without incurring the hostility of the South.[108]

The Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, doubtless urged on by Arkansas and Texas, began in February, 1861, to give some attention to the Indian Territory. Attention had been called to its strategic position in its relation to Colorado and Kansas and to its importance as a source of food supply.[109] On February 21, and 22, the Congress meeting at Montgomery, Alabama, directed the Committee on Indian Affairs to consider the advisibility of sending agents to the southern Indians.[110] On March 4, the Congress authorized President Jefferson Davis to send an agent to negotiate treaties with the Indian tribes west of Arkansas.[111] On March 12, President Davis recommended to Congress the creation of a Bureau of Indian Affairs.[112] Congress acted favorably on President Davis's recommendation and on March 15, 1861, created an additional bureau in the War Department, to be known as the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[113] The following day, President Davis nominated David Hubbard of Alabama for Commissioner of Indian Affairs.[114] Hubbard was given instructions to repair immediately to the Indian country where he was to make known to the tribes the desire o the Confederate States "to protect them and defend them against the rapacious and avaricious designs of their common enemy whose real intention was to emancipate their slaves and rob them of their lands."[115] Illness prevented Mr. Hubbard from carrying out his intentions of going in person to the Indian Territory, but he wrote to John Ross from Fort Smith, Arkansas, and in addition to his instructions from Secretary Walker reminded him that nearly all of the Cherokee annuities and school funds were invested in Southern securities and these debts were already forfeited unless the Cherokees joined the Confederacy.[116]

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[102] Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, 1934), p. 81.

[103] Annie Heloise Abel, "The Indians in the Civil War," *American Historical Review,* Vol. XV, p. 282.

[104] *Official Records,* Series I, Vol. I, p. 682.

[105] *Ibid.,* Vol. III, pp. 585-587.

[106] *Ibid.,* p. 593.

[107] Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic,* p. 81.

[108] Roy Gittinger, *Formation of the State of Oklahoma* (Berkeley, 1917), pp. 58-9.

To this letter Ross replied on June 17, 1861:[117]

> It is not the province of the Cherokees to determine the character of the conflict going on in the States. It is their duty to keep themselves, if possible, disentangled, and afford no grounds to either party to interfere with their rights. The obligations of every character, pecuniary and otherwise, which existed between the Cherokee Nation and the Government are equally valid now as then. If the Government owes us, I do not believe it will repudiate its debts. If States embraced in the Confederacy owe us, I do not believe they will repudiate their debts. I consider our annuity safe in any contingency.

In carrying out the terms of the Congressional resolution of March 4, President Jefferson Davis sent Albert Pike as special commissioner to the tribes west of Arkansas.[118] Pike held his commission under the Confederate State Department,[119] and made his reports directly to Robert Toombs, Secretary of State. His work seems to have been independent of that of Hubbard. As a matter of fact, Hubbard's work was of short duration and apparently barren of results.

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[109] Pike to Benjamin, November 27, 1861, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. VIII, pp. 697-698.

[110] *Journal of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States*, Vol. I, pp. 70 and 81.

[111] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[112] James D. Richardson, (ed.), *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, Vol. I, p. 58.

[113] James M. Matthews, (ed.), *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America*, p. 68.

[114] *Journal of the Provisional Congress, op. cit.*, p. 154.

[115] Walker to Hubbard, May 14, 1861, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. III, pp. 577-578.

[116] Hubbard to Ross and McCulloch, June 12, 1861, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XIII, pp. 497-498.

[117] Ross to Hubbard, *ibid.*, pp. 498-500.

At about the same time that Albert Pike was beginning to carry out his commission under the State Department, Douglas H. Cooper, former agent to the Choctaws and Chickasaws for the United States, was authorized by the War Department to raise among those two tribes a mounted regiment for the Confederacy, to be commanded by himself. Secretary Walker, in writing to Cooper promised that when the regiment had been reported organized into ten companies, ranging from 64 to 100 men each, and enrolled for twelve months, if possible, it would be received into the Confederate service, and supplied with arms and ammunition. Cooper was appointed Colonel of the First Regiment of Choctaw and Chickasaw volunteers, May 30, 1861, which rendered valiant service to the confederacy throughout the war. At the same time it was designed to raise two regiments among the Creeks, Cherokees, Seminoles, and other friendly tribes.[120]

The Federal troops were withdrawn from the Indian Territory in April, and it was immediately occupied by troops from Texas. On May 13, 1861, the Military District of Indian Territory was created, and Benjamin F. McCulloch, a former Texas Ranger, was placed in command. McCulloch was appointed a Brigadier-General of the Provisional Army. His command was composed of regiments from Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, and he was given instructions to raise additional regiments among the Five Civilized Tribes to be attached to his command. General McCulloch prepared to establish himself at some suitable place in the Cherokee Nation.

Albert Pike and General McCulloch met at Fort Smith in the latter part of May, 1861, and the two, seeking the same object, agreed to go forward together.[121] The two proceeded from Fort Smith to Tahlequah. From there they went to Park Hill, the home of John Ross, to confer with the Cherokee Chief. Ross received them courteously, but said that he felt the Cherokees had nothing to do with the quarrel between the North and South and that they intended to remain entirely neutral. As a matter of fact, he had issued a proclamation to this effect some days before.[122] He told Pike, however, that he would call his executive council together for the purpose of conferring with them on the subject.[123]

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[118] Davis to Congress, Dec. 12, 1861, *Official Records,* Series IV, Vol. I, p. 785.
[119] Pike to Toombs, May 29, 1861, *ibid.,* p. 785.
[120] Walker to Cooper, May 13, 1861, *ibid.,* Series I, Vol. I, pp. 574-575.
[121] McCulloch to Walker, May 28, 1861, *ibid.,* Series I, Vol. III, pp. 587-588.
[122] *Ibid.,* Series I, Vol. XIII, pp. 489-490.

Chief Ross was in a difficult position; for within the Cherokee Nation there was a large element in favor of secession. While it was a minority party, it represented the intelligence, property, and influence of the tribe. Opposed to it and in favor of neutrality was a large majority, not nearly so influential because it was made up of full-bloods, the poverty-stricken, and otherwise obscure individuals. In the light of previous tribal discords, the minority party was the old Ridge or Treaty Party, now headed by Stand Watie and Elias Cornelius Boudinot, son of Elias Boudinot, while the majority party was the Ross or Non-treaty party.

Pike was very disappointed in his failure to win the Cherokees to the side of the Confederacy. He decided to go on to meet the other tribes and to return to the Cherokee country later. He hoped that in the meantime Ross and his people might change their minds concerning the question of neutrality.

At North Fork Village, in the Creek Nation, near the present town of Eufaula, Oklahoma, the work of negotiating Indian treaties in the interest of the Confederacy really began. The first treaty was with the Creeks and was concluded on July 10, 1861. This was a defensive and offensive alliance between the Creek leaders and Albert Pike as the representative of the Confederate Government.[124] In the meantime, sentiment in favor of forming an alliance with the Confederacy had been gaining ground among the Choctaws. Delegates were chosen by the Choctaw Council to meet Pike at North Fork Village.[125] On June 12, they signed a very favorable treaty, by which the Confederate Government assumed all obligations of the United States to the tribe and guaranteed the Choctaws a large measure of independence and protection. This treaty was signed by the Choctaws and Chickasaws jointly.[126]

From North Fork Village, Pike went to the Seminole Council House several miles to the west. Here, on August 1, he persuaded a group of Seminole Indians under the leadership of John Jumper to sign a treaty.[127] Billy Bowlegs, Principal Chief, refused to sign.

All these treaties were negotiated under the Act of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, approved May 21, 1861, by which the Confederacy offered and agreed to accept the protectorate of the Indian tribes. They contained a statement definitely showing that the protectorate had been formally offered, formally accepted, and formally assumed.[128]

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[123] Pike to Toombs, May 29, 1861, *ibid.*, Series IV, Vol. I, p. 359; McCulloch to Walker, *ibid.*, Series I, Vol. III, p. 590.

[124] *Ibid.*, Series IV, Vol. I, pp. 426-443.

[125] Debo, *Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic, op. cit.*, p. 82.

[126] *Official Records,* Series I, Vol. III, pp. 593-594.

[127] *Ibid.*, Series IV, Vol. I, pp. 513-527.

While Pike was in the West, the Confederates had won the Battle of Wilson Creek or Oak Hills,[129] and the Union army in Missouri had withdrawn to Springfield. The importance of this victory impressed the Ross party of the Cherokees and they began to think that Confederate success was inevitable. The Ridge faction began to urge an alliance between the Cherokees and the Confederate Government, and John Ross feared that Pike would make a treaty with Stand Watie recognizing him as the head of the Cherokee government, as the United States had recognized this faction in the removal negotiations twenty-five years before. This would have meant civil war, with the Confederacy aiding Stand Watie. To avoid this and to keep the Cherokees united, and no doubt to retain his own authority in the tribe, Ross consented to treat with the Confederate Government.[130] A mass meeting of the Cherokee Nation was held on August 21, and it was agreed among those present that, since the other tribes had joined the Confederacy, the Cherokees should do the same.[131] Pike returned to Park Hill about the first of October, and on the seventh, at Tahlequah, a treaty was signed by the terms of which the Cherokees became the wards and allies of the Confederate Government.[132] Since the treaties with all five tribes are very long and do not essentially differ from each, a brief analysis of them as a collective whole is better than taking up one by one.

The political importance of the tribes was recognized by guarantees of territorial and political integrity. The Creeks, Seminoles, and Cherokees were each to have a delegate in the Confederate Congress[133] and the Choctaws and Chickasaws were to have one jointly, elected from each alternately. Negro slavery was of course, recognized. The alliance between the Indians and the Confederate Government was to be both defensive and offensive. The Indian nations acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of the Confederate States of America, and of no other power or sovereign whatever. The Confederacy agreed to bind themselves that no State or Territory should ever extend jurisdiction over the Indian country except upon the free, voluntary, and unsolicited consent of the Indians themselves. The right of self-government was practically unlimited, and was restricted only by the Confederate Constitution. As affecting their relations with white men, the Indians were conceded the right to determine absolutely, by their own legislation, the conditions of their own tribal citizenship. With respect to Indian trade, each tribe was given control of its own. Post traders were deprived of their monopoly privileges. Full faith and credit were to be given one Indian nation or Confederate state as the case might be in all legal processes, decisions, and acts of the other. The Indians were given the right to be competent as witnessess in state courts, to subpoena witnesses, and employ counsel.

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[128] This information is contained in the various preambles to the Indian treaties with the Confederate States, *ibid.*

[129] Wiley Britton, *The Civil War on the Border* (New York, 1904), Vol. I, pp. 69-107.

[130] Carruth and Martin to Superintendent Coffin, July 19, 1862, in *H. Ex. Doc.*, 37 Cong., 3 Sess., II, (1157), pp. 302-304.

[131] Ross and Others to McCulloch, August 24, 1861, *Official Records,* Series I, Vol. III, p. 673.

[132] *Ibid.*, Series IV, Vol. I, pp. 669-687.

[133] In 1857, Elias Rector, who was at that time Superintendent of the Southern Superintendency, argued that the Five Civlized Tribes should be allowed to have delegates on the floor of Congress and to be made citizens of the United States. *Annual Report, Senate Documents,* 35th Congress, First Session, Vol. II, p. 485.

The Indians conceded to the Confederacy the power to establish agency reserves, military posts and fortifications, and to maintain post and military roads. The Indians were to furnish companies of mounted men to defend the Indian Territory from foreign invasion, but these troops were not to be taken beyond the borders without the consent of the nations. Two Confederate States District Courts were to be created within the Indian country. A postal system, to be in every particular a part of the postal system of the Confederate States, was to be established and maintained throughout the Indian Territory.

Finally, the Confederate States assumed the financial obligations of the Indians that had been resting with the United States. These included the payment of their annuities due in return for land cessions, interest on various funds held in trust for them, and guaranteeing the safety and negotiability of the trust funds secured by southern bonds.

In several respects the Indian treaties of the Confederate States were in striking contrast with the treaties formerly made with them by the United States. The Confederacy conceded much more than the United States had ever granted. The Five Civilized Tribes gained from their negotiations with Albert Pike nearly everything for which they had been contending for fifty years. This statement is especially true with respect to the right of self-government, and the guarantees against aggression on the part of the States. It is extremely interesting, if not profitable, to reflect upon the probable course of their history, had the Confederacy won its struggle for secession, and had these five Indian states taken their place eventually alongside the others.[134]

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[134] The original drafts of the treaties had provided for eventual statehood on the part of the Indian Nations, but the Provisional Congress amended this and left the matter of final determination in the hands of Congress. President Davis had declared this provision unconstitutional and had recommended the change. *Journal of the Provisional Congress, op. cit.*, pp. 564-565; *Official Records*, Series IV, Vol. I, pp. 785-786; Matthews, *Statutes at Large*, p. 331.

Since the Confederate forces had taken charge of Indian Territory, neither the United States Superintendent, W. G. Coffin, nor any of his agents had been able to repair to their respective posts of duty. For the most part they maintained headquarters, temporary in nature, along the Kansas border. Basing his report on letters from Coffin and the agents, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Wm. P. Dole, gave his reactions to the work which had just been completed by Albert Pike. On November 27, 1861, he wrote:[135]

> A large proportion of these Indians (the Five Civilized Tribes) are in comfortable circumstances; are very far advanced in the arts of civilization, and many of them are slaveholders. In consideration of the last mentioned circumstance, the general erroneous impression prevailing amongst that class of persons as to the views of the present administration and its intended policy in relation to slavery, and the further fact that immediately after the breaking out of hostilities between the government and its disloyal citizens, the forts in their vicinity were in many instances basely surrendered to the rebels by the officers in command, and so far as possible all United States troops withdrawn by the government from that section of the country, it is not surprising that many of the Indians have thrown off their allegiance and espoused the cause of the rebellion; and that many others, finding themselves entirely without support from the government, or the means to repel the violent and aggressive measures everywhere adopted by the rebels towards loyal citizens, have quietly submitted to the condition of affairs by which they were surrounded. Amongst the first to yield to these varied influences were the Choctaws and Chickasaws; amongst the last were the Cherokees, at the head of whom is John Ross, who appears to have resisted the movements of the rebels so long as it was in his power. If reliance is to be placed in the following publication, which has been extensively circulated, and so far as I have observed without contradiction, it may be presumed that he has at last reluctantly yielded:
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> "It is reported that an understanding, under the name of a treaty, has been arranged between the rebellious confederacy on the one part, through Albert G. Pike, of Arkansas, and Elias Rector and the Cherokee chiefs and headmen on the other part, in which Mr. Pike entitles himself as 'Commissioner of Indian Affairs' and Mr. Rector, who for several years held the post of superintendent of Indian Affairs of the southern superintendency for the United States, as 'superintendent' under him."

By October 7, 1861, all the Five Civilized Tribes had joined their fortunes with those of the Confederate States of America. It does not seem strange that they should have done so. If anything is strange it is that the Cherokees delayed so long. The chief of the immediate reasons for the action of the Indians seems to have been the greater influence the South was able and willing to bring to bear upon them at the beginning of the war. It is hardly plausible to suppose that the sentiments regarding slavery and states' rights that helped drive the Southern states to secession could ever, alone, have impelled the Indians to take the same step. In 1861, there had been three possible courses of action open to the Indians: they could have chosen to continue the effort of remaining neutral; they might have joined their fortunes with the North; or they could (as they did) attach themselves to the Confederacy.

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[135] *Report of Secretary of Interior*, 1861, p. 627. (Fort Washita had been abandoned by the Federal forces on April 16, and Fort Arbuckle was surrendered to a strong force of Confederate troops from Texas on May 5, 1861. For events in Indian Territory through May, 1861, see Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* [New York, 1929], Vol. I, pp. 305-12.—Ed.)

The South would have quickly forced them into an alliance, with one side or the other, had they attempted to remain neutral. It is absolutely certain that their country would have been quickly overrun by the Confederate Army had they chosen the second possible course of action by actively joining the Union. In the face of the possibilities before them they chose the only tenable path. It was not easy for them to decide to abandon the friendship of the United States in the great struggle that was ahead between the North and the South. But these Indians had once lived in the South. Many southerners had come to live and marry among them, so there was a natural sympathy for the people, among whom were their relatives and friends. Some of the Indians were slaveholders. The climate and products of the Indian Territory, especially of the southern part, were more like those of the southern states. Their trade was practically all with the South, by means of the Arkansas and Red rivers. In addition, the Indian agents and some army officers of the United States Government stationed in the Indian Territory were southern sympathizers. Finally, the military posts of the Indian Territory were abandoned by the United States troops early in the War. Sufficient is the fact that the position of the Indians was unquestionably difficult. With so much to draw them southward, our only wonder is that so many of them stayed with the North.

By the time Pike had completed his treaty negotiations, the Confederate capital had been established at Richmond, Virginia. Pike hastened to report his success. It seemed that the Indians were firmly joined to the cause of the South, but such was not entirely the case. The Creeks were divided on the question of the war, and the same was true of the Cherokees and Seminoles. The Confederate government had now a large Indian force. The First Regiment of Choctaw ad Chickasaw Mounted Rifles had been completely organized on July 31, 1861 and there were eight companies of a prospective Creek regiment. The First Regiment Cherokee Mounted Rifles had been mustered into Confederate service, November 1, 1861, and under Stand Watie had been assigned by General McCulloch to the northern border country of Indian Territory.[136] On November 22, 1861, by special orders from the War Department at Richmond, Indian Territory was erected into a separate military department and Albert Pike was assigned to the command of it.[137] Things seemed to remain pretty much as they had been, for a time at least, with General McCulloch nominally in command and Douglas Cooper actually in charge. Long before Pike returned to the Indian Territory, matters came to an issue between the secessionists nd unionists Creeks.

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[136] *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. III, pp. 620, 624, and 721; Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

The Creeks seem to have been evenly divided by the war. Factional differences played a part among them as among the Cherokees. The Lower Creeks approved the treaty with the Confederacy, and the Upper Creeks were dissatisfied with it and would not recognize it as valid. The leader of the Upper Creeks was Opothleyahola. Late in the summer of 1861 he began to gather his forces and was joined by a group of Seminoles, who refused to recognize the alliance of their tribes with the Confederacy. Opothleyahola prepared to withdraw his followers to Kansas. He was attacked by the treaty faction regiment of the Creeks, under Colonel D. N. McIntosh, the Creek and Seminole batallion under Chilly McIntosh and Major John Jumper, six companies of the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles, and a part of the Ninth Regiment Texas Cavalry; in all, about 1,400 men. Opothleyahola held his own in the first skirmish, but he was defeated in two later engagements and driven out of the Indian Territory. The last of these skirmishes, known as the Battle of Chustenalah, took place on December 26, 1861.[138] Colonel James McIntosh in his report said:[139]

> A party of Stand Watie's regiment of Cherokees, numbering 300, under the command of the Colonel, although under my orders, came up just as the battle terminated. This regiment had been ordered to join me from its station on Grand River. It was no fault of its commander that it did not reach us sooner. Every effort on his part was made to reach us on time.
>
> At early dawn on the day after the battle I again left camp in pursuit of the flying enemy. After a hot pursuit of 25 miles we overtook 2 wagons which were captured and burned. At this moment sharp firing was heard upon the left, and a messenger came from Col. Stand Watie with the report that he was engaged with the enemy. I immediately moved in that direction and upon our arrival I ascertained that Colonel Watie had gallantly charged them. Major Boudinot, commanding the left flank of the regiment, had rushed into a deep ravine and driven the enemy from it. In the skirmish 15 men of the enemy were killed and a number of women and children taken.

General Pike did not return to the Indian Territory until after the campaign against Opothleyahola had ended. In March, 1862, he was ordered to take his command, consisting mostly of Indian troops, to join the army of General Earl Van Dorn, which was moving to attack the Federal Forces at Pea Ridge. Pike had considerable difficulty in persuading some of the Indian regiments to join in this movement, for they had not been paid for services already rendered. Pike had the money with him, but he had been ordered to hurry and he did not want to lose the time it would take to distribute the pay.

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[137] *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. VIII, p. 690.

[138] Report of Cooper and others, *ibid.*, pp. 5-32.

[139] Report of Colonel James McIntosh, *ibid.*, pp. 22-25. (Colonel James McQueen McIntosh was not an Indian, yet as a descendant of John "Mor" McIntosh who headed the one hundred Scot Highlanders that came to Georgia with Oglethorpe, he was distantly related to Colonels Daniel N., William R. and Chilly McIntosh of the Creek regiments, Confederate Army [Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 327].—Ed.)

John Ross and his adherents among the Cherokees welcomed the approach of the Union troops, and a regiment of the Cherokee full-bloods raised for the Confederate service went over in a body. In all, twelve or fifteen hundred Cherokees joined the Indian brigade, including three sons of Ross. Ross and his followers apparently did not doubt that the Union army had come to stay, and they committed themselves irrevocably to the Union cause.[140]

On July 18, 1862, the officers of the Federal "Indian Expedition" then on Grand River, twelve miles north of Fort Gibson, decided that Colonel William Weer, commanding, was incompetent. The officer next in rank, Frederick Saloman, Colonel of the Ninth Wisconsin Volunteers, arrested him and took command. Saloman at once ordered a retreat. He justified his action by saying that Weer had become an imbecile through long continued intemperance, or was insane, and this drastic action was necessary to save the troops. The Indian Home Guard regiments (Federal) now reinforced by the Cherokees, were left behind and held the country for some time, defeating a Confederate force sent against them. They were not given support and were finally compelled to fall back into Kansas.[141]

The retreat of the Indian Home Guard made necessary the withdrawal of Ross and many of his friends. Ross himself went to Philadelphia, where he remained until the close of the war. He was treated with great consideration and was practically pensioned by the United States out of the Cherokee fund.[142] In his report for 1863, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs said:[143]

> The Federal troops reached Tahlequah, July, 1862. After a duration of about ten months all told, the Cherokee alliance with the South was, so far as the Principal Chief and the full bloods were concerned, at an end, notwithstanding that the treaty was not at once abrogated and the Ridge faction, led by Stand Watie and his nephew Elias C. Boudinot, continued loyal to its promise.

After the retreat of the Indian Home Guard, Stand Watie and his men took possession of Tahlequah. In the absence of any semblance of government, Stand Watie was chosen Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation. He continued to be considered as such by the Confederacy until the end of the war and, as will be shown, there were occasions when even the United States Government had to recognize his position. Commenting on the situation at Tahlequah, Brigadier General William Hudson, Twenty-first Brigade, Texas State Troops, in a letter to Colonel J. H. Dashiell at Austin, said, "In the meantime the serious feud ever existing among the Cherokee Indians has terminated in expelling the Ross, or unsound faction from the country, and electing our true friend, Col. Stand Watie, as their chief.[144] In his report to James A. Seddon, Secretary of War, S. S. Scott, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, remarked, "Of the Cherokees not less than one-half followed Ross when he deserted his country. Almost the whole worth and talent of the nation, however, was left behind him, and is now clustered about Stand Watie, its present gallant and patriotic principal chief."[145]

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[140] *Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. XIII, pp. 430, 459, 487.

[141] *Ibid.*, pp. 475, 476, 484, 511.

[142] John Ross to William P. Dole, April 2, 1863, in *H. Ex. Doc.*, 38 Cong.,

[143] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1863, p. 144, *ibid.*

I Sess., III (1182), p. 343.

Much has been said and written about the depredations of the Confederate forces in the Cherokee Nation during this period of occupancy. Stand Watie was accused of burning the home of John Ross. The entire period of Confederate occupancy can be summed up and much argument disposed of by quoting from two reports of the Cherokee Agent for the United States, Justin Harlin, written in 1863 and 1865: "Colonel Stand Watie (wrote Harlan in 1863) entered the territory in three different raids, took everything he could ride, or drive, or carry off, and destroyed their crops, ... Watie with 700 ragamuffins, was permitted to rob at will over the whole territory. If anything was left by Watie, it has not yet been found."[146]

This same agent wrote in 1865: "While the rebel enemies were robbing and burning their property, their Kansas friends and some others were equally busy, more numerous, with more facilities for carrying away, and especially active in stealing it. That they did three times in value the amount of stealing done by the rebels I am pretty confident."[147]

In the latter part of September, 1862, the Union forces began an aggressive movement to recover the Indian Territory. In the meantime the Confederate forces under General Cooper moved northward toward old Fort Wayne where a camp was established. The Kansas Division of the Frontier under the command of General James G. Blunt attacked the Confederates on October 22. The result was a victory for the Union troops. Stand Watie and his men bore the principal part of the defense in the battle, but were overpowered by superior numbers. With his regiment he covered the retreat, as the Confederates retired by way of Fort Gibson across the Arkansas River to Confederacy headquarters at Fort Davis.[148]

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[144] William Hudson to Col. J. Y. Dashiell, Adjutant and Inspector General, September 15, 1862, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. LIII, pp. 827-828.

[145] Scott to Seddon, January 12, 1863, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXII, Part II, p. 810.

[146] *Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1863, *loc. cit.*, p. 216.

[147] Report of Elijah Sells, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Southern Superintendency, for 1865, in *H. Ex. Docs.*, 39 Cong., I Sess., II (1182), p. 470.

The fortunes of war thus wrested the greater part of the Cherokee Nation from the hands of the Confederate forces and it appeared that the Federal forces had come to stay. The Union Cherokees of the Ross Party re-established themselves in the Cherokee country. Their assistant principal chief, Thomas Pegg, who was acting in Ross' absence, issued a proclamation calling the Union Cherokee Council to meet on Cowskin Prairie. In February, 1863, this Council in session repudiated the Pike Treaty and deposed all Cherokee officials who had been disloyal to the United States government.[149] From May, 1863, to October, 1865, they maintained a seat of government at Gibson under the protection of Federal troops. The government of the Confederate Cherokees was moved to the Choctaw Nation and there Stand Watie established executive offices as Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation.[150]

The executive office of the Confederate Cherokee government seems to have changed location periodically during the war. This was made necessary because of the fortunes of war and the fact that the Confederate principal chief, Stand Watie, was active in the field most of the time. The government was set into operation at Tahlequah in August, 1862. There was a convention held in the Southern part of the Cherokee Nation in the summer of 1863. In 1865, Stand Watie established an office at Fort McCulloch, in the Choctaw Nation.[151]

In the face of these difficulties, however, he maintained his position until after the war had ended. On April 1, 1863, Assistant Adjutant-General Samuel W. Melton granted authority to "Col. Stand Watie, Chief of the Cherokee Nation, to raise a brigade for the Provisional Army."[152] A letter from General E. Kirby Smith was addressed to "Col. Stand Watie, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation," and the contest indicated that General Smith considered

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[148] James G. Blunt to General John M. Schofield, October 22, 1862, in *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XIII, pp. 325-328; Douglas H. Cooper to Major General Hindman, December 15, 1862, *ibid*., pp. 332-336.

[149] John Ross to William P. Dole, April 2, 1863, in *H. Ex. Docs.*, 38 Cong. I Sess., III (1182), pp. 227-228.

[150] Emmett Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921), pp. 300-301.

[151] Gaston Litton, "The Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XV, No. 3 (September, 1937), p. 264.

[152] *Official Records,* Series I, Vol. XXII, Part II, p. 810.

Watie the real head of the Cherokee government.[153] In some of the official correspondence of the period he is referred to as "General Stand Watie, principal chief of the Cherokees.[154]

In January 1863, Brigadier-General William Steele assumed command of the Confederate forces in the Indian Territory, relieving General Hindman at Fort Smith.[155] He found the country in an exhausted condition, and the troops ill-equipped and nearly demoralized. The withdrawal of the Confederate troops a short time before had left the people despondent and hopeless. Early in the spring, General Steele with the troops of General Cooper, Stand Watie, and D. N. McIntosh, instituted an aggressive movement against Fort Gibson, with the design of clearing that section of the country of the Union forces. Several skirmishes were fought during the late spring and early summer, and on July 17, 1863, was fought the Battle of Honey Springs, on Elk Creek, on the Texas Road, south of present Muskogee, Oklahoma. The Confederates were defeated with severe losses of killed, wounded, and captured.[156]

The idea seems to have prevailed generally that Stand Watie participated in the Battle of Honey Springs. In General Cooper's orders, drawn up before the battle he said, "The First and Second Cherokee Regiments will constitute the right wing of the brigade, Col. Stand Watie, senior colonel, commanding."[157] In his report of the battle, however, General Cooper does not mention Watie's name.[158] Lieutenant Colonel William T. Campbell, in command of the Sixth Kansas Cavalry, wrote in his report, "Shortly after crossing the creek I charged into a large body of rebels, whom I took to be Stand Watie's Indians and Texans."[159] This report and Cooper's order, in all probability, have led to errors by some writers of Confederate history in the Indian Territory, such as the following in the work of Annie H. Abel: "Of the Confederate, or Cooper, brigade Stand Watie, the ever reliable, commanded the First and Second Cherokee . . . . ."[160]

General Cooper, in a letter to Colonel Charles de Morse, however, removes all uncertainty in the matter. The letter follows:[161]

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[153] E. Kirby Smith to Stand Watie, September 8, (n.y.), in *Stand Watie Papers*, Mss., Archives, University of Texas.

[154] Brigadier-General James C. Veatch to Lieut. Col. J. Schuyler Crosby, July 21, 1865, in *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLVIII, p. 1101.

[155] *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXII, Part I, p. 28.

[156] *Ibid.*, pp. 457-461.

[157] Cooper's General Order No. 25, dated July 14, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 461-462.

[158] *Ibid.*, pp. 457-461.

[159] *Ibid.*, p. 453.

[160] Annie H. Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland, 1919), p. 288.

[161] D. H. Cooper to Charles De Morse, September 24, 1863, in *The Standard*, (Clarksville, Texas) October 10, 1863, p. 1, col. 1. Colonel De Morse was editor and proprietor of *The Standard.*

Hd. Qrs. Ist Brigade I. T.
Camp on Five Mile Creek
Sept. 24, 1863

Colonel:—

In your introduction to the publication of the Official Report, of the affair at Elk Creek, on 17th July, it is stated that the first, and second Cherokee regiments were commanded respectively by Colonels Watie, and Adair, and in justification to these officers, it is proper to say, that the first Cherokee regiment was commanded by Major Thompson. Colonel Watie being at that time on detached service at Webber's Falls; and the second Cherokee regiment by Lieutenant Colonel Bell, Colonel Adair being absent—sick. It is regretted exceedingly that Colonel Watie was not present on that occasion, as his services, and well known gallantry would have given great encouragement to the officers and men of his command.

Please make this explanation public.

Respectfully
D. H. Cooper
Brig. Gen'l.

The defeat of the Confederates in the summer of 1863 was not due to the superiority in skill and bravery on the part of the Federals, but rather to the condition of the Southern forces. They were without sufficient food, clothes. arms, and ammunition to carry on the great fight. After the battle of Honey Springs the Indian Territory was given over to plundering raids, many of them from the North. With burning, pillaging, and robbing of farms and homes the order of the day, by 1864, the families of the Confederate sympathizers were compelled to seek safety in refugee camps on th Red River and in Texas. These refugee camps were established at Bonham and Sherman, Texas, and on the Kiamichi, Blue Boggy, and Washita Rivers in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, and were maintained by the Southern Cherokee government under Stand Watie.[162] Elias Cornelius Boudinot, who had served as a Major in Stand Watie's regiment, resigned his commission in 1863 to serve as a delegate from the Cherokee Nation to the Confederate Congress.[163] To supplement the slender appropriation from the Southern Cherokee government for the refugee camps, Boudinot arranged for a loan of $100,000 from the Confederate Government.[164]

At the camps in the Indian Territory there was widespread suffering. Food was scarce, prices were high, due to the depreciation of the Confederate currency, and there was much sickness. There is no way of knowing how many Southern Cherokees lost their lives through sickness, exposure, and starvation during the time they were in the refugee camps. Stand Watie and his troops conducted a number of the destitute families to Texas. During the last two years of the war, General Watie's wife and younger children, like almost all the other Southern Cherokees were virtually refugees. A part of the time they were in Rusk County, Texas, where Mrs. Watie had relatives and friends. The remainder of the time was spent in the southern part of the Choctaw Nation among friends or at Stand Watie's camp. Mrs. Watie did not feel at home among the Texas people. When she first went to Rusk she wrote, "I know you would laugh at some of the expressions of these white folks." On another occasion she wrote half jokingly to her husband, "I never knew so much of this world as I do since I came to this country. I used to think that everyone had some sort of a soul, but one half of them has only gizzards, and some only craws."[165]

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[162] Angie Debo, "Southern Refugees of the Cherokee Nation," in the *Southwestern Quarterly*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 255-256.

[163] *Journal of Provisional Congress*, Vol. V, p. 502; *Official Records*, Series IV, Vol. III, pp. 1189-1191.

[164] Elias C. Boudinot to Stand Watie, January 24, 1864, in "Letters of General Stand Watie," edited by E. E. Dale, in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, pp. 43-44; Address of General Stand Watie to members of the Cherokee National Council and Committee, July 11, 1864, in *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLI, pp. 1046-1048.

During the latter part of the War, Saladin, the oldest son of Stand Watie, served with his father in the Indian Brigade and on one occasion, although a mere lad, was mentioned for his bravery in the face of the enemy.[166]

As the other parts of the Indian Territory passed under Federal control, the Confederate troops and Cherokee and Creek refugees were gradually moved southward until they were nearly all quartered in the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations and in north Texas. The food situation was complicated by this additional strain in these Nations. The territory of the Choctaws and Chickasaws was held by the Confederates until practically the close of the war. The soldiers themselves were stationed in camps at Doaksville, Fort Washita, Boggy Depot, Fort McCulloch, and Armstrong Academy. Added to the lack of necessary army supplies was the want of hospitals and medical aid. The women of these communities worked hard in helping care for the sick. General S. B. Maxey, who took over the Confederate forces in the Indian Territory in the spring of 1864, in discussing the situation in the Choctaw Nation, said, "If supplies are not exhausted south of Red River, in the tier of Red River counties, we can probably get through. If they are, God only knows what will become of the Indians."[167]

Appeals were sent out by Peter P. Pitchlynn, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation during the winter of 1864-65, and food and supplies were sent in from Texas which partially relieved the situation.[168] From Nail's Crossing, Choctaw Nation, Stand Watie, as Principal Chief of the Cherokees, called upon the people of Texas for aid. His appeal was published in the *Northern Standard* and with it there appeared an editorial from the pen of Colonel De Morse calling the attention of readers to the appeal and urging those who had a surplus of provisions to bring them in to Clarksville from which place they would be hauled in wagons to the Indian Territory. In closing his editorial, Colonel De Morse praised the Cherokees for their services to the South and asked that his readers give, and give liberally to "the men who have prevented northern Texas from being the scene of desolation that North Arkansas or Southern Louisiana are."[169] Colonel De Morse realized that the Indian Territory was a buffer between Kansas on the north and Texas on the south. In a later issue of *The Standard,* he discussed more fully the value of the Indians to the people of north Texas and singled the Cherokees out for special attention. "The country of the Cherokees has been made a waste by the fiendish spirit of war (wrote De Morse); but they have been our allies and friends, true to the last."[170]

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[165] Sarah C. Watie to Stand Watie, May 20, 1863 and August 21, 1863, Mss, University of Oklahoma. Quoted by Debo, in *Quarterly*, p. 264.

For the life and letters of Stand Watie, see *Cherokee Cavaliers*, by Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton (Norman, 1939)—Ed.

[166] Douglas H. Cooper to Capt. T. M. Scott, August 10, 1864, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLI, p. 36.

[167] S. B. Maxey to W. R. Boggs, December 31, 1864, *ibid.*, Series I, Vol. III, p. 1036; Muriel H. Wright, *The Story of Oklahoma* (Guthrie, 1949), p. 155.

On January 4, 1864, Elias C. Boudinot recommended to President Jefferson Davis that the Indian territory be reorganized and Stand Watie be appointed brigadier-general.[171] Accompanying the recommendation was an endorsement from J. A. Seddon, Secretary of War. Seddon suggested that if any reorganization were made, Stand Watie, because of his proved fidelity and ability, should be selected.[172]

President Davis favored the reorganization of the Indian troops into brigades and indicated that appointment of Stand Watie as brigadier general would meet with his approval.[173] On May 6, President Davis made the nomination and the Senate of the Confederate States confirmed the appointment, May 10, 1864.[174] It is commonly asserted that Stand Watie was the only Indian who rose to the rank of Brigadier General in the Confederate Army. There was no Indian in the country better known or more highly esteemed by his associates than he. His courage and integrity were recognized and he eminently deserved the honor which was conferred upon him by the Confederate government in May, 1864.

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[168] Peter P. Pitchlynn to S. B. Maxey, December 29, 1861, *ibid.*, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 1030; S. B. Maxey to Pitchlynn, December 31, 1864, *ibid.*, p. 1036; Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, pp. 91-92.

[169] *The Standard, op. cit.*, July 1, 1865.

[170] *Ibid.*, June 17, 1865.

(Colonel Tandy Walker, 2nd Indian Brigade, was cited for "skill, gallantry and daring" in conducting his command in the Battle of Poison Spring, Arkansas, April 18, 1864, in which the Federal forces in the Camden Campaign were defeated and driven back [*Official Records,* Series I, Vol. XXXIV, p. 843]. Colonel Walker's Choctaw regiments here were serving beyond the borders of the Indian Territory in this campaign, in which Colonel Charles De Morse, Texas Brigade, was also cited for his distinguished service. Of Colonel Walker, a former governor of the Choctaw Nation, it is said: "A brilliant and courageous leader, he had the respect and was commended by the highest Confederate Army officers in the Southwest for his bravery on the field of battle in the major military campaigns in this region throughout the War. Recommendation for his promotion to the rank of brigadier general was in review by the Confederate military authorities when the War ended." [Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 329].—Ed.)

[171] Elias C. Boudinot to Jefferson Davis, January 4, 1864, *Official Records,* Series I, Vol. LIII, pp. 920-921.

[172] J. A. Seddon to Jefferson Davis, January 9, 1864, *ibid.*, p. 921.

Stand Watie clung to the southern cause as long as there was the least hope. He confidently expected the war to end in 1864 and he just as confidently expected ultimate triumph for the Confederacy. To Mrs. Watie he wrote in June, ''I rather look for this war to end with year, 1864. The period will have been time times and half a time somewhere about the beginning of September.''[175] Doubtless he referred to two Biblical passages, Daniel 12:7, and Revelation 12:14 ''And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth forever, that it shall be for a time, times, and an half; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.'' and, ''And to the women were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the carpet.''

His confidence in the Confederacy and its officers was expressed by him in an address to the members of the Cherokee National Council and Committee:[175]

> East of the Mississippi (this was on July 11, 1864) the war, at last accounts, was raging with the convulsive fury of a final struggle. The numerical strength of the enemy in the field is enormous, their means ample, and their power, raised for our destruction, is not contemptibly wielded. Against this threatening prospect are opposed an army which has not in all its terrible conflicts of this war failed to show a hold and progressive front; a general who has not his equal on earth (referring of course to Lee), surrounded and aided by subordinate commanders scarcely inferior in capacity; and, above all, a cause which we know to be sacred. Whatever intelligence, therefore, we may receive of military operations in that quarter, we may securely expect a final triumph, and to this glorious result it is our privilege to conduce by a faithful and determined discharge of duty here in council and in the field.

It was as a raider that General Watie gained his greatest renown. Because of his rapid and ubiquitous movements, the Federal occupation of the Indian Territory during the latter part of the War was not very effective. From time to time he would sweep through the Federal lines and capture large numbers of prisoners and large amounts of supplies. [177] These actions are probably what General Maxey had in mind when he said. "I wish I had as much energy in some of my white commanders as he displays."[178] With a battery of artillery, General Watie fired upon and captured a steamboat which was ascending the Arkansas River from Fort Smith to Fort Gibson, June 15, 1864. Upon learning from one of his men that the boat was loaded with supplies for the Federal troops at Fort Gibson, General Watie forced it to the river bank near the mouth of the Canadian, at Pleasant Bluff, with heavy gun fire. His men were so elated with the captured flour and pork that they at once began to carry it off in defiance of all military discipline. Consequently, when Watie was attacked by a Federal detachment he did not have a strong enough force to protect the supplies which he had left until they could be removed to a safe place and he was forced to burn them.[179] This maneuver evoked further words of praise from General Maxey, who in reporting it said, "Watie and his men have been from the beginning as true as the needle to the north star."[180]

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[173] Jefferson Davis to J. A. Seddon, January 9, 1864, *ibid.*, pp. 921-922.

[174] *Journal of the Provisional Congress*, Vol. IV, p. 26.

[175] Stand Watie to Mrs. Sarah C. Watie, June 1, 1864, in Dale and Rader, *Readings in Oklahoma History*, pp. 330-331.

[176] Stand Watie to the Cherokee National Council, July 11, 1864, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLI, Part II, pp. 1046-1048.

The last important encounter between the Federals and the Confederates in the Indian Territory was at Cabin Creek in the northeastern part of the present Mayes County, Oklahoma. On the night of September 18, 1864, a large Federal supply train under the command of Major Henry Hopkins was surrounded by two thousand men from General Watie's Indian Brigade and General R. M. Gano's Texas Brigade. The Confederate forces captured the whole train valued at $1,500.000. There were one hundred and thirty heavily loaded wagons and seven hundred and forty mules, besides enough food and clothing to supply two thousand soldiers of the Confederate troops.[181] To say that the Confederate officials were encouraged by this event would be putting it mildly. The gallant action of Stand Watie and his men in this capture was appreciated in every quarter. General Gano, in his report to General Cooper said. "General Watie was by my side at Cabin Creek, cool and brave as ever." General Cooper in his Congratulatory Orders issued upon the occasion was high in his praise: "The brillancy and completeness of this expedition has not been excelled in the history of the war. Firm, brave, and confident, the officers had but to order and the men cheerfully executed. The whole having been conducted with perfect harmony between the war-worn veteran Stand Watie, the chivalrous Gano, and their respective commands.''

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[177] William Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1936), p. 69.

[178] S. B. Maxey to Col. S. S. Anderson, February 7, 1864, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 963.

[179] D. H. Cooper to T. M. Scott, June 17, 1864, *ibid.*, Series I, Vol. XXXIV, Part I, pp. 1011-1012; Report of Stand Watie, *ibid.*, pp. 1012-1013.

[180] S. B. Maxey to the people of Indian Territory, June 28, 1864, *ibid.*

[181] R. M. Gano to D. H. Cooper, September 29, 1864; Stand Watie to D. H. Cooper, September 21, 1864; Stand Watie to T. B. Heiston, October 3, 1864; D. H. Cooper, Congratulatory Orders, September 30, 1864, *ibid.*, Part I, pp. 783-793.

A participant in the capture who signed his name, ''Private,'' wrote to the editor of *The Northern Standard* (issue of October 10, 1864), ''To the indomitable energy of Gen. Watie, and Col. Gano, the country is indebted for this victory. They were everywhere in the hottest of the action, now gallantly leading the charge; again encouraging the men to their utmost exertions.''

A joint resolution of thanks to General Watie and Colonel Gano passed both houses of the Confederate Congress and was signed by President Davis, January 23, 1865.[182] This resolution cited the men ''for the daring and skill exhibited in the capture of over two hundred and fifty loaded wagons from the enemy.'' But Mrs. Watie, when the news reached her in Lamar County, Texas, calmly sat down and wrote, ''I thought I would send you some clothes but I hear you have done better than to wait on me for them.''[183] Elias C. Boudinot was even more succinct. His statement to Stand Watie about the action which took place at Richmond was simply, ''Congress voted you thanks for the capture of the train last fall.'' We must not think that Mrs. Watie and Elias C. Boudinot were not proud of the accomplishments of their chief. Their apparent lack of enthusiasm was simply an Indian characteristic so often reflected in their correspondence, especially that to members of the family.

By the spring of 1865 the resistance of the South was virtually at an end. Desertions in the Indian Territory were frequent;[184] food was scarce. General Cooper reported April 21, that food supplies for the refugees were almost exhausted and suggested to Stand Watie that he try to send wagons to Gainsville, Texas, in search of supplies.[185] About a month later, Mrs. Watie wrote from Lamar County Texas:[186]

> We feel disappointed at not hearing from you as one week has passed and no word yet. We hear all kinds of rumors and none satisfactory to us. We heard you was captured and have not heard anything to the contrary. We hear that Gen. K. Smith has surrendered and then we hear he

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[182] *Journal of the Provisional Congress*, Vol. IV, pp. 429, 486; and Vol. VII, pp. 465, 495.

[183] Sarah C. Watie to Stand Watie, October 9, 1864, in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, p. 53.

[184] T. M. Scott to Stand Watie, April 6, 1865, in *Stand Watie Papers*, Mss., Archives, University of Texas.

[185] D. H. Cooper to Stand Watie, April 21, 1865, in *Stand Watie Papers*, Mss., Archives, University of Texas.

[186] Sarah C. Watie to Stand Waite, May 21, 1865, in Dale and Rader, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-338.

has not so we dont know what to believe. do let us hear all that you know for certain if it is for the worst let us know it so we can be prepared for it. if I have to fall among the feds I do not want it to be among old Blunts set for the Pins will be enough and what is your prospect. If you can get any specie get it for we cant get anything for confederate money here. . . . .

The Army of Virginia had been the mainstay of the Confederacy. With General Lee's surrender on April 9, the submission of the other armies was only a matter of a few days. The surrender of Johnston to Sherman at Raleigh, April 26, and of ''Dick'' Taylor's forces east of the Mississippi on May 4, and Kirby Smith's surrender of the Trans-Mississippi Department on May 26, brought the end of armed resistance to the United States.[187] General Douglas H. Cooper surrendered the white Confederate troops in the Indian Territory early in June.[188] The Indian nations reserved the right to surrender independently. Chief Peter Pitchlynn surrendered the Choctaw forces June 19, and Governor Winchester Colbert the Chickasaws on July 14.[189]

Stand Watie had under his immediate command the Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, and Osage troops. On June 19, following the surrender of Chief Peter Pitchlynn, United States Commissioners Matthews and Vance wrote to Stand Watie, as Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, inviting him to a conference at Doaksville to arrange a treaty.[190] On June 23, this conference was held and Stand Watie surrendered that day.[191] He immediately wrote Mrs. Watie ''We leave this morning for Jarrets. Have agreed upon the cessation of hostilities with the Comrs. They will leave tomorrow—Genl Smith had surrendered the whole department on the 26th day of May.''[192]

With the exception of the Choctaw and Chickasaw forces, Stand Watie's were the last to be surrendered. He was the last Confederate general to surrender any considerable number of troops. Having allied himself with the Confederacy, he had gone all the way. For him there could be no surrender as long as there was the least hope. Utter despair was out of the question. He stood ready to risk everything, at any moment, in one last throw. It was this trait that caused Colonel De Morse to write, ''Huzza for the Red Men! They have been true to the last.''[193]

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[187] Lee's Surrender, *Official Records,* Series I, Vol. XLVI, Part III, pp. 665-666; Johnston's Surrender, *ibid.,* Series I, Vol. XLVII, Part III, p. 313; Taylor's Surrender, *ibid.,* Series I, Vol. XLIX, Part III, pp. 609, 1283; Smith's Surrender, *ibid.,* Series I, Vol. XLIII, Part III, pp. 600-602.

[188] *Ibid.,* Series I, Vol. XLVIII, Part II, pp. 727, 1095, 1322.

[189] Pitchlynn's Surrender, *ibid.,* p. 1106. Colbert Surrender, *ibid.,* p. 1197.

[190] A. C. Matthews and Wm. H. Vance to Stand Watie, *Stand Watie Papers,* Mss., Archives, University of Texas.

[191] *Official Records,* Series I, Vol. XLVIII, p. 1101.

[192] *Cherokee Cavaliers,* p. 228.

[193] Colonel Charles De Morse in *The Standard,* June 14, 1865.

APPENDIX B

We had crossed Red River and entered the Chickasaw Nation about thirty miles southwest of Fort Washita; visited and held a private conference with His Excellency Governor C. Harris and other distinguished men of that nation, who fully appreciated our views and the object of our mission. They informed us that a convention of the Chickasaws and Choctaws was in a few days to convene at Boggy Depot, in the Choctaw Nation to attend to some municipal arrangements. We, in company with Governor Harris and others made our way to Boggy Depot, conferring privately with the principal men on our route. We arrived at Boggy Depot on the 10th day of March. Their convention or council convened on the 11th. Elected a president of the convention (Ex-Governor Walker, of the Choctaw Nation); adopted rules of decorum. On the 12th we were waited on by a committee of the convention. Introduced as commissioners from Texas, we presented our credentials and were invited to seats. The convention then asked to hear us, when Mr. James E. Harrison addressed them and a crowded auditory upon the subject of our mission, setting forth the grounds of our complaint against the Government of the United States, the wrongs we had suffered until our patience had become exhausted, endurance had ceased to be a virtue, our duty to ourselves and children demanded of us a disruption of the Government that ceased to protect us or regard our rights; announced the severance of the old and the organization of a new Government of Confederate Sovereign States of the South, with a common kindred, common hopes, common interest, and a common destiny; discussed the power of the new Government, its influence, and wealth; the interest the civilized red man had in this new organization; tendering them our warmest sympathy and regard, all of which met the cordial approbation of the convention.

The Choctaws and Chickasaws are entirely Southern and are determined to adhere to the fortunes of the South. They were embarassed in their action by the absence of their agents and commissioners at Washington, the seat of Government of the Northern Confederacy, seeking a final settlement with that Government. They have passed resolutions authorizing the raising of a minute company in each county in the two nations to be drilled for actual service when necessary. Their convention was highly respectable in numbers and intelligence, and the business of the convention was dispatched with such admirable decorum and promptness as is rarely met with in similar deliberative bodies within the States.

On the morning of the 13th, hearing that the Creeks (or Maskokys) and Cherokees were in council at the Creek agency on the Arkansas River, 140 miles distant, we immediately set out for that point, hoping to reach them before their adjournment. In this we were disappointed. They had adjourned two days before our arrival. We reached that point on Saturday evening. On Sunday morning, hearing that there was a religious meeting five miles north of the Arkansas River, in the Creek Nation, Mr. James E. Harrison attended, which proved to be of the utmost importance to our mission. The Reverend Mr. H. S. Buckner was present with Chilly McIntosh, D. N. McIntosh, Judge Marshall, and others, examining a translation of a portion of the Scriptures, hymnbook, and Greek grammar by Mr. Buckner into the Creek language. Mr. Buckner showed us great kindness, and did us eminent service, as did also Elder Vandiven, at whose house we spent the night and portion of the next day with these gentlemen of the Creek Nation, then through them succeeded in having a convention of the five nations called by Governor Motey Kinnaird, of the Creeks, to meet at North Fork (Creek Nation) on the 8th of April.

In the intermediate time we visited the Cherokee Nation, calling on their principal men and citizens, conversing with them freely until we reached Tahlequah, the seat of government. Near this place Mr. John Ross resides, the Governor of the nation. We called on him officially. We were not unexpected and were received with courtesy, but not with cordiality. A long conference was had with him, conducted by Mr. Harrison on the part of the commissioners, without, we fear, any good result. He was very diplomatic and cautious. His position is the same as that held by Mr. Lincoln in his inaugural; declares the Union not dissolved; ignores the Southern Government. The intelligence of the nation is not with him. Four-fifths, at least, are against his views, as we have learned from observation and good authorities. He, as we learned, had been urged by his people to call a council of the nation (he having the only constitutional authority to do so), to take into consideration the embarrassed condition of political affairs in the States, and to give some expression of their sentiments and sympathies. This he has persistently refused to do. His position is that of Sam. Houston in Texas, and in all probability will share the same fate, if not a worse one. His people are already oppressed by a Northern population letting a portion of territory purchased by them from the United States, to the exclusion of natives, and we are creditably informed that the Governors of some two or more of the Western free-soil States have recommended their people emigrating to settle the Cherokee country. It is due Mr. John Ross, in this connection, to say that during our conference with him he frequently avowed his sympathy for the South, and that, if Virginia and the other Border States seceded from the Government of the United States, his people would declare for the Southern Government that might be formed. The fact is not to be denied or disguised that among the common Indians of the Cherokees there exists a considerable abolition influence, created and sustained by one Jones, a Northern missionary of education and ability, who has been among them for many years, and who is said to exert no small influence with John Ross himself.

From Tahlequah we returned to the Creek Nation, and had great satisfaction in visiting their principal men—the McIntoshes, Stidhams, Smiths, Vanns, Rosses, Marshalls, and others too numerous to mention. Heavy falls of rain occurred about the time the convention was to meet at North Fork, which prevented the Chickasaws and Choctaws from attending the council, the rivers and creeks being all full and impassible. The Creeks, Cherokees, Seminoles, Quapa, and Socks [*sic.*], (the three latter dependencies of the Creeks) met on the 8th of April. After they had been organized by calling Motey Kinnaird, the Governor of the Creeks, to the chair, a committee was appointed to wait on the commissioners present, James E. Harrison and Capt. C. A. Hamilton, and invite them to appear in the convention, when, by invitation, Mr. Harrison addressed the convention in a speech of two hours. Our views were cordially received by the convention. The Creeks are Southern and sound to a man, and when desired will show their devotion to our cause by acts. They meet in council on the 1st of May, when they will probably send delegates to Montgomery to arrange with the Southern Government.

These nations are in a rapid state of improvement. The chase is no longer resorted to as means of subsistence, only as an occasional recreation. They are pursuing with good success agriculture and stock raising. Their houses are well built and comfortable, some of them costly. Their farms are well planned and some of them extensive and well cultivated. They are well supplied with schools of learning, extensively patronized. They feel themselves to be in an exposed, embarrassed condition. They are occupying a country well suited to them, well watered, and fertile, with extensive fields of the very best mineral coal, fine salt springs and wells, with plenty of good timber, water powers which they are using to an advantage. Pure slate, granite, sandstone, blue limestone, and marble are found in abundance. All this they regard as inviting Northern aggression, and they are without arms, to any extent, or munitions of war. They declare themselves Southerners by geographical position, by a common interest, by their social system, and by blood, for they are rapidly becoming a nation of whites. They have written constitutions, laws, etc., modeled after those of the Southern States. We recommend them to the fostering care of the South, and that treaty arrangements be entered into with them as soon as possible. They can raise 20,000 good fighting men, leaving enough at home to attend to domestic affairs, and under the direction of an officer from the Southern Government would deal destruction to an approaching enemy from that direction, and in the language of one of their principal men:

"Lincoln may haul his big guns about our prairies in the daytime, but we will swoop down upon him at night from our mountains and forests, dealing death and destruction to his army."

No delay should be permitted in this direction. They cannot declare themselves until they are placed in a defensible position. The Administration of the North is concentrating his forces at Fort Washita, about twenty-four miles from the Texas line, and within the limits of the Chickasaw Nation. This fort could easily be taken by a force of 200 or 300 good men, and it is submitted as to whether in the present state of affairs a foreign government should be permitted to accumulate a large force on the borders of our country, especially a portion containing a large number of disaffected citizens who repudiate the action of the State.

In this connection it may not be improper to state that from North Fork to Red River we met over 120 wagons, movers from Texas to Kansas and other free states. These people are from Grayton, Collin, Johnson, and Denton, a country beautiful in appearance, rich in soil, genial in climate, and inferior to none in its capacity for the production of the cereals and stock. In disguise, we conversed with them freely. They had proposed by the ballot box to abolitionize at least that portion of the State. Failing in this, we suppose at least 500 voters have returned whence they came.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

TRIBUTE TO DR. GRANT FOREMAN

The following tribute in verse to the noted historian on the American Indian, Dr. Grant Foreman who passed away in April, 1953, has been contributed by Harriette Johnson-Westbrook of Muskogee, Oklahoma:

WELCOME HOME, WHITE BROTHER

The sacred square is swept and bright,
        Green plumes of willow wave above
Each arbor. Brightly colored robes are draped
Across the seats of oak and walnut shaped.
        We see the kings through forest move;
Majestic, proud, they approach the light

Of council fire and holy rite.
        Soft rhythm of the drums and chants,
An eon old, set tempo for their feet.
The smoke of hickory, O perfume sweet,
        Is rising incense to enhance
The solemn moment. Bird in flight

Is not more silent than the hush
        That marks the waited instant when
Our friend, the One-Who-Speaks-for-Justice nears
The Red Man's Camp beyond the Trail of Tears.
        He wrote with eagle quill for pen
Defending those who checked the rush

Of white invader's seeking land
        Whose hills our father's bones made dear;
The plains we roamed for buffalo; the soil
That mothered crops of maize, that knew the toil
        Devoted women gave each year
To furnish comfort for their band.

But you, white brother, had a heart
        Which beat in tune with ours. You spoke
Our minds; you understood our trials, our plight;
You knew not fear. You stood, feet firm, for right.
        Last night you slept. Today you woke
Beyond the Bridge of Stars. You part

A little while, from earthly friends.
        With wampum belt we sent to bid
You here. Come, brother, take a well-earned rest—
A micco's honored seat awaits our guest
        The wisemen, chiefs, and kings amid.
Anew, your knowledge flowers, not ends.

Sequoyah of the Talking Leaves,
        John Rollin Ridge with silver flute,
Tecumseh, Sitting Bull, and Joseph Brant,
With Osceola, Posey, and Satant,
        Are here to greet you and salute
The one who gave but now receives.

The chorused "How" of welcome o'er,
And calumet back from its rounds,
The spirit moves to thoughtful, earnest speech.
So much you've taught; now may we humbly teach
The lore with which this place abounds.
We speak! Pick up your pen once more.
—Harriette Johnson-Westbrook

THE TRAIL IN OTTAWA COUNTY

A manuscript "The Trail in Ottawa County" describing the northeastern corner of Oklahoma,—its topography, its natural resources and beauty spots besides something of the history of this region—has been contributed to the Editorial Department by E. H. Kelley, of the State Banking Department. The narrative was written by Mr. Kelley a few years ago upon his return to Oklahoma City after many weeks stay in Ottawa County, in the work of his Department. The portion of his manuscript, which describes that part of Ottawa County formerly known as the "Quapaw Reservation," is presented in this number of *The Chronicles*, and other portions will be presented in future numbers.

(M.H.W.)

On The Trail in Ottawa County

We begin this trip from the north-east corner of Oklahoma, Ottawa County, the Indian Territory and the Quapaw Reservation. This monumet marks the union of three states. There are six such locations along our border, and other points where two states meet. In the race for statehood and development, Missouri, to the east has a lead of eighty-six years, while Kansas, to the north has a start of forty-six years.

A short distance west of this point is a pipe-line of Oklahoma natural gas, that services the lead and zinc fields of the Tri-State District, one of the world's greatest lead and zinc producing regions.

THE QUAPAW RESERVATION

In 1818 the Quapaws claimed ownership to all lands in the south-east corner of Oklahoma, which the Government purchased from them, to clear title for the Choctaw Nation to be, and in 1833-34 a treaty created the Quapaw Reservation of 150 sections of land.[1] That is the reserve we are on. There were 292 Quapaws in the world and all of them lived here.

An overland trip from this point in a south-westerly direction will write a fairly accurate log of a well, as far as 200 miles away.

We are 1046 feet above sea-level, atop an Ozark Mountain at 37° 00′ North Latitude, and 94° 38′ Longitude, and 244 miles north of the south-east corner of the state, to which point this trail is headed. The trees here are taller than those of the cross-timbers, and have little or no underbrush beneath them. The Boone Chert exposed at the surface is loose and porus, and rains sink into the soil, to appear as springs when coming in contact with the Chattanooga Shales beneath, or other impervious layers between. The important springs of the state will be called to your attention upon this trip. We will now follow the lane to the south while other statistics are recorded.

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[1] Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951), "Quapaw", p. 218.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY

Long before the Louisiana Purchase, an Indian Territory had been a Governmental dream, brought on by demands of eastern states, and when the purchase was made in 1803, they had something to work upon. One year later Congress authorized the President, Thomas Jefferson, to make treaties with Indian tribes, for removal to these lands for a permanent home of their own. By Congressional act of 1830 the Indian Territory was created, in the administration of President Andrew Jackson.

This plant with its fuzzy, velvety leaves and tall flower spike is mullein. The Indians smoked the dried leaves for asthma. Its oil has a soothing effect. Mountaineers used an infusion for pulmonary disorders. They called it mullein tea. On your fishing trips you can dip the dried stalks in oil and use them as camp-candles. They will burn for hours. Mullein is a weed, but it has commercial possibilities.

We are now in the valley of Rock Branch and Five-Mile Creek. Their junction is in Oklahoma, and both are spring-fed.

Streams from all directions flow into Oklahoma, with only two outlets for this vast accumulation of water. There is one exception in the Panhandle of the state where an ancient obstruction diverted the course of two streams in opposite directions out of the border, but after passing it, both immediately return to the state.

OTTAWA COUNTY

Five Mile Creek has a course of that distance in Missouri, and the same length through Ottawa County. This county was named after the Indian tribe, before statehood, at the Constitutional Convention of November 20, 1906. It has an area of 477 square miles, with its boundary described under Section #6 of Article #17 of the Oklahoma Constitution.

BEGINNING OF OKLAHOMA

The first mention of name Oklahoma applied to this region came to light in history, in the drafting of the Indian treaties of 1866, and appears in Article #8, Section #10 of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Treaty.[2]

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

The Government arranged to buy the surplus lands of the Creeks and Seminoles in January 1889. Congress approved the purchase in March, and payment was made. The President's Proclamation of March 23rd, opened these lands for homestead settlement, as of noon, April 22, 1889. The event that took place at that hour was the run. The Organic Act of 1890 provided a government for the Territory of Oklahoma. The Enabling Act of June, 1906, paved the way for statehood, and on November 16, 1907 the Indian Territory ceased to exist, and the President Theodore Roosevelt proclaimed Oklahoma as the 46th State of the Union.

Now, let us get on with our fishing. There are several holes along Five Mile Creek that are good for "horney-head." Some people call them "chub." If scaling fish is distasteful, try paper. Remove the "innards" and wrap the fish in water soaked paper, pressing it close to shape, and turn in the ends. Brown wrapping paper is good, and six folds should be enough. Place in live coals and cover with them. In fifteen minutes or so, rake them from the fire, remove the charred paper, and then unwrap. The scales will stick to the paper, the skeleton can be removed intact, and you have boneless fish, without grease, ready for seasoning. Try it on one of your picnics. It might develop into a demand for fish-paper that could add new business to some Oklahoma firm.

In the center of Section 12, T. 29N., R. 24E. we cross the stream to the bluff side, and a short distance around the foot of the hill, is a good spring in the SW of Section 13. The luxuriant plant here is water-cress, found in most of the counties of the state. You can transport it in wet tow-sacks, and plant it in all kinds of mineral water, and where the movement is more than a drip, it will grow and thrive. You seldom see it on the Oklahoma markets, but when the hotels and cafes begin garnishing meat dishes with cress, and making it into green salad, a new industry will be born in the state.

Where the creek course changes to a south-westerly direction, in the center of Section 14, T. 29N., R. 24E., we take a country road south, to the banks of little Five Mile Creek. A mile and half up stream, in the NW of Section 25, is a good spring at the foot of Patterson Prairie, if you care to look. We cross this stream, top the hill, turn west past old Elgin School, and follow the crest to the bluff on the banks of Spring River. The exposed stone below us is the Short Creek oolite, that weathers into slabs, that would make good building veneer. Beyond the west bank ls a natural lake, and half a mile north is another. We will encounter many lakes on this trip.

Spring River is all its name implies. It heads in Missouri among springs that are gems of the Ozarks. From this point, a canoe-float of seventy-five miles or more, may be started, that ends at Grand River Dam, with good fishing, and convenient camp-sites all the way. If you do not have your boat along, you will find beautiful yachts at the Dam that will make the round trip for you. With thirteen hundred miles of shore-line to explore, it calls for a separate trip on this trail.

Different geological formations cause this river to run along the contact line of two exposures, which divides the mountains from the prairies. Streams from the east are spring-fed, cool and clear, while those from the west are occasionally clouded with sediment.

From our starting point on this trip, to the banks of Spring River, is a drop in elevation of 276 feet, with several small garden spots along the way, that could be irrigated with little expense, and a number of desirable locations for small farm waterpower wheels, that would operate part of the year.

From where we stand looking west, there is for a distance of eleven miles, a continuous stretch of mining operations. There is no need to quote statistics. where the output changes yearly, but it has been a matter of record, that Oklahoma held the lead in the production of zinc, and stood close up front in the yield of galena, and the major part of this ore came from this little faulted swag in the Quapaw Nation.

Authorities have read the doom of future production, and measured its life to the tick of the clock, and towns in this district should heed the handwriting upon the wall. It is pleasant to think that favorable formations in much of this unexplored region may some day yield another lode, but conversion should not wait for that to happen.

Of the seventeen smelters in America, only three of them are located in Oklahoma. If we produce 22% of the ore, and smelt 14%, it is evident that state raw materials are building industries elsewhere, that could be working at home. The time is near, when the value of waste materials will enable low-grade ore to be mined without subsidy.

Without diversification, when the subsidy is withdrawn, this section of the state might endure a disasterous depression while the balance of the state is wallowing in prosperity, and no suggestion is too small to be ignored, if it helps to steer our mining camps from the path of ghost towns of the gold rush, when our ores fall off.

Those are chat-piles you see at each mill-site. Stock-piles of tomorrow's industry. For two years an Oklahoma contractor experimented with chat, and developed a re-inforced paving-base block interlocking design, that required only a surfacing agent for road construction. His building blocks were of less weight than average, with equal tensile strength, that would ring like a bell. He added color that gave the blocks varied hues. He put musk in the mixture that produced a pleasing odor. He made veneering slabs of various shapes. With clay, B. S. and chat he produced pressure adobe, and with a similar mixture, pise walls and floors. He met his Waterloo in moisture absorbtion, but that was long before the advent of French Aquella. Both lead and zinc are used as moisture resisters, and if these mining companies are not following through along that line, they are not taking stock of all the resources down their alley.

Moisture-proof blocks are fast switching the building trade to the use of this material. If you would care to see concrete blocks that cannot be detected from sawed limestone, inspect the two business buildings at Waynoka, which have been erected for more than thirty years. If these products are displayed along the highways of the County, the Gypsy truckers will ultimately build you a wide spread market to help defray the cost of empty hauls home.

Long before statehood, asphalt beds had been located in what is Ottawa County, and an Indian Agent had recommended leases for mining it. One of the most productive oil sands of the state surfaces here. The springs, now covered with chat, that form the source of Tar River, brought to the surface heavy oil or asphalt, which gave this stream its name. Some of these deposits are in the Cherokee Shale, and some are in the Chester Sandstone. They have enough to surface every section line in the County.

Test holes in the zinc fields have left vents in the roof of some of the mines, where asphalt drips to the floor in considerable quantities. They are working the mines below the asphalt level, and some if it is utilized in manufacturing roof materials of the highest grade.

This is one of the small town enterprises, using local raw materials, that should be encouraged for the welfare of the County. Thriving eastern states built their prosperity upon "Little Industries," and where the small ones succeed, the large ones usually follow them.

Farther west, after crossing the Miami Syncline, the mining activities begin to diminish, and hay meadows and cattle raising sets in, and continues on past the western boundary of the Quapaw Nation, and covers like a blanket, the Miami portion of the Peoria Reservation, and reaches to the north-west corner of the County, where a commercial deposit of sand and gravel will be found.

Let us briefly review the territory we have just looked over. There is Peoria, Lincolnville, Quapaw, Ontario, Hookerville, Zincville, Picher, Columbus-Junction, Douthat, Commerce, Cardin, Monarch, and a number of other mining camps, all of which have their own industry—a business that nature provided for them, and one that some Chamber of Commerce cannot take away.

It is the general rule, that where the small town of a County have their supporting industries, that the county seat prospers in proportion. Among some of these towns, many of their permanent improvements are built upon leased lands, and even with many tracts of non-taxable full-blood Indian allotments, Miami, the County Seat at one time had the lowest total tax rate of any city in Oklahoma. This is food for thought, for industries looking for new locations.

We are now back on the top of the hill in the SW of Sec. 22., T. 29N., R. 24E. You can see the location of the Old Crawford's Seminary.[3] For lack of students at its first location, it was moved five miles north. It opened in the spring of 1842 on the east bank of Pomme de Terre, which is Spring River now, and was on the Military Road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Smith.

Southwest of here, a mile and a half, the river skirts a bluff on its west bank, and there is Devils' Promenade, which is one of the beauty spots of Oklahoma. A deep pit in the bluff alongside is known as the Devil's Oven, and another resembling a seat is called the Devil's Chair. In full view, a short distance down stream, a vertical stone of different texture, rises out of the water to a height of probably fifty feet, called Lovers' Leap, to which name is attached a beautiful Indian legend.[4]

During July of each year, Indians gather here to perpetuate their dances and other tribal customs and if you have not attended, then you have missed something that is truly Oklahoman. It is worth the trip to see the way water and wind have hewn the Promenade from a bluff of solid stone.

A short distance away is the location of the Tribal blacksmith shop, which operated until 1919 under the treaty of May 13th, 1833, and nearby is where the Treaty was signed for the creation of this Reservation.

Pius Quapaw, keeper of the Tribal Fire died here in 1915, at the age of 100 years. One mile east is the home of the Chief of the Quapaw Nation.

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[3] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Education Among the Quapaws, 1829-1875," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXV, No. 1 (Spring, 1947), pp. 15-29.

[4] Sister M. Laurence, "A Trip to Quapaw in 1903," annotated by Velma Nieberding, *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXI, No. 2 (Summer, 1953), pp. 158-9.

THE TOWN OF QUAPAW

From here we will follow the highlands on the east bank of the river and point out places of interest on the way. Looking between here and Quapaw, we see the location of the old Quapaw Mission, and the Catholic Church.[5] Forty acres of the allotment of John Quapaw, former chief of the tribe, in the NW of Sec. 35, T. 29N., R. 23 E. was released for townsite purposes of the city of Quapaw, with its name derived from that of the Chief.

Approximately two miles south is Devils' Hollow, where the hills have walled in a small creek course, and here, to get away from contact of the white man, many prominent Indians resided. From their Nations' Treasury, here in this hollow they built their church, in the shape of the old-time Quapaw lodge, with a hood on top to expel the smoke.[6] There were no windows to shed light upon parades of fashion. None of the tribe arose to expound his personal opinions, hence there were no differences of creed. . . . . There were no comforts to detract the mind, and with only the bare ground to sit upon, a roof to shelter from the elements, a fire in the center to remove the chill of night, for eighteen solid hours, without food or drink, each after his own method of reasoning, offered his humble silent devotion to his great unseen Maker. . . . .[7]

Across the river to the south is Lincolnville, that has given its name to the chert that abounds on the surface here, and adjoining the town in Sec. 31, T. 29 N., R. 24 E. is a caved-in mine, if you care to look, where 24 feet of commercial limestone is exposed. We continue south.

See that vine that clings so close to the bark of that oak? It is poison ivy. You will know this vine by its three-fingered leaf. A similar non-poisonous vine has a leaf of five fingers (Virginia Creeper), and represents the open hand of friendship. Indians afflicted with rheumatism steered clear of poison ivy, and the white man suffering from the same should heed that warning.

Three miles east in the SW of Sec. 6, T. 28 N., R. 25 E. is a deposit of Tripoli. Some day, someone will come along and bloat Tripoli and when they perfect a moisture-proof binder, these deposits will give the Gypsum wall-board industry a run for its money.

We are now at the southern boundary of the Quapaw Nation. At one time this reservation held all the Quapaws in the world, and once upon a time they were the richest Nation on earth, after mining of lead and zinc began. The first form of organized government in our State was carried on around the council fires of our Indian tribes. In another generation or two these historical sites could be lost and forgotten. Thousands of people pass these boundaries daily, without knowledge of their existence. The Oklahoma Historical Society has begun the marking of historic sites in the state, and many in Ottawa County are listed for future markers.

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[5] Velma Nieberding, "St. Mary's of the Quapaws, 1894-1927," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXI, No. 1 (Spring, 1953), pp. 2-14.

[6] *Ibid.*, a photo of the Quapaw meeting house shown opposite p. 14.

[7] Sister Mary Laurence, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-51, gives description of a Quapaw peyote meeting. A photo (before 1903) of John Quapaw is also in this article.

—E. H. Kelley

World War II —Tribute to Lieutenant Ernest Childers,* of Broken Arrow, Oklahoma

THE CREEK

Contributor's Note

Eastern Oklahoma has as close ethnological and historical ties with the area around Macon, Georgia, as with any other section of the country. Not only were the Creeks resettled from their home lands in Georgia to the rolling hills of eastern Oklahoma following their treaty with the Federal Government in 1833, but also the principal Indian mounds of the United States are found at Spiro,

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* Ernest Childers, three-fourths Creek Indian and part Cherokee, of Broken Arrow, Oklahoma, and member of the famed Forty-fifth Division (the State's National Guard), was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor by Lieut. Gen. Jacob L. Dever, Deputy Supreme Commander of the U. S. Forces in the Mediterranean theatre, in a ceremony at Fifth Army Headquarters in Naples, Italy, on April 12, 1944. Lieut. Childers was awarded this coveted honor for his single-handed fight against the enemy during the night of Sept. 22-23, 1943, in the Battle of Salerno, Anzio beachhead landing in Italy. In July, 1943, as a first sergeant, he had taken a patrol and wiped out enemy machine gun nests holding up an American advance on one front in Sicily. Subsequently, he was promoted to First Lieutenant. His exploit at Salerno in leaving the safety of a field hospital where he had good reason to stay because of an injury, and clearing the enemy machine gun nests and capturing a mortar to take the pressure of death or capture from his pinioned comrades merited the Congressional Medal of Honor and the furlough home that he received. The 26 year old Creek Indian, 6 feet 2 inches tall and weighing about 185 pounds, arrived in Washington and on Monday, April 24 1944, faced a crowd of army officers, congressmen, reporters and photographers as he simply and somewhat laconically told his story in Secretary of War Stimson's conference room. On Wednesday, April 26, his home-town, Broken Arrow, welcomed him in a celebration that will never be forgotten in that community joined by the neighboring town of Coweta. Lieut. Childers and his brother in polished open roadster led the big parade of army bands, cars of Camp Gruber army officers and of civic and political leaders, cowboys riding fine horses and silver mounted saddles, Boy Scouts and Cub Scouts and thousands of school children from over the county. The world-wide publicity given Childer's brave action in Italy made Oklahomans realize that the Forty-fifth Division had proved to be the American army's greatest infantry division in the War. Ernest Childers is the son of the late Ellis B. Childers of Broken Arrow. The young hero, modest yet happy on that day of his home-town celebration, said that the boyhood training received from his father had come in handy in facing the enemy on the recent battlefields. As a graduate of Chilocco Indian School (1940), Lieut. Childers also gave credit to Chilocco's boxing program, in which many Oklahoma Golden Glove champions had been developed, for a part in preparing him for the greatest moment in his life at Salerno.—Ed. (M.H.W.)

Oklahoma, and at Macon, Georgia. It is singular that in removing the Creek tribe from Georgia, an area would be assigned to them which is the location of the mound most similar to the ones they had known in their Georgia home, at Old Ocmulgee Fields.

Old Ocmulgee Fields, now Ocmulgee National Monument, has been splendidly restored and is operated and maintained by the National Park Service. As the former home of the Creeks, it has much of interest to offer anyone from Oklahoma who may have an opportunity to visit it. One could wish that the Oklahoma mound at Spiro could be made the subject of a similar restoration. The person chiefly responsible for the work that has been done at Old Ocmulgee Fields to preserve the traditions and the actual physical property is General Walter A. Harris of Macon, an attorney, soldier and scholar and one of Georgia's most distinguished citizens. An amateur archeologist of note, General Harris has taken the ancient history and traditions of the Creeks as his particular field. With his own martial background, it is not surprising that he would be intrigued by the wartime story in *The Macon Telegraph,* of the great contemporary warrior of the Creeks, Ernest Childers from Broken Arrow, Oklahoma, who was given his nation's highest award, the Congressional Medal of Honor, for his valor in Italian Campaign during World War II. Harris' poem of tribute to Childers will be treasured by Oklahomans not only for its literary merit, but also because of the historical information it contains. The names of present day Oklahoma cities and towns, Okmulgee, Muskogee, Coweta, Broken Arrow, appear in their ancient meaning in the poem like trumpet calls. General Harris, referring to his poem, said. "I shall be happy in the thought that my verses may be read by some of the Creeks who would not otherwise see them, and that wider circulation is given to my effort to pay tribute to their great Confederacy and to the valor of their great soldier of the present day, Lieutenant Ernest Childers."

—Wendell B. Barnes

Tulsa, Oklahoma

Dedicated to Lieutenant Ernest Childers, MH[8]

Crack-Shot American-Indian Gets Country's Highest Award

By Lynn Heinzerling

ALLIED HEADQUARTERS, Naples, April 12 (AP)—Second Lt. Ernest Childers, 26-year-old sharp-shooting American-Indian from Broken Arrow, Okla., today received his country's highest aawrd, the Congressional Medal of Honor, given only once before in the Italian campaign.

To make the picture complete—a dream come true for Childers—has home leave to see the girl he left behind.

The handsome, six-foot, two-inch officer learned only yesterday he was to get the medal, awarded before in this theater only to Tech. Sgt. Charles E. Kelley of Pittsburgh.

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[8] From *The Macon Telegraph,* April 12, 1944:

The blue-ribboned medal was placed around his neck by Lt. Gen. Jacob L. Devers, deputy commander-in-chief and commander of American forces in the Mediterranean theater. The citation stated he received it for a single-handed assault while injured against many Germans last September.

Historical Notes by Walter A. Harris, Macon, Georgia, 1944:

As nobody in the North except Dr. John R. Swanton of the Smithsonian Institution knows much about the Creek Confederacy, and few in the South know anything about it, it may be necessary to explain some the allusions in these verses.

Old Ocmulgee Fields is now Ocmulgee National Monument at Macon, Georgia. Beginning in 1933 and continuing until the attack on Pearl Harbor, the largest and longest continued archeological project within the United States was carried on there. William Bartram in his "Travels in North America" records the Creek tradition that their confederacy was founded at Old Ocmulgee Fields and that they fortified this area.

The Creek migration legend that I have used is that told by J. R. Gregory, recorded by Swanton in his "Social Organization of the Creek Indians."

The identification of the place where the Cowetas concealed themselves in the mound with Old Ocmulgee Fields is my own.

When the archeological investigations were begun, believing that folklore is true except as to time and space, I prophesied that the fortifications would be found. They were found. Then I wrote a paper prophesying that, if I were right in my assumption that Old Ocmulgee Fields was the place referrred to in the Creek migration legend, a subterranean chamber would be found under one of the mounds. I read that paper, but did not publish it in the Georgia Historical Magazine until the sub-mound council chamber, which has now been completely restored, was discovered. I am aware from long continued debates with the archeologists that they are inclined to believe that the mounds and fortifications at Old Ocmulgee Fields were constructed by people whose occupation of that area antedated the coming of the Muscogees. Nevertheless, I still believe that the folk-lore confirmed by actual excavations is better authority than the conclusions of the archeologists.

Emperor Brim was Chief of the Cowetas and head of the Creek Confederacy before and after the Yamassee War, which began in 1715. That he was the greatest American Indian I sought to show in the monograph which I published under the title "Emperor Brim." Herbert Ravenel Sass has written a romance about him, which he calls "Emperor Brims." Swanton in his "Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors" tells of his attack upon the Apalachees and quotes a description of his power and glory after that time. Verner W. Crane in his "Southern Frontier" tells of his activities against the Choctaws and gives the best account of the Yamassee War.

Henry Woodward was the greatest of the explorers who went out from the newly founded Charleston into the Creek Territory.

The word "Creek" as applied to the Muscogee Confederacy originated with the Charleston settlers who found their principal tribes living on the Ocmulgee and the creeks that ran into it. These settlers called the Ocmulgee "Ochesee" and spoke of the Indians there as Ochesee Creek Indians. For convenience this description was shortened to Creek Indians and was adopted by the French and by the Spaniards, and subsequently the Indians themselves used it in referring to their confederacy so that the white men might understand what they meant.

Tomochichi was the Chief of the Yamacraws who welcomed Oglethorpe when he landed at Savannah and afterwards went with him to England. The Yamacraws at that time had been for some offense expelled from the Creek Confederacy. When the Chiefs of the Confederacy met Oglethorpe at Tomochichi's town they readmitted Tomochichi and his tribe to their confederacy.

Mary Musgrove was the niece of Emperor Brim. She was interpreter for Oglethorpe and arranged his meeting with the Chiefs of the Confederacy at Coweta. Her cousin, Malatche, son of Brim, was then Chief of the Cowetas. Her Indian name was Coosaponkeesa. E. Merton Coulter and Charles C. Harrold have written monographs about her.

The treaty that Oglethorpe made with the Creek Indians at the Chattahooche River in 1739 is known as the Treaty of Coweta and I have so referred to it, though, of course, it was finally signed at Cusseta, which was the peace town. No treaty of peace and alliance could have been signed at Coweta, the war town. The boundaries of the lands claimed by the Creeks as recited in these verses are taken from their own statement in this treaty.

William McIntosh was one of the last great Chiefs of the Cowetas. He was always the friend of the white man. He was commissioned Brigadier General and led the Creek Indians against the Seminoles in the expedition which Andrew Jackson commanded. The Georgia historian Thomas E. Watson in his "Life of Andrew Jackson" intimates that all the fighting against the Seminoles was done by McIntosh and his Creeks. McIntosh was killed by the "Redsticks" of his own nation because he signed the Treaty of Indian Springs ceding all the Creek lands in Georgia.

Broken Arrow was a Coweta Town on the Chattahoochee where the last great councils of the Confederacy were held.

*THE CREEK***

Hear the story of Muscogee, as the Creeks to white men known
When they dwelt on southern rivers in the land they called their own.
Long before the son of Eric came to Vinland's fabled shore;
Ere Columbus set his standard on the warm San Salvador,
From the west had come my people through Aleutian storms and snows.
Theirs no caravels nor galleys, crossed they on the bergs and floes,
Shook with cold and fear of demons through the months of Arctic night.
Saw the land with ice all covered, cruel, snarling, fanged with white.
Down the groaning gorges one by one they made their way,
Flanked by tow'ring frozen waters shutting out the light of day,
Till at last the ice-cap ended and the sun once more was seen
And the waters flowed unfrozen and the earth again was green.
In the caves of a red river, they reformed their scattered bands,
Waiting there till their Great Spirit should deliver His commands.
Then their priestly incantations brought the voice that spoke and said,
They should go to seek the sunrise, follow where the white path led.
So they turned their faces eastward, put their great tribes in the van,
And the march of the Muscogee to their destiny began.
Big Cusseta, Peace Maintainer, was at first the one who led,
White on beads and staffs proclaiming that she wished no blood to shed.
Great War Wager, Tall Coweta, followed close in armed might,
Red, her sticks and beads gave warning she was ready for the fight.
Chickasaw too started with them; midway of the march she tires;
So she leaves the great Muscogee, nevermore to seek their fires.
On and on along the fall-line, moved they over Nature's lane
Where the ancient rock escarpment rose above the coastal plain;
Passed Tombigee and the Coosa. Chattahoochee too they passed,

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Though they marked its falls and valleys, to return to them at last.
Passed the lovely Thronateeska with its rocks of varied tint,
Source of stone to tip their arrows, which the English called the Flint.
At the bank of the Ocmulgee, Boiling Water in your tongue,
There they halted sensing danger. Subtly had a warning rung
That dark strangers, there before them, lurking in the thickets lay,
Watching, hostile, only waiting for the chance to scalp and slay.
Then Cusseta crossed the river trusting in her ensigns white.
Cautiously Coweta followed, in formation for a fight.
Given time for preparation, high they raised themselves a mound,
Secretly they dug beneath it, made a chamber underground.
With the women and the children, safe Cusseta stole away,
While, concealed, Coweta waited underneath the mound of clay.
From the creeks and from the river, came the Flat-heads painted red
And they danced around the camp-fires, whence they thought Muscogee fled.
Pouring from the secret cavern, on the foremen unprepared
In their revels, fell Coweta, not a single one they spared.
But the victors were too weakened other foes in march to meet;
So the tired travellers rested, formed them here a safe retreat.
Double trenches, palisaded, all around the plateau ran;
Each dead-space was commanded by a bastion or redan.
Here the Spirit whom they worshipped taught them how to till the ground,
And they reared to Him a temple on a ceremonial mound.
Here they caught the inspiration of their glory yet to be,
Here began the mighty union, called the Creek Confederacy.
All around were nations stronger than their kindred tribes combined;
They must add to their small number, greater strength and power find;
So they treated with the conquered, did not kill them or enslave,
Welcomed them into their union, equal rights to them they gave.
Thus they built a mighty nation waxing greater year by year,
One whose evermounting prowess, enemies respect and fear.
So this citadel they hallowed every other spot above.
All the glory of their nation clusters round this place they love,
Long its glory has departed when at last the nation yields
This the place its glory started, leaves the Old Ocmulgee Fields.
In this refuge they had builded, they could not at ease remain
While their mission unaccomplished, urged them to the march again.
Crossed they over the Oconee, where the rocks the waters met:
Feasted at the Great Ogeechee, on the shad that struck their net.
Then they looked upon the ocean and they knew their quest was done;
For the white path they had followed ended in the rising sun.
From the mountains down Savannah till you reach that river's mouth,
Down the coast and on the islands to the St. Johns on the south,
Thence extending far to westward past the Apalachee Bay,
All the lands within those limits did we bring beneath or sway;
And the lines of our dominions, marked we ghastly white and dense
With the bones of vanquished formen, whom we slew in their defense.
Then appeared the white invaders, few and weak and asking aid,
Easily we could have killed them, but we gave the help they prayed.
First the Spaniard moved upon us, took our islands and our coast,
South of us he ranged his allies, enemies we hated most,
Tall and valiant Apalachee; while his friars good and kind
Filtered up our western rivers with his soldiers close behind.
Then the English came to Charleston. We believed the vows they made;
For we trusted Henry Woodward and we liked the English trade.
From the west the French were creeping, led by sons of Charles LeMoyne,
And with them in close alliance, did the mighty Choctaw join.
In this crisis came to lead us our mysterious Emperor Brim;
Greatest, wisest of our people, hidden schemes were plain to him.
For a time his wisdom saved us, even in our darkest hour,

Using white men's own divisions to increase our strength and power.
First, against the Apalachee with the Englishmen he goes,
Drives them with the Spaniards fleeing to the walls of San Marcos.
With an officer's commission, acting for the British Crown,
Fierce he falls upon the Choctaws and the hopes of France go down.
Countering the white man's plotting, plots he with the Yamassee;
By surprise attacks the English, almost drives them to the sea.
His puissance undiminished, though betrayed by Cherokee,
Back he goes into his forests; for his life-time there to be
Fawned upon by three white nations, each of whom in secret tried
To commit him and his warriors to the conflict on its side.
Then the British came to Georgia and our great Old Brim was dead.
So our people did not slay them, signed with them a pact instead.
Though our nation lived thereafter, years of glory, years of gloom,
When its chieftains signed that treaty, with their hands they wrote its doom.
O ye English-speaking white men, how we tried to be your friends!
How you coveted our friendship when it served your selfish ends!
Our exiled Tomochichi gave your Oglethorpe his hand.
Him the word of Mary Musgrove gave safe conduct through our land
To our square ground at Coweta, where we promised that we all,
All our chiefs and all our warriors, would respond when he should call
How at Bloody Marsh we answered, let the smitten Spaniard tell
As he hears our war-whoops rising o'er the wild Highlanders' yell.
When land-hungry Georgians' pressure ever-mounting did increase
Then we prayed you of your mercy, only let us live in peace.
Though you warred against our kindred, yet we played no traitor's roll,
McIntosh still marched with Jackson when he struck the Seminole.
Then at last at Broken Arrow, though we knew you meant us wrong,
There we pleaded, your weak brothers, asking justice from the strong.
But your hearts were hard against us, stern and ruthless your demands,
We must leave the homes we builded and remove to stranger lands.
On our braves those homes defending, fleeing not your strong array,
Rolled your masses, crushed and broke them, and our nation passed away.
Then you drove our hopeless remnants, bleeding, weary, and heart-sore
To a land you though was worthless, where we'd trouble you no more.
Only names we gave your rivers might recall our history,
Not a book that told your children of our Creek Confederacy.
In the years of the thereafter, though we could not understand
Why you treated us as aliens, still we loved our native land.
Only when you fought each other, civil war dividing you,
Brother drawing sword on brother, where we then divided too.
Some of us loved your Union, died its unity to save.
Some of us the South remembered, for its cause their lives they gave.
When to seas and shores far distant, this our country called her men,
Ancient wrongs were all forgotten and we came to serve her then.
There some atavistic learning from our fathers' forest days
Carried us with deadly sureness through the tangled jungle's maze.
Some folk-memory of battles where our rifles were our shield
Made our fire devastating to the for in open field.
In an ancient Roman city do you see a warrior stand
To receive a metal gorget from your great war-chieftain's hand?
Pendant from a starry ribbon hangs the medal bronze that shows
His the highest honor Congress on a fighting man bestows.
Face and figure both proclaim him one of those you call the Creeks.
Do you hold him still an alien? Listen; for the soldier speaks:
"My own country's decoration on her uniform I wear.
Could I give more than I owed her; were my deeds, as you declare,
Far beyond the call of duty? Who can tell where duty ends?
May it be the call of duty on the call of blood depends?
If the longer blood has been here, farther duty's call it hears,

Measure yours in terms of decades, rate mine by the thousand years.
To my country's cry in peril, ages urge me to reply.
Son of hers for generations, who shall answer if not I?
In the loneliness of battle, she shall know that help is near.
Hear her eldest son assuring, "An American is here."

—Walter A. Harris

Macon, Georgia

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MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, THURSDAY, JULY 23, 1953, AT TEN O'CLOCK A.M., HISTORICAL BUILDING, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA.

The regular meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held Thursday, July 23, 1953, at ten o'clock A.M., General W. S. Key, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which shows the following members present: General W. S. Key, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Redmond S. Cole. Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mr. George H. Bowman, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Judge Thomas A. Edwards. Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Dr. T. T. Montgomery, Mr. George H. Shirk, Mr. W. J. Peterson, and Dr. John W. Raley.

The President reported that Mrs. Ethel Buell, Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Dr. Edward E. Dale, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. I. N. McCash, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle and Judge Edgar S. Vaught had sent letters of excuse for their non-attendance.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison made a motion that absentee members who had notified the Secretary, be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed.

Comment was made by General Key on the three projects that have been completed recently—the Worchester Cemetery project, Fort Gibson project and the loss of timber from the R. M. Jones land. Those on the committees successfully carrying out the projects were thanked and praised for their fine work. A report on the Legislative committee's attempts at increasing the salaries disclosed that they had failed, and also failed to get an appropriation for the Newspaper Room. General Key suggested a closer contact with the legislature next year.

Mrs. Frank Korn commented on the Bill affecting the legal status of the building. Mrs. Moore gave a brief history of the Historical Building. After a discussion of the assignments of certain rooms in the building to the War Veterans, it was agreed that all had been done to protect the rights of the Oklahoma Historical Society as far as possible.

President Key read a letter from the Board of Public Affairs which stated that they hoped to be able to paint the walls of the Historical Building within a few weeks. The Secretary was authorized to express the Board's desire that this improvement of the walls and rooms and corridors be carried out as quickly as possible and that sincere thanks be offered Mr. C. R. Smith of the Building and Grounds Department and the Board of Public Affairs for their assistance in this matter.

At the suggestion of Dr. Evans, the secretary, the subject of a parking lot to the south of the Historical Building was discussed and it was decided that the matter should be taken up with the Board of Public Affairs, through the Secretary.

It was moved that the Society pay the deficit of $350.50 accruing from the publication of the Chronicles of Oklahoma for the year. The motion was made by Judge Redmond S. Cole that the deficit be allowed and paid out of the special funds of the Society. Mr. George L. Bowman seconded the motion which passed unanimously. It was voted by the Board that hereafter expenditures be confined to the appropriated funds.

Concerning the election of a Director to replace Mr. Thomas Cook, who resigned, Judge Cole suggested that Mr. S. E. Lee of Buffalo would be an admirable and efficient citizen to serve as Director, and that he had been recommended by Mr. Cook. Mr. H. Milt Phillips nominated Mr. Lee for the Directorship. Judge Edwards seconded the nomination and Mr. S. E. Lee, Editor of the Harper County Journal was elected unanimously.

General Key asked that all those interested in educational fields encourage their students to do research in the fine library and archives possessed by the Society. He further mentioned the outstanding and educational tour the Society took in June of this year, and the success of that tour.

Judge Edwards presented to the Society a book, "Turmoil in New Mexico" by William A. Keleher, and he was given a vote of thanks for his splendid gift.

Mrs. Korn presented a large scrapbook and collection of clippings she had made to be placed in the Newspaper Room, and the vote was unanimous that she be thanked for her contribution.

The Treasurer's report revealed that the funds of the Society were now totaling a good sum. Mr. Phillips made a motion that Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, the Treasurer, be thanked for her good report, and it was seconded by Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour and passed.

Mrs. Moore then brought up the subject of the old pioneer grave yard at Pauls Valley, and asked that $500.00 be appropriated to apply on fencing of the old cemetery where Smith Paul is buried, he being an early pioneer and settler of that region. The Board decided that it would set a bad precedent for the Society to finance improvement so unrelated to the direct business of the Society, and as the cemetery plot belonged to Pauls Valley, this should await further development. This was agreed to by all members of the Board.

The Board discussed the restoration of the murals in the corridors of the Historical Building and if a reasonable charge was made for proper repair, then asked that the cost of restoration be estimated and presented to the Board at its next meeting.

Mr. Harrison suggested that the Board hold its annual meeting in the Old Fort Gibson Barracks while on Tour next year. He pointed out that the restoration that had been given by the Board, some $900.00 in cost, had put the Barracks building in a better condition than it ever had been so far as he knew. He said that Mr. Boydston President of the Chamber of Commerce of Ft. Gibson, had been appointed by the committees and acting through Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, had taken charge and was furnishing the building in splendid style with the aid of the women's clubs of Ft. Gibson. The idea was received with favor by the members of the Board and a motion was made by Mr. Milt Phillips and seconded by Dr. E. E. Harbour, that this invitation be accepted, and the next annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society will be held at Ft. Gibson.

At this point, Mr. Milt Phillips placed before the Board that the Secretary began his work in the Indian Territory and the State of Oklahoma at Ardmore in 1905. The Board of Education at Ardmore, now erecting a $300,000.00 school building has named that building the Charles Evans School. He thought it was very proper and right that this Board should send a letter to the Ardmore Board of Education expressing appreciation of the honor given Dr. Evans on the day of its dedication. Mr. Phillips made this as a motion and it was seconded by Mr. George L. Bowman and was passed unanimously.

Judge N. B. Johnson reminded the Board that an outstanding member of the Society and a prominent Indian leader, Hon. Ben Dwight, had died. He moved that action be taken to recognize Mr. Dwight's death by the Chronicles of Oklahoma carrying an article about him. General Key suggested a biographical sketch in the necrology section. Judge Johnson was asked to write this sketch to which he agreed.

President Key introduced the new director, Dr. John W. Raley, President of Baptist University at Shawnee. Dr. Raley acknowledged the introduction with warmest thanks, saying that he considered it a great privilege and high honor to become a member of the Board of Directors of this Society and would give his very best service.

President Key called upon Judge Redmond S. Cole, First Vice President of the Society, who had made a splendid speech at Woodward, during the Tour, in which he set forth the purposes and values of the Society, and asked that he say a few words along that way to the Board. Judge Cole arose and after stating that he had loved the work of Historical Societies so much that he at this date was a member of five State Societies, said he thought the Oklahoma Historical Society had an edge on the other four in many particulars. One was that it had outgrown those which were many years older, which proved its real merit. He then stated that no Society had a greater future than this one, now in its 60th year.

President Key then recognized the return of Mr. H. B. Bass and Mr. George Shirk from Europe and asked that they tell something of their impressions while on the European Continent. Mr. Shirk had returned from England and France and Mr. Bass from Germany, France and Italy. Both made very interesting remarks and both agreed that anyone who made a tour of Europe could never escape the impressions that made them better and more serviceable members of an Historical Society like this one. Both pledged themselves to a greater effort to secure a larger membership and a more earnest effort to help the Society to secure historical spots sacred to the history of Oklahoma.

President Key, in conclusion of this open forum, asked all to make a greater effort to obtain more of the early history of this State for the archives of the Society.

The Secretary reported the following list of applicants for membership; since June 6, 1953:

LIFE: Mary Hewett Bailey, Chickasha; Mrs. Earl Foster, Oklahoma City; Walter John Hysa, Oklahoma City; Jewell Moore, Oklahoma City and Mrs. J. D. Cole, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

ANNUAL: Dwight Allen, Kiowa; Grace Baptiste, Oklahoma City; Ralph M. Brown, Tulsa; Mrs. W. S. Corbin, Chickasha; Berniece Norman Crokett, Durant; Violet Davison, Stillwater; Mrs. Faye Ferguson, Oklahoma City; Harry L. S. Halley, Oklahoma City; J. H. Hampton, Oklahoma City; Henry Hunter, Woodward; Mrs. W. C. Liddell, Healdton; Paula McSpadden Love, Claremore; Mrs. E. G. McComas, Elk City; Mrs. W. C. McGrann, Jr., Muskogee; Anna Maples, Davidson; Mary Lee Meek, Falls Church Va.; Zella Moorman, Perkins; Lawrence Patterson, Shattuck; Helen Jean Pitz, Santa Fe, N. Mexico; Clebourne Green Pound, Spaulding; Anna Redel, Guthrie; Willis C. Reed, Vinita; Mrs. E. H. Richards, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Nola Rigdon, Crescent; Mrs. Daisy K. Sheppard, Eufaula; F. C. Starke, Woodward; John N. Steichen, Perry; Olive Webster, Guthrie; B. F. White, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Mina May Wilson, Stratford.

Judge Thomas A. Edwards moved that each be elected and admitted as members of the Society in the class as indicated in the list. Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison as Chairman of the Committee to work with the Intertribal Council in the matter of securing memorials to the Five Civilized Tribes, reported that he met with said Intertribal Council, presented the greetings of the Society and its wish to cooperate with it in any way possible.

Mr. Harrison made a motion that Mrs. Carolyn Thomas Foreman, prominent writer and historian, wife of Dr. Grant Foreman, who for many years was a Director and contributor to all phases of Oklahoma Historical Society's growth, and Mrs. J. B. Milam of Claremore, wife of the Hon. J. B. Milam, deceased, who for many years was a Director of the Society, be invited to attend the next meeting of the Board and it was unanimously agreed that the Secretary should extend a formal invitation to these ladies to meet with the Board at that time.

President Key then stated that the Director of the Union Memorial Room should be chosen at this time because there had been a vacancy for several months. Two able and competent candidates for the place were put before the Board for election. The vote being taken, it was shown that Miss Kathryn Ringland had been elected as Director of the Union Memorial Room, her service to begin Tuesday, September 1, 1953.

The Secretary reported that the following gifts had been received since June 6, 1953;

Photographs of the old log Chickasaw Capitol and the Chickasaw Capitol at Tishomingo, donor, Robert H. Schrepfer; photograph of William John Boone, descendant of Daniel Boone, donor, his son, George W. Boone; a large framed copy of the Declaration of Independence, donor, Anna Witteman; a large group photograph of the State Dental Association in 1912, donor, Veva Amy Lowes; large placard with photographs of Anna Belle Wright, Anna Marie Peterson Shortall and the Creek Orphans Home and a newspaper article about Anna Belle Wright, donor, Riley Thompson; photograph of Dr. Charles Evans, donor, Claude Bradshaw; large American Flag with 45 stars, which flew over the Huckins Hotel Oklahoma City, when it was used as the capitol building, donor, Mrs. Josephine Fulford, Baltimore, Md.; 7 silver loving cups won by W. H. Heer, for trap-shooting, donor, Sam H. and Pearl Smith.

Mrs. Anna B. Korn moved that the gifts be accepted with thanks and appreciation of the Board of Directors. Mr. H. Milt Phillips seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

At this point it was brought before the Board of Directors a resolution setting forth the profound sorrow and severe loss sustained by the death of Dr Grant Foreman of Muskogee, April 22, 1953, by writing into the minutes of the Society, a

RESOLUTION

The Board of Directors, Staff Members and entire Membership of the Oklahoma Historical Society received a message through the telephone, telegraph and State Press on the 22nd day of April 1953, that Dr. Grant Foreman, distinguished historian of Oklahoma and America, one of the Founders and Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society for many years, had passed from earth. It is said that "When a great man dies, the people mourn, but when a good man dies, the people weep." Oklahoma had learned through almost half a century to follow the leadership of Dr. Grant Foreman in the state's historical field as no other writer or author.

Perhaps above and beyond all that, the citizenship of the State had admired the dignity, loftiness and high purpose as well as the sweet simplicity of his life so much that he became a great and genuine influence of good. So on his passing, both men and woment wept.

No brief paragraph can offer a list of the fundamental contributions this man has made to Oklahoma and American History. In the Autumn number of the Chronicles of Oklahoma, it might be called in truth the "Grant Foreman Number" of the Society's Journal because of the number of articles contributed therein, the list of his authorship (in part) will be found.

The Board of Directors and the Staff Members, and all who knew his service to the people, here express their deep distress in the passing of this remarkable man, as one of the Founders and Guardians of the Oklahoma Historical Society. To his good wife and members of his family, we offer sympathy with sincere hope that Time will soften and temper their sorrows, with the thought that "None knew him but to love him; none named him but to praise."

A motion was made by Mr. George L. Bowman that the meeting adjourn. Mr. W. J. Peterson seconded the motion which passed.

WM. S. Key, President

CHARLES EVANS, Secretary

The CHRONICLES of OKLAHOMA

Winter, 1953-54

Oklahoma State Flag

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TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1958
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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

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Winter, 1953-54

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OKLAHOMA INDIANS AND THE "SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS"

By W. A. Willibrand

Each summer a unique school, internationally known as the ''Summer Institute of Linguistics,'' holds its eleven-weeks session on the campus of the University of Oklahoma. It seeks to train students in techniques for the study of unwritten languages and has among its ultimate goals the development of literacy programs and the translation of the Bible into the vernaculars of tribes in isolated areas. A practical aspect of the two-summers' course has to do with listening daily to the native speech of Oklahoma Indians and partially reducing it to written discourse by using phonetic symbols. The institute is affiliated with the University but its instructors are not members of the University faculty; they are for the most part institute-trained descriptive linguists drawn temporarily from missionary areas in foreign countries.

One of the staff members, however, Elliott D. Canonge, has his ''field'' in Oklahoma. Canonge's career is similar to that of many past and present instructors of the institute. Along with his wife he is one of its alumni. In 1945 he enrolled in its classes and he has been on its staff since 1947. At the end of each summer session he returns to Walters, Oklahoma, where he is active as a translator of the New Testament and as a linguistic and cultural investigator among the Comanches. To date his work has included the initiation of a literacy program through the compilation of Comanche primers, the recording of Indian folk tales, and the translation of the Gospel according to St. Mark. His chief support comes from the Wycliffe Bible Translators, a fund-raising corporation associated with the ''Summer Institute of Linguistics.''

Each year Canonge, because of his year-round residence in Oklahoma, has the assignment of engaging a varying number of Indians to serve the students of the institute as linguistic informants. He secures a ten-day group and an all-summer group. The members of the ten-day group are on hand only during the final two weeks (ten class days) of the session. Through them the first-year students receive the most vital part of their practical introduction to field work. This is important since the zeal of many students takes them into tribal missionary areas after only one summer course. From the all-summer informants the second-year (second summer) students also gather linguistic data, a great deal of which goes into term papers and into ten days of supervised ''Indian'' conversation at the end of the term. At both levels of instruction, and also in the intermediate course which is required of students who do not make a B average during the first summer, the Indians play an important part in the crucial final ten days of practical work. Academically the student body of the institute is a mixed-up lot: there are high school graduates, college graduates and people with advanced degrees, including the doctorate; all of them find that it is no easy matter to make a careful partial analysis of an Indian language. By the end of his (or her) first summer the student must take down phonemically and translate a brief Indian folk tale. On the basis of this text and of other data gathered from the informant he prepares a series of assignments which include ''card files, and statements on the phonemics, morphology and syntax of the (informant's) language.''

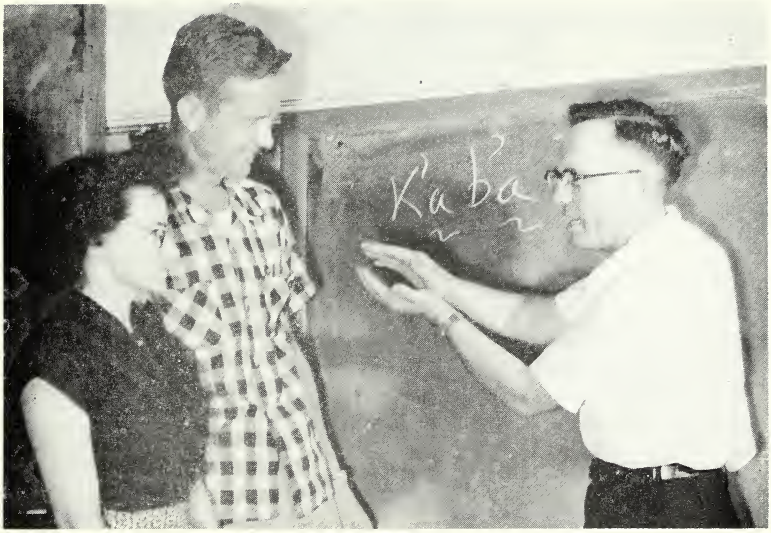
As a rule each informant has six students who report to him individually at a given hour five days a week. If an hour a day does not suffice, the student can make tape recordings of his conversations with the informant and thus have the material to study certain phonetic or morphological problems at his leisure. To be sure it is not certain that he will have much leisure, and if he is one of the many who have brought their families to the campus he will also have certain domestic responsibilities, especially if his wife is also a student of linguistics. Among his expenses will be the enrollment fee and the informant fee, which provide the institute with a small amount of working capital out of which each Indian receives board and room plus $12 a week for his services.

In 1951 the all-summer group of informants consisted of eleven bilingual Kiowa men and women. The following year there were nine Kiowas and two Comanches in this group and in 1953, nine Kiowas and three Comanches. More tribes are always represented in the ten-day group which serves a larger number of students. In 1951 there were in this group 2 Kiowas, 2 Cheyennes, 8 Arapahos, 5 Comanches, 2 Shawnees, 6 Choctaws, 1 Sac-and-Fox, plus two Asiatics; in 1953, 5 Kiowas, 2 Comanches, 2 Shawnees, 1 Cheyenne, 2 Cherokees, 5 Choctaws, 6 Arapahos. During the past three summers the total number of informants has varied from 35 to 39, depending upon the total enrollment, which fluctuates from around 200 to 225. The summer enrollment in University classes is usually around 3,000.

It is apparent that the Indians thoroughly enjoy their experiences as linguistic informants. There are several reasons for this. A helpful and friendly spirit of Christian brotherhood greets them in the different University buildings occupied by the Institute. They are treated with respect and enjoy housing and eating facilities exactly like those of the students and members of the staff. There is no racial segregation, although the Indians prefer to eat at separate tables with their own people, probably because of their tribal and intertribal interests. Culturally they take pride and satisfaction in the fact that others are interested in the sounds and the structure of their languages and that even a short elementary study of them will facilitate the mastery of other languages by the future translators of the Word of God. Perhaps the experience of these people will help hasten the day when funds will be available for each tribe to produce its own trained linguists who will devote their lives to a scientific study of their mother tongue. This would expand the possibilities of linguistic scholarship in America and supply an abundance of the material which is essential to the satisfactory progress of anthropological studies. Whether the motives be religious or scholarly, the studies involved in the reduction of unwritten languages to writing heighten the cultural consciousness of those who speak them and tend to bring isolated tribes into closer contact with other peoples. The inner cultural relationships of certain tribes become apparent through the comparative study of living languages and dialects. It happens too often that unwritten languages pass away before they have been recorded and studied by competent scholars.

When the Indian informants are asked why they enjoy their stay in Norman, the first thing that usually occurs to them is the religious motive. The writer has been present at a number of interviews between a student and his informant. He recalls the aged Comanche woman who sat there with an air of calmness and dignity, piecing a quilt as she answered the student's prepared Comanche question. When the visitor asked why she enjoyed her work on the campus she replied promptly and sincerely, "I feel I am serving the Lord in His work." In answer to the same question a Kiowa woman said: "I am doing my little bit towards spreading the Gospel." A man of the same tribe expressed interest in helping students who want to help other people become Christians. These Indians seemed to be true to the faiths originally taught them by Protestant missionaries. One Menonite Cheyenne woman expressed regret that the missionary teachers of her childhood had been unsympathetic towards the preservation of her language among children. Like many others, she is interested in "keeping up" the Indian languages. One Kiowa informant is learning a phonetic alphabet so that he may become literate in his own language, which, thanks to the Institute, now has a primer and a Christian hymnal. Another Kiowa has these booklets in his possession and jokingly refers to the fact that he has not learned how to use them.

The Indian informants go about their business with ease, dignity and a sense of humor. Alert to the needs of the students



Instructor explaining some phonetic principles to future Bible translators

Holding the microphone of a tape recorder, an Indian informant illustrates sound construction in her native language.

they pronounce clearly the sounds which are peculiar to their separate languages. They translate words, phrases and sentences promptly and help students with conversational exercises. The visitor soon realizes that the Indian has much more to give than the student can absorb in two or three short summer terms. Methods vary according to the problems in hand. If a student happens to be studying the cases, plural formations and classification of nouns he may ask the informant to translate simple sentences like the following: ''He sees a house. He sees two houses. He sees some houses.'' If interest happens to be centered on possessive usage the student will ask for the translation of a number of carefully prepared English possessive constructions. In all of his investigation the student remains alert to speech sounds, which he records as accurately as possible in phonetic symbols. Here lies the beginning of the procedure used in the development of a working alphabet for an aboriginal language.

When all the assignments that grow out of listening to the informant have been approved by teachers, the student may be said to have made a modest beginning in linguistic research. Thanks partly to the patience of an Oklahoma Indian, the future translator may now be assigned to a tribe in the mountains or the jungle of some foreign country. Here, under the guidance of trained people, he must first adjust himself to a primitive mode of life before he can enter upon an exciting career of linguistic discoveries. Such discoveries often lead to learned papers and to master's and doctor's dissertations. Wherever he goes the student is now a member, not of any school, but of an international corporation known as the ''Summer Institute of Linguistics''. He feels the challenge of published research and other material by older members of the institute; and well he may, for the 1951 edition of the Bibliography of the *Summer Institute of Linguistics* is an impressive publication of 325 items. It includes books and articles of general linguistic and ethnographic interest, and learned papers on different aspects of some thirty languages which have been studied by members of the institute. The research of these scholars finds outlets in internationally important journals of decriptive linguistics. A number of names appear in the list of authors, among them the following: Pike, Nida, Baer, Cowan, Gudschinsky, Pittman, Townsend,[1] Waterhouse, Wonderly, to mention only a few. Some members like the Elsons, the Leals, Eunice Pike, and others have been busy on literacy programs, which include the compilation of primers, readers, story books, hygiene booklets, reading games, picture books and newssheets. In the pedagogy of this work the *Handbook of Literacy* by Sarah C. Gudschinsky deserves special mention.

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[1] For mention of the work of William Townsend among the Peruvian Indians of South America, appearing in a recent issue of *Time* magazine, see *Appendix.*

We know the author's names of the literacy materials and of the scholarly articles. Anonymous however are the sources, that is to say, the numerous informant successors of Oklahoma Indians. The latter are not entirely anonymous; instructors and students call them by their first names, a common practice among the members of this unusual and unbourgeois institution of higher education.

The institute has a rather unique and unconventional history. In 1934 an experienced missionary by the name of W. Cameron Townsend started Camp Wycliffe, a summer linguistic training school for missionaries, at Sulphur Springs, Arkansas. The little school remained there for two summers and was then moved to Siloam Springs, Arkansas, in 1936. Here it held its annual sessions until 1940, when it returned to Sulphur Springs. In 1942 it came to the Oklahoma University campus at Norman; but here most of the extra facilities were needed for military personnel during the following two summers, so the institute moved to the campus of Bacone College, at Muskogee, Oklahoma. It returned to Norman in 1945 and has been held there ever since. During its first year at Siloam Springs, Camp Wycliffe began to be called "Summer Institute of Linguistics." Today it is affiliated with the University, but it recruits its own staff and has an independent administration. The University grants credit for courses taken at the institute.

Townsend started Camp Wycliff as a self-taught linguist. Without formal training he had reduced to writing the Cachiquel language of Guatemala and after providing it with a dictionary and a grammar he translated the New Testament into this idiom, spoken by some 200,000 people. Later he labored among the Aztecs where his achievements received the official recognition of scientific groups and of the President of Mexico.

In the summer of 1935 a young New Englander by the name of Kenneth Pike hitchhiked to Sulphur Springs in order to learn something about studying and transcribing unwritten languages. He learned what he could during that summer at Camp Wycliffe and then went to Mexico, where he labored among the Mixtecs, into whose languages he and some friends later translated the New Testament. Returning to Camp Wycliffe as a teacher in the summer of 1936, he was on hand to welcome a new student, Eugene Nida, who had just completed his undergraduate work at the Los Angeles branch of the University of California. Nida proved his worth almost immediately and became a member of the institute staff in 1937. Thus began the close association of two gifted lecturers who are now internationally known for their contributions to the field of descriptive linguistics.

Since 1942 there has been a corporation known as "Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc.", with year-round headquarters at Glendale, California. This corporation operates three schools, namely the one in Oklahoma and the more recently established ones at Caronport, Sask., Canada and at the University of North Dakota. It also supplies the principal staff of two related schools at Melbourne and London. Townsend is the General Director of this corporation and Pike is its President. The Board of Directors includes these two leaders together with Nida, John A. Hubbard, Richard S. Pittman, E. S. Goodner, Dawson Trotman, Earl K. Wyman and William C. Nyman. Pike is also Director of the institute at Norman, where Nida works with him as Associate Director. The Canadian branch of the corporation is in charge of George M. Cowan and Robert Longacre, and the newly established one in North Dakota is headed by Richard S. Pittman. Ben Elson was Acting Director of the Norman institute in 1953 because Pike was needed to help start the first term of the London institute.[2]

The permanent position of Eugene Nida is that of Secretary in Charge of Translations with the American Bible Society, New York. Like other members he is loaned to the Institute each summer. During the second semester of each year, Pike serves as an associate Professor at the University of Michigan. Most of the other instructors are paid by their sponsoring missionary organizations. They are people who have completed the usual two-summers' course at the institute and who have been called back because of their linguistic competence and their demonstrated scholarship. In quite a number of cases they have gone on for advanced graduate study at different universities.

It is chiefly the reputation of the Pike-and-Nida team which draws most of the students and also some visiting scholars to the institute every summer. These two men received their doctorates after becoming directing members of the organization. Nida has done research and checked Bible translations in about forty different countries, which extend from Africa across the Western Hemisphere to the South Pacific. Aside from papers appearing in different journals he has published in rather quick succession the following books: *A Translator's Commentary on Selected Passages, Bible Translating,* and *Linguistic Interludes*, all in 1947; *Morphology,* 1949; *Learning a Foreign Language*, 1949; *Outline of Descriptive Syntax,* 1951; *God's Word in Men's Language,* 1952. Kenneth Pike has likewise published a considerable number of papers in the linguistics journal. He has put much of his research material into textbooks. The first of these, *Pronunciation,* was published in 1942 by the English Language Institute at Ann

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[2] Since the foregoing was written, Nida has severed his connection with the Institute.

Arbor. Four others were published by the University of Michigan Press; *Phonetics,* 1943; *The Intonation of American English,* 1945; *Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing,* 1947; *Tone Languages,* 1948. We have already referred to his translation of the New Testament.

The schedule of Kenneth Pike during the academic year 1951-52 was characteristic of his activities as a whole. In November he went to Paris to read a paper at a meeting of UNESCO on the problem of the unwritten language in education; from there to England to see about setting up a linguistic institute in that country; then on to the University of Edinburgh to lecture on descriptive linguistics; in December, to Australia to direct the third annual session of the institute at Melbourne. And before he could return to the United States from this last job, his sister, Miss Eunice Pike, was on hand to start his second semester courses at the University of Michigan. But as usual he was on time for his eleven-weeks' summer session at the University of Oklahoma.

The summer program at the institute is characterized by intensive work, a constant use of research materials, good lecturing, an abundant use of exercise and problem material in the drill sections, and an infectious enthusiasm. No linguistic problems seem to be too difficult to attack at the weekly seminars, where the young linguists of the future have ample opportunity to demonstrate their alertness, the adequacy of their background and the soundness of their thinking. When Pike, Nida and a few others flabbergast their listeners with the ever-increasing categories and classifications, the ever-expanding and involved vocabulary of their comparatively new science, there are saving manifestations of humor on the part of their students. The traditional student of language and literature may need to have things explained to him before he can participate intelligently in the seminars. Even the institute's little catalogue could stand some simplification. What, for instance, is "sandhi" or "enclisis"?

In some ways the supervision seems a bit close and the assignments a bit laborious. Some of the requirements of second summer phonemics may serve to illustrate what we mean. A student is required to read a minimum of fifty books and articles bearing on a research topic on which he is doing a paper. A concise systematic report on five of these readings must be handed in every week. Previous to the weekly seminar, at which a published article is always discussed, every student must hand in three questions or comments to show that he or she has read the article rather carefully. Two phonemic term papers, based on work with informants, must be handed in and the second of these must be "written in a style acceptable for publication." The institute is fortunate in having a relatively large number of teachers to check on its varied assignments and requirements. Few schools have such a favorable student-teacher ratio: six to one! Even the first year students are required to prepare a series of difficult assignments which are due the last week. There is of course an answer to these observations. The institute seeks to train sturdy spirits for a life of religiously oriented scholarship in the jungle.

The ideas of Pike prevail in phonetics and phonemics. Nida heads the work in morphology and syntax, on which he lectures effectively and sometimes brilliantly. He is well versed in field techniques and he therefore recognizes the primacy of phonetics and phonemics in approaching an unwritten language. His lectures are accompanied by the inculcation of certain basic attitudes. He insists upon the descriptive method, the priority of the spoken language, the equal validity and equal sophistication of languages in terms of structure, regardless of primitiveness in material culture. And like all of his colleagues he has a high regard for religious values while insisting that the institute remain strictly within the realm of science. His basic approach is that languages are primarily supposed to be spoken and he is therefore interested in pedagogical grammar as well as in analytical grammar.

In passing, it should be said that wives of staff members and single women linguists are important members of the organization. Throughout the years women, many of whom spend considerable portions of their lives in tribal areas, have made substantial contributions to the teaching and research procedures of the institute. They teach courses, they have charge of drill sections, they help in the careful briefing of instructors, and in the careful correcting and grading of all papers. Among the women who had a part in the early, wandering days of the school's development was Della Brunsteter Owl, Oklahoma linguist and research worker among the Cherokees.

Descriptive linguistics has many possibilities in addition to the fact that it is a tool for efficient evangelism. We find some of its specialists in the language and anthropology departments of many universities. Unlike historical linguistics it does not require long years of preparatory training, although such training is decidedly advantageous. It has potentialities for childhood and adult education in remote areas and for international conciliation. Students experience early the joy of discovery and a genuine enthusiasm for making contributions to the field. From the very first they are trained to develop a living interest in living languages and in the efforts that are being made to achieve a better understanding of linguistic problems. The two summers' course at the institute is a rational preparation for the scientific and spoken mastery of any language, whether literary or aboriginal.

APPENDIX

Under the heading "Education," *Time* magazine for September 14, 1953, p. 73, this news item on William Townsend's work was published:

LEARNING A WRITTEN LANGUAGE

Spanish is the national language of Peru, but close to half a million Peruvians in the vast Amazon jungle areas speak only primitive native tongues and have no written languages. This block to mass education has long been a worrisome problem for the Peruvian government.

In 1945 the government asked William Townsend of the University of Oklahoma's Summer Institute of Linguistics to head a mission to teach the Indians to read and write their own languages. Townsend, a friendly, energetic man who learned his first dialect (Cakchiquel) in 1917 trying to sell Bibles to the Indians of Guatemala, went to Peru in 1945 with eleven assistants. Before they could teach, Townsend and his teachers had to learn the local tongues themselves. Deciding to concentrate on the 18 most widely used dialects, they set off for the jungle.

On with Roast Tapir. The first language barrier to be cracked was that of the Cashibo Indians, who live along the Aguaytia River. There the linguists had a lucky start. Near the village of Pucallpa, they found a Cashibo named Gregorio Estrella, who had lived on the coast and learned Spanish. Recalls one of Townsend's team: "Gregorio led us to his tribe. They were so pleased when they found we wanted to live just the way they did they built a house for us." As a starter, the linguists began asking the names of everyday things: banana, fire, water, house, etc. It was tough going. They found that the only difference between many words was the presence or absences of a glotta; stop (written ' in the phonetic system devised by Townsend). For example, *'ino ka 'okë 'kën* means "The jaguar is at the other side of the river." Pronounced without the stop before the third word, the same sounds mean "The jaguar has come." Townsend's team also found that the Cashibos could put the Germans to shame with multisyllabled words. . . . ."

With the rest of the languages, Townsend's linguists did not always have the luck to find a Spanish-speaking interpreter. But their approach was always the same: gain the confidence of the Indians by living with them and sharing their food (including such exotic dishes as monkey stew and roast tapir). Once a team had learned a language, it set about publishing a simple reading primer in it.

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF ROBERT L. OWEN

*By Wyatt W. Belcher**

Senator Robert L. Owen has become generally recognized as one of the best-known political leaders the state of Oklahoma has contributed to national politics. The political leadership of Owen is interesting as well as instructive, for he was in a key position to help mold political developments in Oklahoma before and after statehood. Both his personal characteristics and the issues he championed gave him an excellent chance to develop his positive talents for leadership in his adopted state.

His mother, Narcissa (Chisholm) Owen of Indian, Scotish, and English ancestry, was born at Webbers Falls in Indian Territory, October 4, 1831. Her father, Thomas Chisholm, was a hereditary war chieftain of the Cherokee Indians, who achieved prominence in helping to direct the affairs of his people. Despite the fact that she was born on the outskirts of civilization, Narcissa Chisholm received a fairly good education. She was a talented woman of artistic temperament and later went to Tennessee to teach in the Masonic High School at Jonesboro. Here she met and married Robert Latham Owen. Her husband of Scotch-Irish ancestry was a civil engineer and a well-known railroad man, who served as president of the Virginia and Tennessee Railway for a number of years. He also achieved distinction as an engineer and soldier in the Confederate Army during the Civil War.

The Owens had two children: William Otway was born July 6, 1854, and Robert Latham, February 2, 1856, in a beautiful home, called "Point of Honor," situated on the crest of a high hill overlooking the James River at Lynchburg, Virginia. Fortune smiled upon young Robert L. Owen by placing him in such a home. The parents believed that a first-class education was the best legacy they could give the boys. When he was ten years old, Robert entered a classical school, Merillat Institute, in a suburb of Baltimore. He soon proved to be an ambitious youth, capable of acquiring a fine education. Robert attended this school for five years and received thorough training in classical languages and mathematics. He spent his college years at Washington and Lee University and received a Master of Arts degree with honors.

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* Wyatt W. Belcher, Professor of History at Wisconsin State College, Superior, Wisconsin, has been serving on the Board for some publications of the Wisconsin Historical Society.—Ed.

Owen was an outstanding student and leader in college and was elected valedictorian by the members of his class.[1]

While Robert was in school, his father died and the family fortune was swept away. Colonel William Penn Adair, a prominent Cherokee, suggested to Mrs. Owen that she return to her kindred in Indian Territory, where she and her two sons were entitled to their per capita share in the tribal property. Thinking that fortune might better his lot, Owen went with his mother to Indian Territory in 1879.[2]

Owen's keen mind sensed the opportunities for quick personal advancement with the fast economic growth and development of Indian Territory. His blood relationship with the Cherokee Indians furnished a bond of contact that admitted him readily to the political and economic fortunes of the Cherokee Nation which provided an excellent springboard for his ventures in territorial and state politics. In addition to this important connection, the newcomer possessed other qualifications that augmented his political availability. He was a Southerner by birth, the son of a Confederate Colonel, a sincere believer in Jeffersonian democracy, and a loyal Democrat. These qualities were marked attributes in his favor when he began his active political career in a state that was controlled by the Democratic party.

Robert L. Owen looked the part of a political leader. He was a man of tall and striking appearance, with black hair, dark eyes, and swarthy complexion—no doubt his Indian inheritance. His aggressive personality was tempered with a pleasant manner. He was invariably composed and seemed to be at home with everyone. His voice, liquid, soft, and resonant, was one of his greatest political assets. On the platform he had a logical and forceful style of speaking that was convincing. Owen had the happy faculty of seeking and taking advantage of opportunities. If the opportunity did not come along on its own accord, he worked hard to force it to pass his way. His persistency gave him the necessary driving power to accomplish most of his main objectives in life.

After serving as principal teacher in the Cherokee Orphan Asylum at Grand Saline for eighteen months, Owen decided in 1880 to take up the more promising practice of law. He quickly proved to the Cherokee Nation that he had definite ideas which he could support with surprising vigor. Finding the small politics of the Cherokee Nation conducive to graft and corruption, the young attorney courageously fought against these conditions and won his first battles in the interest of good government. These activities also won for him a reputation for integrity which later on was of incalculable value in his political career.

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[1] Narcissa Owen, *Memoirs of Narcissa Owen,* privately published at Washington, D. C., in 1907, gives a good background for the personal history of the Chisholm and Owen families.

[2] O. P. Sturm, "Oklahoma's Accomplished Senator," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine,* V (1907), p. 38.

Before long Owen became one of the most enterprising citizens of Indian Territory. He was secretary of the Cherokee Nation Board of Education from 1881 to 1884. In 1882, 1883, and 1884 he was president of the International Fair at Muskogee, the only fair then held in Indian Territory. This fair served to bring the people of the Territory together and furnished good publicity for his future career. Owen realized the importance of controlling a newspaper to get his views before the public. In 1884 he became editor and owner of the *Indian Chieftain* at Vinita. His newspaper work increased his acquaintances and extended his influence. Owen was a good mixer, but he used discrimination in selecting his associates, taking care to build up influential friendships.

Owen was elated when the Democratic party under President Cleveland gained control of the national government in 1885. Eager to participate in the fruits of this victory, he sought an appointment as the United States Indian agent for the Five Civilized Tribes. With characteristic energy he secured the endorsements of several United States Senators, all of whom were strangers to him, by merely presenting himself and his case to them. He won the appointment which was the most important position to be held in Indian Territory. Owen served as Indian agent until 1889 and handled the affairs of this troublesome office adroitly. In connection with his interest in Indian affairs, he helped to draft and worked for the Act of Congress, passed March 3, 1901, that conferred citizenship of the United States on every Indian in Indian Territory. This act gave full citizenship and political status to over seventy thousand Indians and greatly increased his political prestige and influence.

Business and agricultural interests also attracted his attention. Through his efforts the National Banking Act of the United States was extended to include Indian Territory. In 1890 he organized the First National Bank of Muskogee, the first bank of its kind in the territory. He also acquired wide business experience in real estate, farming, and stock raising. These various enterprises and his many contacts with farmers, ranchers, and businessmen identified his name with the growth and progress of Indian Territory.[3]

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[3] A summary of the principal events in Owen's life before he was elected to the Senate is given by Theo. F. Brewer, "Biographical Sketch of Robert L. Owen, Candidate for the United States Senate," *The Daily Oklahoman*, March 14, 1907.

Owen had marked success as a lawyer. He served as secretary of the first Bar Association in Indian Territory, organized in 1889. In a series of difficult cases, he recovered for the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Western Cherokees and Eastern Cherokees several millions of dollars in claims against the United States government. Victory in these difficult cases enhanced his reputation as a lawyer, and this achievement was a valuable asset.[4]

His many endeavors were capped by an active interest in politics. The Democrats of Indian Territory tried to effect a party organization in 1892, but political unity was threatened by serious internal divisions. Two chief factions vied with each other for political control, and a party split seemed imminent when one faction held a convention at McAlester in March and delegates of the other group met at Muskogee in June.[5] Owen took a leading part in the Muskogee convention and emerged from that meeting as National Committeeman for Indian Territory. The two sides, however, joined forces in a fusion convention held at McAlester in October. Since Owen had been instrumental in healing the party breach, his appointment as the Indian Territory member of the National Democratic Committee was confirmed.[6] This fortified his position politically and made him a logical contender for any major office Indian Territory had to offer. It is perhaps well to note that there was no elective county or territorial setup through which he had to graduate in order to be politically available for a statewide electoral contest when the state of Oklahoma came into being. Thus he was able to make a direct bid in Oklahoma politics for any choice position the state had to offer.

Owen was naturally interested in the struggle for statehood. At first he was a firm supporter of separate statehood; but when Congress definitely defeated this proposition, he did not engage in any activities that would make the joining of the two territories into a single state more difficult. Almost immediately upon passage of the statehood bill, he became a candidate for the United States Senate. In a statewide primary, June 28, 1907, Owen had the honor of receiving the largest number of votes cast for United States Senator over a field of seven candidates. The first State Legislature, controlled by the Democrats, confirmed the vote of the primary and selected him and Thomas P. Gore the United States Senators from Oklahoma. The two Senators had to draw lots for the long and short terms. Owen drew the long term, which entitled him to a seat in the Senate until March 3, 1913.

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[4] Ora Eddleman Reed, "Great Work of an Indian," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, II (1906), p. 7.

[5] *The Purcell Register*, June 17, Sept. 2, 1892.

[6] Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, (New York, 1916), Vol. II, p. 694.

This was fortunate for Owen, because it gave him sufficient time to consolidate his political gains before coming up for re-election.[7]

Senator Owen soon became an active member of the United States Senate. His support of progressive measures clearly indicated that his sympathies were with the people. All was not clear sailing, however, for attempts were being made at home to dim his newly-acquired political prestige. Rumors were out and sordid tales were being circulated about the large fees Owen received from his Indian clients. The *Oklahoma City Times* featured an article on ''How Owen Grew Rich Quickly,'' in which he was accused of having employed unscrupulous practices in his dealings with the Indians.[8] Nothing ever came of these charges which indicated that, in all probability, they were made to hamper him politically and prevent his re-election.

In 1912 Senator Owen announced his candidacy for the nomination to succeed himself as United States Senator. Former Governor Charles N. Haskell was also a candidate, and the race was a heated contest until the finish. Senator Owen won the nomination by a substantial majority and staved off the most determined effort to oust him from the Senate. He won an easy victory over his Republican opponent, Judge Joseph T. Dickerson, and had the honor of leading the national ticket in the state by 14,619 votes.[9]

When the Democrats returned to power in 1913 under President Wilson's leadership, Senator Owen was prepared to assume a more prominent rôle in national politics. Few men were more loyal to the high ideals of President Wilson than Senator Owen. He supported the President's liberal program as well as his important war measures. These policies made Senator Owen such a popular leader at home that he encountered no serious opposition in 1918 to his re-election for a third term as Senator.

Throughout the state, Senator Owen was acclaimed as Oklahoma's first citizen. In 1920 his name was presented to the country as a Democratic candidate for President of the United States. Although there was little chance for his nomination, Senator Owen's backers asserted that his candidacy would be acceptable to all factions within the party and, in addition, would attract considerable progressive support. The fact that he had helped to organize the National Popular Government League and served as its president for a number of years was given wide publicity. His name was the first of seventeen presidential aspirants to be presented to the Democratic National Convention at San Francisco. He received thirty-three votes on the first ballot, and his support increased to forty-one on the twentieth. The Oklahoma delegates supported him loyally until he released them in order to make the vote on the forty-fourth ballot unanimous for Governor James M. Cox.[10]

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[7] Clarence B. Douglas, "Senator Robert L. Owen," *The Wide West*, Vol. IV (1911), p. 5.

[8] *Oklahoma City Times*, Dec. 11, 1908.

[9] Edward Elmer Keso, *The Senatorial Career of Robert L. Owen*, (Nashville, 1938), p. 21.

In a dignified letter to Governor Martin E. Trapp in the spring of 1924, Senator Owen announced that he would not again be a candidate for the United States Senate. Thus, he laid down the senatorial toga on March 3, 1925, and had the distinction of retiring from public office without being defeated.

After his retirement from the Senate, Owen maintained a law office in Washington, D. C. for many years. Although he was never a candidate for another office, he retained an active interest in politics. Like many other lifelong Democrats, he found himself unable to support Alfred E. Smith for the Presidency in 1928. He later regretted the stand he had taken for Herbert Hoover and stated that "Hoover's administration has been the most colossal failure in history and no apology can explain it. I feel like publicly apologizing for having supported him."[11] He returned to the Democratic fold and with advancing years, his interest in political matters gradually subsided until his death July 19, 1947.

From the standpoint of personal qualities, Owen was well qualified for political leadership. There was also ample opportunity for the bud of this leadership to flower. He had been connected with the agricultural, business, and political life of the state from its early territorial days. His varied interests furnished him contacts with the leading individuals of each interest. These many pursuits took him to every section of the state, where he made valuable acquaintances and could see the needs of the people firsthand. Senator Owen was more than a mere political figure, for he entered earnestly into the development of the resources of Oklahoma. In his case, at least, these business connection tended to give him more prestige and a larger following as a political leader.

The life of Robert L. Owen also presents an interesting study of political leadership from the viewpoint of the issues he championed. He reflected rather well the principles that were popular in the political mirror at home. Both Oklahoma and Indian Territories contained a large number of Populists who later merged with the Democrats under the banner of Bryan. The exponents of this rather restless democracy were tremendously interested in measures that would increase and stimulate popular government. These tendencies are well illustrated by the old territorial Populist and Democratic platforms as well as in the State Constitution.

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[10] The part that Owen played in the proceedings of the Democratic National Convention are reported in *The Daily Oklahoman,* July 1, 3, 6, 7, 1920.

[11] *Ibid.,* Oct. 8, 1933.

The people found an able and liberal leader to present and defend their issues in the personage of Robert L. Owen. During his eighteen years in the Senate, he vigorously promoted the popular measures of the day, such as the initiative and referendum, the mandatory primary, the short ballot, the publicity pamphlet, the direct election of United States Senators, and a corrupt practices act. He sincerely believed that the American intelligence and conscience were capable of establishing a better form of government through these means.[12] His speeches and writings both in and out of the Senate afford a good criterion for his views on these issues. While many of his arguments may seem stilted, they found favor with the voters and caused them to look upon Senator Owen as a champion of popular government.

He heartily endorsed the initiative and referendum and justified their adoption by claiming that sovereign power resided in the people. The initiative enabled the people to enact the laws necessary for good government which elected representatives failed to adopt; while the referendum permitted them to nullify objectionable acts of the legislature. In this way the legislature was compelled to enact the laws necessary for good government. It was useless for special interests to buy a legislature which could not deliver the needed laws for protection. By this simple method the legislature could be made responsible to the will of the people. Thus sovereignty was restored to the people and caused them to have a greater confidence in the government.[13]

Senator Owen championed a thorough-going direct primary system covering local, state, and national offices, direct election of party committeemen, and a means whereby the voters in each party could directly instruct their delegates. Although it was possible for corrupt influences to creep into the direct primary system, yet the fact remained, it was much easier to purchase a few votes than to buy a large number. The same arguments could be applied with equal facility for the direct election of party committeemen, delegates to party conventions, and instruction of candidates to national party conventions.[14]

He was an early proponent of the short ballot. Experience, he often stated, has demonstrated that it is necessary to have a short ballot in order for the best results to be obtained in the direct nomination of candidates by the voters. The number of candidates must be sufficiently reduced and the offices be of such importance that the voters would know about them and be in a position to judge the merits of the candidates for each office. Only those public servants who were concerned with the formulation of public policies should be elected. Ministerial officers should be appointed by those who formulated the public policies, because only the latter could take the necessary time and have sufficient knowledge to make the proper appointments. An appointed official could be discharged promptly whenever the public welfare required it. When an official was made responsible for the conduct of his department, he was unable to shift the blame to a subordinate who was his appointee and not elected by the people.[15]

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[12] Cong. Rec., 61 Cong., 3 sess., XLVI, pt. 5 (1911), p. 4297.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 4297, 4301.

[14] Robert L. Owen, *The Code of the Peoples' Rule*, 61 Cong., 2 sess., S. Doc. No. 603, LXI (1910), pp. 34, 54, 57.

As an example of his further interest in popular government, he advocated a publicity pamphlet. He contended that it was necessary for the people to have knowledge concerning the issues and candidates before they could vote intelligently. This publicity pamphlet should be issued at government expense and delivered to every voter. It should contain accurate information about the claims of the candidates and the content of the public measures upon which they voted.[16]

Senator Owen took a leading part in the struggle for the direct election of United States Senators, a movement that culminated in the Seventeenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. His reasons for urging such an amendment were clearly stated: It would make the Senate of the United States more responsive to the desires of the people; it would tend to lessen the corruption of state legislatures; it would serve to check the improper use of money in the campaigns by candidates seeking election to the state legislatures pledged to support the selection of United States Senators backed by corrupt interests; and it would prevent the turbulent contests of senatorial candidates that tended to embroil the state legislatures and interfere with needed state legislation. Furthermore, it would compel candidates for the United States Senate to exhibit their merits before the scrutiny of the people and to abide by their decision at the polls; it would eliminate deadlocks, because of extended political contests which in the past had denied various states from time to time their full representation in the Senate; and it would popularize government and tend to increase the confidence of the people in the United States Senate.[17] The Amendment has, at least in part, justified these arguments.

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[15] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[16] *Cong. Rec.*, 63 Cong., 2 sess., LI, pt. 11 (1914), p. 10789.
[17] *Cong. Rec.*, 61 Cong., 2 sess., XLV, pt. 7 (1910), p. 7109.

Believing that reason was the only safe influence in the politics of a free people, Senator Owen insisted upon a corrupt practices act. An act of this nature, he thought, should provide for the limitation of the use of money by candidates and all others interested therein to the absolute necessities of the campaign. These campaign expenditures should receive publicity before the nominating primary and again preceeding the election. The lavish spending of money in primaries and elections, he argued, tended to make the government corrupt and inefficient, because graft was necessary to repay the successful candidates and their friends for large campaign expenditures.[18]

His views on economic and social subjects such as the Federal Reserve System, tariff reduction, prohibition, and woman suffrage were also representative of those held by his constituency. When the Democrats took charge of the national government in 1913, Senator Owen became chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency. This placed him in a position of influence and leadership in the Senate, for the Democratic platform of 1912 promised a rather sweeping reform in banking and currency. His greatest work and outstanding achievement was in connection with drafting and directing the passage of the Federal Reserve Act. The qualities he exhibited as a leader in the successful contest for currency reform raised him to the rank of a statesman, at least in in the minds of Oklahomans.[19] Perhaps the greatest disappointment in Senator Owen's political life was his failure to gain general recognition as the chief sponsor of the Federal Reserve System, since most of the credit went to Carter Glass.

In reference to the tariff problem, Senator Owen favored the tariff commission, reciprocity, and a moderately low tariff which should be adjusted to raise revenue and afford incidental protection. The tariff should be placed on a scientific basis, thus reducing it to a mathematical and commercial proposition that would ultimately lead to reciprocity. In no case should a tariff shelter private monopoly. He contended that the acquisition of property by profiteering, monopoly, extortion, and the unfair exercise of overwhelming commercial and financial power should be restrained and moderated by the government in order to distribute more equitably the proceeds of human labor and give the common man his just participation in the affairs of the government.[20]

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[18] Owen, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[19] Parker La Moore, "Robert L. Owen Given First Place Among U. S. Statesmen from Oklahoma," *The Daily Oklahoman*, July 28, 1929.

[20] *Cong. Rec.*, 66 Cong., 1 sess., LVIII, pt. 6 (1919), p. 6316; *ibid.*, 66 Cong., 2 sess., LIX, pt. 9 (1920), p. 8957.

In Congress and on the public platform Owen always vigorously supported prohibition as a means of conserving human life and promoting human happiness. Alcohol, he contended, not only lowered efficiency of the human organism, but also degraded moral character. Great properties had been built up from the liquor traffic; groggeries were the centers of nefarious political activities. These were so persistent in their practices as to defy even the sovereign power of the United States government. When it came to an issue of that character, the government should grapple with the force that defied the law and determine where the true sovereignty resided.[21]

As a true liberal, Senator Owen was a firm believer in the political equality of men and women. The Constitution uses the word "people" which means both men and women. Political rights for women, he argued, were essential to the full development of national sovereignty.[22]

The foregoing issues were only representative of the policies included in his legislative program. He also gave full attention and support to measures such as the recall, preferential ballot, income tax, good roads, Farm Loan Act, vocational instruction, labor legislation, prevention of child labor, health legislation, and the League of Nations. Always a Jeffersonian, Owen believed that a well-informed citizenry was the only sure foundation for a democracy. He agreed with Abraham Lincoln that "all the people know more than some of the people." It was obvious, however, that the people needed better tools of government to make their will more effective. He devoted a lifetime of service to supporting measures that would give the people increased participation in their government. When the people knew all the facts, Owen asserted, they would verify the biblical statement, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make ye free."[23]

While the reassertion of democratic rights failed to remedy all the evils in government, their is no doubt that the basis of democracy had been strenghtened and broadened. Scheming politicians and special interests still found devious ways to circumvent the clear intent of these popular measures, but the progressive movement had succeeded in introducing a new spirit of social responsibility into government. Undoubtedly, these measures awakened a public consciousness that focused more attention on candidates and insisted on a higher morality in government. Senator Owen in supporting these measures convinced the people of Oklahoma that he was representing their best interests by taking a leading part in helping to develop ''The Code of the Peoples' Rule.''

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[21] *Cong. Rec.*, 63 Cong., 2 sess., LI, pt. 1 (1914), 618; *ibid.*, 63 Cong., 3 sess., LII, pt. 2 (1915), p. 1624.

[22] *Cong. Rec.*, 64 Cong. 1 sess., LIII, pt. 7 (1916), p. 6781.

[23] *Cong. Rec.*, 62 Cong., 2 sess., XLVIII, pt. 2 (1912), p. 1573.

Although Owen may be classed as somewhat of an idealist, yet he was a practical politician. He took care that none of his opponents caught him unawares, especially at election time. He maintained a mailing list of some three hundred thousand names of Oklahomans, whom he kept informed of his views and services. Senator Owen's co-operation with and admiration for both Bryan and Wilson, the idols of the majority of the voters of Oklahoma, increased his political popularity at home. In short, he was able to present his record in such a manner to the voters as to establish the belief that no one could represent the state with more conspicuous ability.

WILLIAM ELBERT UTTERBACK

By Charles Evans

It has been said that a "prophet is not without honor save in his own country." This statement, like all bits of philosophy, depends for its application and truth upon the party making the application. It takes intelligence and discernment to use the word "prophet."

The subject of this sketch, William Elbert Utterback, offered no claim to prophecy. He lived for fifty years in one community and one state and both community and state honored him through all those years as one of its most creative, forceful and competent leaders.

William Elbert Utterback was born in Chapel Hill, Mississippi, October 1, 1874. He was the son of William Franklin and Adelia Amanda (Spears) Utterback. His father was a Mississippi planter and the word "planter" to one who knows much of the old South, understands at once that young Utterback was born under circumstances that were more far-reaching than broad lands, an attractive home and money.

A Mississippi plantation in nine cases out of ten, gave the children who were reared on it, a high station, abundant opportunities and a training that constantly impressed them that they had good blood, a noble heritage and a name to guard and dignify. All these, the Utterbacks had, and throughout life they moved with the just pride that this heritage gave.

So with this background, the story of the life of William Elbert Utterback runs true to form. In the public schools of Chapel Hill he moved forward until the time he finished his schooling as a graduate with the degrees B. S., M. A. in the Mississippi Agricultural and Military College in 1894. Choosing Law for his life work, he entered Mississippi University, where he received his L. L. B. degree in 1897. He had hardly "hung out his shingle" as a lawyer before he volunteered in the United States Army in the Spanish American War. It is well to say at this point he was following in the footsteps of his father who served with honor and distinction in the Army of the Southern Confederacy. He was mustered out as First Lieutenant of the 40th Infantry in 1901 and hearing of the remarkable progress of the Oklahoma regions, he went to Durant, Indian Territory and joined with another aspiring young lawyer, Robert L. Williams in a law partnership in the year 1901.

WILLIAM ELBERT UTTERBACK

It is said "We become a part of all we meet." No paragraph or brief article could tell the story of the high character, power and achievement that grew out of this partnership and friendship of William Elbert Utterback and Robert L. Williams. For fifty years the name of Utterback in the city of Durant and his partner who went out into the political world and became a member of the Constitutional Convention, Justice of the Supreme Court, Governor of the State of Oklahoma and a member of the United States Court of Appeals. Utterback and Williams were never separated either in friendship or in the serious affairs of life for half a century.

It is needless to dwell here upon the lofty heights, reputation and power attained by William Elbert Utterback as lawyer and banker in the region of Durant, southeastern Oklahoma and the entire State. He engaged in a broad and general law practice. His signal ability brought him to the Federal Courts in large receivership cases; in 1927 he was appointed Chief Justice of a Special Court set up to hear a case concerning an attorney held in contempt of the Oklahoma Supreme Court. This evidence of his integrity and his ability as revealed in the decision in this case won him renoun in the Southwest. In due season he was called to serve in Washington D. C. as a member of the Selective Service Repeal Board for the Eastern District of Oklahoma and then he went on to become Major Judge Advocate of the Army, servicing in Washington D. C.

He achieved immediate success among the attorneys of the State and Nation. He was President of the Durant Bar Association; in 1932 he was elected President of the Oklahoma State Bar Association.

Utterback reached a high position in the world of finance as he did in law. He became a Director of the First National Bank of Bennington; served as President of the American National Bank of Durant through many years. In 1913 when the Federal Reserve Bank system was set up, Utterback was made one of the Directors for the Southwest Federal Bank at Dallas, Texas.

Such a career in law and in finance of course had fitted him for service as a civic and political leader of outstanding and far-reaching reputation. He served as chairman of the Bryan County Democratic Central Committee for thirty seven years; he served in the Spanish-American War as First Lieutenant in the First Mississippi Volunteer Regiment; he helped put down the insurrection in the Phillipine Islands; responded to the call of his country and was assigned to the office of Judge Advocate-General of the Army with the rank of Major; he was a member of the State Democratic Central Committee, and member of the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma.

The greatest event of course in a good man's career is found in his marriage. Son of a Confederate soldier and reared in the atmosphere of southern traditions, he was following the line of high tradition when he found his life companion in Miss Valerie Burton, and their marriage took place in Holly Springs, Mississippi on March 12, 1902. Miss Burton was the daughter of John S. Burton, a veteran of the Confederate Army and for many years Marshal of the Northern District of Mississippi and Clerk of the Federal Court of that District, 1894 to 1910. Her mother was Priscilla (Wooten) Burton, a native of North Carolina. The Burtons were of revolutionary, pioneer stock and served their country throughout the Revoluntionary War. Their only child, Priscilla Wooten Utterback, grew up under the fine influence of her parents and it is no wonder that this remarkable daughter, in devotion to her father, should read law and become a member of the Bar of the State of Oklahoma. In 1930 William Elbert Utterback joined with a great and just pride, in a partnership with his daughter, the law firm of Utterback and Utterback. Miss Utterback is now practicing law in the city of Durant with distinction.

William Elbert Utterback found time in the run of his truly great career to serve in Durant community affairs. He was the first Commander of the Green Bryant Post of the American Legion; first President of the Durant Rotary Club, chartered in 1919; he affiliated with the First Presbyterian Church in Durant for a long number of years. No cry for help came from the homes, the Church and the schools to which he did not respond with the ardor of a loyal and courageous neighbor and citizen.

So runs in brief the story of one of Oklahoma's most eminent and able sons. It is heartening to recall that when his partner and long time friend for half a century, Robert L. Williams died in 1948, he named William Elbert Utterback as an attorney for the Executor of his estate. Mr. Utterback died at Sherman, Texas, September 18, 1950, and his body rests among the people of Durant whom he loved so well.

THE ROBERT LEE WILLIAMS MEMORIAL DEDICATION

By Charles Evans

Early in September 1953, Hon. Harry Gibson, Jr., Trustee of the Estate of Robert L. Williams, deceased, invited the Oklahoma Historical Society in a letter to its President, Gen. Wm. S. Key, to hold under the auspices of the Society, a proper ceremony for the dedication of the Robert Lee Williams memorial monument then in place in the City Cemetery of Durant, Oklahoma.

The history of the State of course, records the remarkable career of Robert Lee Williams ;a member of the Constitutional Convention, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, U. S. Federal Judge and a member of the U. S. Court of Appeals, all included in a career of some fifty years for the State and Nation. He had been one of the greatest benefactors the Oklahoma Historical Society had known, therefore, General Key and the Board of Directors accepted the invitation put forth by Mr. Gibson and at 2:30 p. m. in the Durant Cemetery the following program was set forth with the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, its Board of Directors, together with the Staff Members, all meeting with the citizens of Durant and other distinguished citizens of the State, gathered about the impressive monument.

After the invocation was given by Rev. John Mueller of the First Presbyterian Church of Durant, the song "America" was sung by the assembled throng, led by the A Cappella choir of the Southeastern State College. Hon. Harry W. Gibson, Jr., Trustee of the Estate of Robert L. Williams, deceased, set forth in brief the history of the monument and the careful selection of its site in the city of Durant, chosen because this eminent jurist and statesman, Robert Lee Williams, had spent his life among the people of Durant and Bryan County and always had called this city his home and these people his friends and neighbors.

He then introduced Gen. Wm S. Key, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, as Master of Ceremonies and asked that he take charge of further exercises. The President of the Society spoke briefly of the high esteem and great reverence which the State institution known as the Oklahoma Historical Society, held for the life and memory of this distinguished man. He sketched in close terms, how Judge Williams, a profound student and lover of history and devoted to his State, had guarded, builded and directed this Society through.

After these remarks the A Cappella choir together with the assembly, sang "America, the Beautiful." President Key set forth that the Society had exercised great care as to the choice of a man who had the highest requisites for delivering on this occasion, a proper appraisal of the life of Robert Lee Williams. It was wholly essential that the one chosen should know as intimately as possible, the life and service of this eminent citizen of the State and Nation; a man who was rated by all Oklahoma as a citizen of great ability and character and could offer an oration upon this occasion worthy of the man and of the hour.

The Board of Directors had found that man in the distinguished attorney and citizen of Oklahoma for more than fifty years, the Hon. Baxter Taylor of Oklahoma City. He therefore took great pleasure in introducing Judge Taylor who delivered the oration of the day.

Standing near the monument and grave of his long time friend, Mr. Taylor spoke beneath the clear sky, to the assembled throng. With clear voice, deliberate, yet with an eloquence issuing from a devotion and friendship of almost half a century, Mr. Taylor held his audience in rapt attention. Believing that this eulogy should be given to as many readers as *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* may find throughout the State and Nation, this journal, as exponent of the Society, sets forth on its pages the oration delivered by Judge Taylor.

At the conclusion of this address, the A Cappella choir of the Southeastern State College gave a musical arrangement of the "Pledge of Allegiance." In closing, President Key introduced Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, an educator and historian in Oklahoma for almost fifty years, who would close the program with prayer.

It should be said that the Governor of Oklahoma, Hon. Johnston Murray, had ordered the State flag over the Capitol of the State to fly at half-mast and called upon all the citizens of the State to recognize November 12, 1953, as a period set aside for contemplation of the life of this great man. Officers of the State, members of the Supreme Court of the State of Oklahoma, eminent citizens in all the professions and pursuits of life, together with the host of neighbors and friends of the region about Durant, gathered about the monument upon a hillside in Durant and made the ceremony a memorable occasion.

In the morning of November 12, 1953, Miss Priscilla Utterback daughter of Hon. W. E. Utterback, deceased, perhaps one of the closest friends Robert Lee Williams ever knew, held "open house" in the historic old Utterback home and graciously received friends of Judge Williams and her father.

In closing, it would be well to say that the monument[1] erected consists of an impressive Monolith of beautiful gray granite, carved in such a way as to permit an alcove which seemingly embraces a few feet from it, the grave which is protected by a heavy slab of granite. The lettering on this granite slab has at the top, the Masonic emblem, and below that:

Robert Lee Williams
December 20, 1868
April 10, 1948.

At the top of the monument proper, the name "Robert Lee Williams" extends across the entire front in large letters. The state seal is in the center of the rear of the interior. On either side of the interior are emblems of the scales of Justice with mistletoe ornamentation.

Within the alcove portion of the monument, are carved these words:

"Robert Lee Williams, born Brunridge Alabama, December 20, 1868;
Son of Johnathan and Sara Julia (Paul) Williams.
Admitted Alabama Bar 1894, came to Oklahoma, 1896.
Oklahoma Constitutional Convention 1906-07;
Chief Justice Supreme Court of Oklahoma 1907-1915;
Governor of Oklahoma, 1915-1919;
United States Judge Eastern District of Oklahoma 1919-1937;
United States Circuit Judge, Tenth District, 1937-1939;
Member, director, president Oklahoma Historical Society;
American Bar Association, Alpha Tau Omega (Alabama Chapter);
A Methodist, 32nd Degree Mason, Shriner.

"Robert Lee Williams was a builder of buildings, of institutions and of men. These endure, and are his memorial. The tradition which he left, foresight, integrity and fearless devotion to the state of Oklahoma and the nation, are a guide to all who would serve mankind."

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[1] The monument is of shelter design. It is 11 feet wide and 11 feet, 2 inches tall. The architect was Harold J. Schaller of New York, and the monument was bought from the Muskogee Marble and Granite Company of Muskogee.

ROBERT LEE WILLIAMS AS I KNEW HIM

*By Baxter Taylor**

Robert Lee Williams, destined to eminence in manhood's estate was born in 1868 in the ruin and shambles of a tragic civil war. His Southland at that day was prostrate, devastated, in dismal ruin—the bleeding wounds of fraternal strife had not yet healed.

He was born amid the grimmest conditions of the poverty then suffered by his beloved South. Under these conditions he was reared to early manhood. His inner life yearned for an education. To attain his heart's desire he bore the hard life of self-denial; he ate the ashen crust and wore the thread-bare garments of poverty's barren existence. But in this, his first and grimmest contest of life, he won. He went through college and obtained a college degree. He thus went forth with an education, due preparation and training for the hard and strenuous life ahead.

From heredity, and environment there was in his soul a deep and abiding spiritual yearning. He early felt that soul-impetus and desire for the work of the ministry; and for a brief time he labored in that field. But he soon adjudged himself unsuited to that high calling; in his self-appraisement he concluded that his life and talents were best suited for the legal profession. He studied law under an able master, and was soon admitted to the bar of his native Alabama. In that far-gone day and under the conditions then prevailing in the South, ambitious youth turned their eager eyes Westward, which to them was the promised land. In his youthful vision, young Williams saw the far spreading prairies, and fields of the harvest as plenteous as the land of the Nile. He saw the beckoning hand of destiny and he followed its Western course. His trail of high expectations ended in the Indian Territory in the year 1896. He pitched his tent in the little village of Atoka in the Choctaw Nation. Remaining there for less than a year, in his discerning eye he saw conditions of richest promise in the then small town of Durant. And here Robert L. Williams settled in January 1897; and here he lived, labored and attained high success in his noon-day and here he went to his eternal rest in the evening when life's labors were done.

Robert Lee Williams was not a usual or an average man. He had vision; he had ambition; he had character, and he walked the roadway of life unafraid of evil men and of evil temptations. His was a laudable ambition for power. Its well-springs were the desire to see right prevail over wrong. Judge Williams had a mortal hatred of dishonesty in its every form; and he was at eternal war with the crooked conduct of men. I think that he never aspired to office without the noble purpose in his heart of making better the conditions of life in which he and his fellow men lived.

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* Address by Hon. Baxter Taylor, delivered at the dedication of the monument to Robert L. Williams on November 12, 1953, at Durant, Oklahoma.—Ed.

Judge Williams in his forward looking, had a vision of statehood of the land that he adopted as home; a vision of a great enlightened, prosperous commonwealth, formed by a combination of the Indian Territory and the Oklahoma Territory. He was a leader in the movement and was therefore politically active.

When I came from my Tennessee birthland to Atoka, Indian Territory on the last day of September 1906, I entered a vast zone of political warfare. Judge Williams, and the other 111 men, had just been nominated on the Democratic ticket for delegates to the Constitutional Convention. He and some other enthusiastic Democratic partisans felt the necessity of having a newspaper at Atoka to proclaim their kind of political gospel. I became the editor, business manager, errand-boy and general roustabout. The crown of political righteousness was placed upon my youthful head and the sword of Democratic truth was put into my hands. I went forth to help do battle for Candidate Williams, and other nearby candidates; and the election brought palms of victory and crowns of glory to our side. Judge Williams thereby became an accredited delegate to the Constitutional Convention that met in Guthrie. He at once took his place as one of the three most important leaders of that Convention. His large fund of legal knowledge, and his great practical wisdom enabled him to write some of the most important and vital provisions of the Constitution of Oklahoma. All his work in that Convention came of a desire to promote the general welfare of the people of the State then and for the years to come. Indeed, the purpose of all his life efforts was mothered by the desire to keep evil persons from wronging good people.

When Statehood was finally established, he became a candidate for the Supreme Court and was elected. He served the term and was re-elected. He became the first Chief Justice of that Court. And more than any member of the new Court, he gave life and vitality to the new and progressive Constitution which he helped to write—which contained all the provisions then formed to fit modern life. In 1914 Judge Williams was elected governor of his adopted state on a platform of rugged honesty and cruel economy. And he kept the faith. He built the State Capitol and the University Hospital and no touch of graft, no act of dishonor occurred in the construction of those two noble edifices. The final structure of his crowning glory is the Historical Society Building. I may be pardoned for saying I was there and know first-hand the steps taken that led to the building of that temple of history, one of the three most beautiful structures dedicated to history in all the United States. Having entire confidence in his ability, experience and integrity, the leaders of the legislature told him to write the bill and they would pass it. He did so; and it now stands a building of classic beauty whose use is to preserve the history of Oklahoma for the centuries to come. It is the final monument to his best loved work in life—the preservation of the story of the lives of this people from year to year and age to age.

Governor Williams put on the judicial robes of a United States District Judge in 1919, a few days after his term of Governor expired—an appointment made by President Wilson. For 18 years he held this post of honor and hard service. Then in April 1937 President Roosevelt elevated him to the United State Circuit Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit, the second highest tribunal in the country. In these high judicial positions he labored most industriously and untiringly. He honored this high bench. His wisdom balanced his integrity. His true sense of right brightened the pages of his every decision.

It is a fact of great profit in these days that he disdained profligacy and wanton waste in the personal lives of men. He saved and grew financially strong rather than spend and have nothing when old age came.

Judge Williams was a man of noble convictions that were as deep as life. He gloriously exemplified the high art of living honestly; and in all his living let the truth, be said, that he lived not for himself alone. He was generous to every honest and worthy need, although he let not the left hand know what the right hand did. He knew not the sweets of domestic life—the devotion of wife, the touch of a childish hand upon his cheek as father, the blissful atmosphere of home's temple. But God gave him a heart that felt and knew the holy impulse of love; and these sentiments moved him to give Thanksgiving dinners for the little news-boys; he loved the preachers and gave to them freely when there was just need. He believed devoutly in God and he revered all that was holy.

Judge Williams loved his adopted State; and he cherished the history of the struggles and triumphs of the builders of Oklahoma. To him his native state and his native South were the immortal children of affections. And the little country Church of his boyhood in Alabama remained to his last hour the inner sanctuary of his fond and prideful memories.

Judge Robert Lee Williams lived a laborous, honest, abundant life; and this our State, for us, our children and our children's children is thereby a better place in which to live.

FIFTY YEARS AGO IN SHAWNEE AND POTTAWATOMIE COUNTY

*By Ernestine Gravley**

The year 1903 in Shawnee and Pottawatomie County marked the opening of a new era. The town had been established in 1895[1] and the eight years preceding half a century ago saw the village mushroom to a booming young city.

Whites and Indians had learned to live together in harmony and real industry and business were underway. Land was fertile and plentiful, selling for from $5 to $60 an acre.[2] Great numbers of men with their families arrived daily from the East to settle in this fabulous land of plenty.

The country was still looked upon as a frontier but the element of danger was far behind and hardships were not unavoidable. Shawnee was never a cattle town in the strictest sense but a trading center and Indian town. One historian has observed that few gun-wearing cowboys appeared on Shawnee's streets, either before or after the stumps were pulled from the middle of Main.

Coming of the railroads made Shawnee the metropolitan center of the county although Tecumseh was the county seat and a much older town.[3] Every effort was made by Tecumseh leaders to bring the first railroad their way, but geographic conditions[4] and other factors favored the newer and larger town of Shawnee. The latter grew phenomenally and bitter rivalry grew between the two towns as Shawnee sought the county seat as early as 1899.[5]

County elections allowed Tecumseh to win again in 1909 and 1911.[6] Shawnee forced the issue and won in 1930, but all the early years of the century saw the two-city tug of war over both the railroad issue and that of the county seat.

Shawnee gathered to see the first train pull in on the Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf tracks here on July 4, 1895.[7] There was a big parade and celebration. Among the merrymakers was a one-family band consisting of a Mr. Coffman and four sons, Raymond, Harvey, George and Charlton, playing three fifes, snare drum and bass.[8]

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* Ernestine Gravley has had articles published in the *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, and several of her feature stories have appeared in *The Daily Oklahoman* (1953). Mrs. Gravley makes her home in Shawnee, and is a member of the National League of American Pen Women.—Ed.

[1] Luther B. Hill, *A History of the State of Oklahoma*, (Chicago & New York, 1909) Vol. I, p. 492.

[2] Scrapbook in the collection of Mrs. D. H. Cofer, of Shawnee.

[3] Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 492.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] John Fortson, *Pott Country and What Has Come of It*, (Shawnee, 1936), p. 14.

[7] Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 492.

The first Santa Fe train arrived on June 29, 1904,[9] and the Texas and Oklahoma Railway announced plans of coming to Shawnee, the same year after Charles Effenger made the first donation to the site fund on February 17, 1903.[10] Freight receipts for the year ending March 1, 1903 were almost double that of any other city in Oklahoma, according to a local newspaper of that year.

Not to be completely outdone in the matter of railroads, aggressive Tecumseh built a short line to the Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf (later Rock Island) junction in Shawnee.[11] It's train, the ''Lillian Russell'' was the butt of many cruel jokes, but it did a thriving business nevertheless. Roads being poor, passenger business was brisk on the junction. In one year the railroad shipped 11,000 bales of cotton out of Tecumseh.[12] One newspaper carried an account when ''the Lillian Russell, fast mail train collided with a buggy on one of its four daily trips. The buggy lost a wheel but the engine was laid up in the shops for a whole day.[13]

While the railroad dispute was raging, rumors flew among the citizens on both sides of the Canadian. News would reach Shawnee that Tecumseh had lost, and mobs of citizens would celebrate by running to the nearest blacksmith shop to shoot anvils. This was done by placing powder between two anvils and touching a match to it. Citizens of Tecumseh when awakened by the loud noise, would mourn their luck all night. Perhaps the next night, the procedure would be reversed, with the people of Shawnee suffering while Tecumseh gleefully shot anvils.[14]

After a few years, the Tecumseh Railway company made a deed of sale, conveying ownership to the Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf for the sum of $12,000.[15] The railway company built a 20-mile line from Tecumseh to Asher in 1903,[16] and all these holdings later became a part of the Rock Island in Pottawatomie County.

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[8] "Memoirs" of Mrs. Sarah Worthington, of Shawnee, daughter of F. A. Hill.

[9] Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 492.

[10] *Shawnee Daily Herald*, Feb. 20, 1903.

[11] Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 492.

[12] Fortson, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[13] Worthington, "Memoirs."

[14] *Oklahoma, A Guide to the Sooner State*, American Guide Series (Norman, 1941), p. 194.

[15] *History of the Rock Island in Oklahoma*, Rock Island Railways, manuscript notes.

[16] Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 492.

The C. O. & G. R. R. was taken over by lease on March 24, 1904 by the Rock Island for a period of 999 years.[17]

Half a century ago, 1903-04,[18] the first brick paving was going down in Shawnee but mainly, the streets were hub-deep to the wagons in mud and, in dry weather, were so deep with dust that when the wind blew, one could hardly see across the street. Board sidewalks skirted the thoroughfare on either side.

There were several one-story brick buildings here, one of the first of these erected by a Mr. Wayland, who hauled the bricks from Oklahoma City, fording the river at Sweeney's Crossing.[19] Shawnee had offered Tecumseh business men a lot for every brick building they would construct and a number of them came over. Most of the buildings, however, were wooden structures with porches, none on the same level with its neighbors.[20]

Up and down Main street on the north side, the principal business houses in 1903 were:[21] Vintage Grocery, Fanny Reese's millinery shop, Drs. Crampton and Henderson, Harryman's drug store, Shawnee National Bank, Wright's store, Keller and Logan barber shop, Remington-Pottenger drug store, Charley Miles' jewelry, Brown bakery, Christney building and Becker theater.

On the south was Martin Brothers bottling works. At the corner of Main and Beard was A. B. Carroll's drygoods store, followed by Pace furniture, First National Bank, Mitchell and Johnson Men's store, Oklahoma National, Tackett undertakers, Dilworth hardware, Racket general store, Dad Sparks cafe, Saunders shoe store and the Mammoth Building. Down the street were Meeks butcher shop, Saddle Rock Hotel, Huggins general store and Hotel Burt.

Saloons were almost as numerous as other businesses combined and bore such colorful names as the "Silver Moon," "Cotton Blossom Saloon," "Log Cabin Saloon," "House of Lords," "Coney Island" and "Kentucky Liquor House."[22] Mustached bartenders stood in doorways wearing long, white aprons. Out of consideration for the ladies, saloons were generally grouped on one side of the street and the ladies were careful to walk on the other side.

Full dresses that swept the ground had to be lifted a trifle to avoid dust and mud, milady meanwhile balancing a parasol. One elderly lady recalls that "We bought wire bustles at the

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[17] *History of the Rock Island, op. cit.*

[18] Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 492.

[19] Interview with Judge and Mrs. Clarence Robison of Shawnee.

[20] Cofer, scrapbook collection.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Ibid.*

Mammoth store where they were kept in barrels. Of course, we would never allow a male clerk to wait on us.''[23]

Wagon yards and mule barns were many and blacksmiths were kept busy. Harry Johnson,[24] who also made lightning rods was head of the ''General Blacksmith and Carriage Shop.'' This establishment employed 24 men, manufactured as many as 75 buggies and 175 wagons a year, and shod about 150 horses a day. Johnson recalls that a fine buggy retailed at $125. Best known wagon brands were ''Studebaker,'' ''Moline,'' ''Springfield'' and ''Webber.''

Two gray horses stood ready in stalls at the fire station one block south of the Mammoth Building.[25] Harness hung above already hooked up to a ladder wagon. A pull rope dropped the harness onto the horses, the collars were snappd together and they were ready for a run. On the wagon were the words: *Our Motto—Rescue.* A bell tower in front of the building had a bell with a double clapper and two ropes rang out the fire alarms.

Next door was the police station where prisoners were chained to the floor. F. A. Hill[26] was police chief and there were eight other men to assist him. J. T. Farrall was mayor, E. C. Stanard was police judge, and Bill Day, sheriff.

A public watering fountain for horses was set up in the center of what is now Broadway at the corner of Ninth. This useful and ornamental object was known all over the country and regretfully removed when the streetcars came to town about 1903. The relic now stands in the 200 block of East 7th Street.[27]

Fifty years ago was a memorable time for Shawnee. Both the Santa Fe and the Rock Island established shops which employed several hundreds of men.[28] More hotels were built and boarding houses flourished.

The Shawnee Roller Mills, later named Shawnee Milling company[29] and one of the largest industries of its kind in the country was getting into big production for its size, with a capacity of 100 barrels of flour a day. J. Lloyd Ford bought the business in 1906.

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[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (Chicago & New York, 1916) Vol. IV, p. 1408.

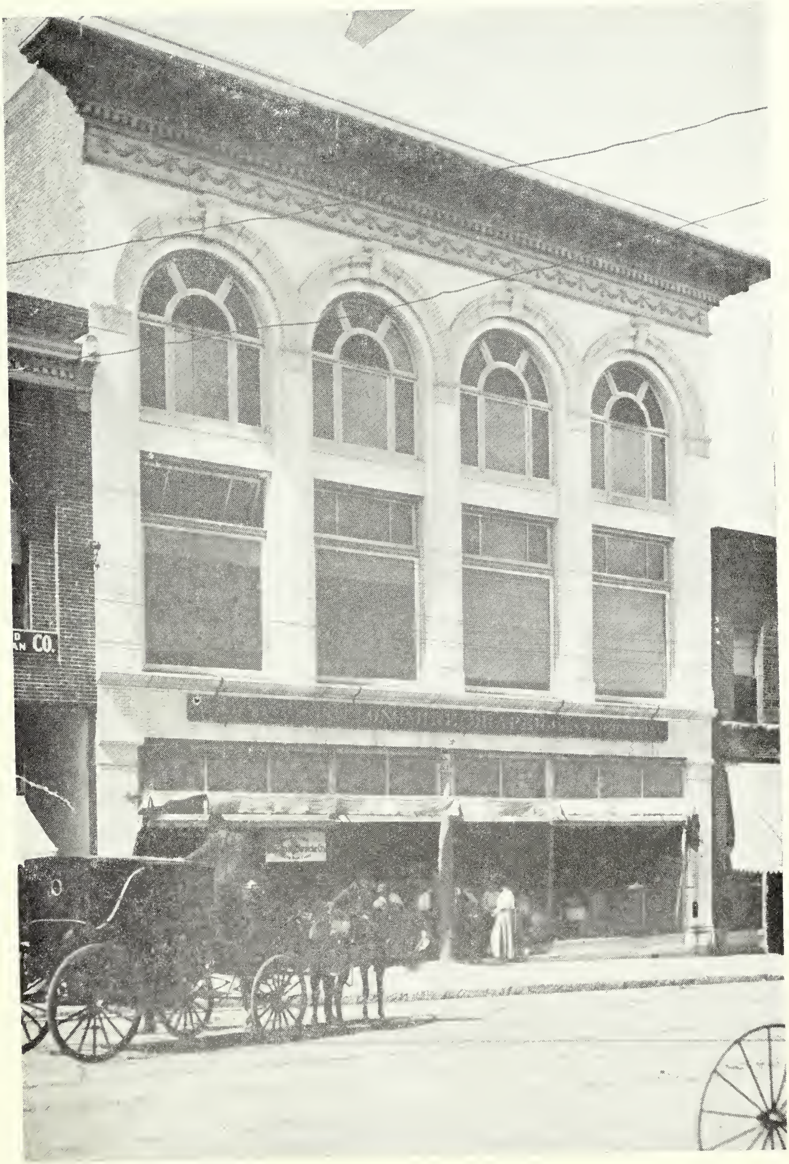
[25] Fortson, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[26] Worthington, "Memoirs."

[27] Shawnee Chamber of Commerce pamphlet.

[28] *Oklahoma, A Guide*, ... p. 194.

[29] Interview with J. Lloyd Ford Sr., owner of Shawnee Milling Co.



Cab draws up in front of the largest building in Shawnee, 1903

A cloudburst on May 29, 1903 destroyed many homes and washed out railroad tracks near town. Fire destroyed eight business blocks in Shawnee on July 16, 1903. A strike of city plumbers just laying the first pipe was settled with an agreement of an eight-hour working day for $3.50 on August 6, 1903.[30]

All the 1903 graduates from Shawnee Highschool were girls: Bertha Ellis, Lena Linn and Pearl Linn.[31]

George E. McKinnis was postmaster in 1903, and long an educator. One evening that year, as he talked with two dinner guests in his home, Drs. E. E. Chivers and N. B. Rairden, the idea for Oklahoma Baptist University was born.[32] McKinnis did probably more than any other individual to establish the University in Shawnee, eight years later.

In 1903,[33] a franchise was voted the Shawnee-Tecumseh Traction company for the interurban line and streetcars did a thriving business for several years. Many think this did more for neighborly relations of the two cities than any factor of the day. An article in the old *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine* of May, 1908 read: "Tecumseh's future is insured because it is in the suburbs of Shawnee, the second city in the state and the most likely to become the permanent state capital."

Black gold excitement was real in Shawnee in October, 1903 when representatives of the Pennsylvania Oil & Gas company announced intention of drilling four test wells and the city council voted a gas franchise to the company, effective on completion. It was twenty years later, however, before real oil prosperity came here.[34]

Cotton was the principal farm crop at the time of our story. In 1903, there were shipped from Shawnee by rail 555 cars of cattle, 15 cars of horses, 100 cars of hogs, 245 cars of corn, 400 cars of cottonseed and products, 400 cars of potatoes and 26,000 bales of cotton.[35]

A pioneer resident, William Keller observed: "I've seen Main street so filled with cotton bales that you could travel from the Santa Fe tracks to Union street (about five blocks) by jumping from one pile of bales to another."

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[30] Interview with Miss Jennie McDivitt of Shawnee; Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People,* (New York, 1929) Vol. III, p. 288.

[31] Cofer, scrapbook collection.

[32] Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.* Vol. III, p. 265.

[33] Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 493.

[34] *Oklahoma, A Guide . . . . ,* p. 195.

[35] *Shawnee Daily Herald,* Jan. 26, 1904.

The first bale of cotton raised here was an accident. H. Barrett had bought too much cottonseed for feeding purposes and his wife pestered him day and night about the pile in the yard. At last, when he could take no more, he took the seeds out and scattered them across a field. With no cultivation, he had 2,000 pounds of cotton that fall.[36]

The *Evening News* and the *Daily Herald,* 8-pagers, were the leading Shawnee newspapers half a century ago.[37] Each published a weekly edition besides. The *Shawnee Quill* was a smaller paper. All were civic boosters as this excerpt shows: "Shawnee is called the Forest City and the natural beauty of her magnificent groves are a present delight, one long to be enjoyed if intelligent care is afforded them. The social life of Shawnee is equal in character to that of any city her size in the union."

Horse racing was a popular pastime and just west of the city was a race track and grandstand. The first baseball club was organized about this time. The Shawnee Blues were champions of Indian Territory. They were: Santany, catcher; Potts, catcher; Bankhead, second base; Ogee, shortstop; Jameson, first base; Shelby, left field; Vandine, third base; Swartzel, pitcher and right field; and Congdon, manager.[38]

Lush grazing land surrounded Shawnee. One oldtimer recalls that at the end of Kickapoo street, just south of the tracks were a hundred acres literally covered with longhorn steers, possibly 3,000 of them. Steak, she remembers, was 10 cents a pound.

On January 1, 1903, the *Shawnee Evening News*[39] published an historical edition announcing the city's population as being 12,000 and almost equal with Oklahoma City. This was fantastic growth considering the fact that it was on September 22, 1891[40] that the "run" by white pioneers was made into Pottawatomie country.

Miss Etta B. Ray staked the first claim on the site of Shawnee and she and her husband of a short time later, Henry G. Beard built the first log cabin here, which is preserved for history and stands in Woodland park.[41] Pottawatomie County was first known as County B and was later named for the Potawatomi tribe.[42]

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[36] Fortson, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[37] *Oklahoma, A Guide . . . .*, p. 196.

[38] Cofer, scrapbook collection.

[39] Worthington, "Memoirs."

[40] Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 555.

[41] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 412.

[42] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 555. (The officially approved name of the tribe is "Potawatomi."—Ed.)

Mr. Beard named both the town and the county and was the first mayor.[43]

The town was biult on the rise immediately north of the North Canadian river around a trading post operated by Clay and Blossom. It was called in turn Brockway, Forest City and finally Shawnee, in tribute to the Indian tribe first to make its home on this land.[44] There was previously a postoffice designation for "Shawneetown,"[45] about the present site of the Indian Sanitorium, south of Shawnee, halfway to Tecumseh.

Homesteaders Henry Beard, Charles Farrall and Martin Bentley laid out the village and started angling for railroads.[46] What is now Farrall street, south of the Rock Island tracks was the main street and it was several years later before the town extended further north than Highland street.[47]

Names of streets, as the town developed were chosen thusly: Beard and Farrall were for original townsiters; the city market centered on what is named Market street; Park street was so named because it ended at Farrall park; Louisa was for Farrall's wife. Other streets named for promoters were Aydelotte, Bentley, Cammack, Chapman, Darrow, Draper, Douglas, Hobson, Pottenger, Wallace, Dill, Tucker, Wood and Whittaker. Numerous others were for wives of these promoters: Rosa, Alice, Fay, Elizabeth, Dorothy and so on.[48]

History of Shawnee would at no period be complete without at least touching upon the part in the drama played by the Indians. The Shawnee tribe[49] had lived contentedly in the forest of Oklahoma and Indian territories for many years before the Potawatomi pushed down from Kansas, and earlier from the Great Lakes region. It was during the Civil War period that the Citizen band of the Potawatomi (those who intermarried with whites and held individual plots of land) came to this country, while the Prairie band clung to tribal law and tradition, remaining in Kansas.

William Griffinstein, the German trader who founded Wichita, Kansas married a Pottawatomie woman and came here to take up her allotment. Here he founded the little town of Burnett[50] in what is now the southern part of the county and which was named for Joe Burnett, father of the well-known Lee Burnett of today's Shawnee. The latter's grandfather Abram, was a figure in history, the 240-pound Potawatomi chief who died in Kansas and whose grave is marked by an historical marker.[51]

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[43] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 412.

[44] Fortson, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[45] Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 492.

[46] Interview with George E. McKinnis; Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 262.

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 555.

[50] Interview with Lee Burnett, of Shawnee, son of founder.

Burnett was one of the oldest towns in the county and it was literally moved to Tribbey and Macomb later, when the railroad went through those little places. Today, nothing remains of the town of Burnett but the old Griffinstein home, a landmark.[52]

In 1900, the present Indian agency was established with management of the Shawnee and Potawatomi who were at last settled on allotments by the government after years of bickering. Missionaries of the Friends Society of Quakers had built the Shawnee Mission school[53] and Frank A. Thackery, superintendent, also acted as disbursing agent, combining the work of the agency and the school.

The Kickapoo reservation lay in the area of McLoud and north of that town, the Friend's Mission was active, but a few years later, the Shawnee agency became the center under whose jurisdiction are still the five tribes: Potawatomi, Shawnee, Sauk and Fox, Iowa and Kickapoo.[54]

Ideas of civilization and education were new to the Indians when the white man arrived in Pottawatomie country, and two fine Indian men will go down in history as doing more than any others to further the progress of their people in a time of confusion and unrest. They were Thomas Wildcat Alford of near Tecumseh and John King, of the site of McLoud, both Shawnees. These two as lads overcame great obstacles to attend Hampton Institute in Virginia against the will of the more backward members of their tribe, to become educated for the purpose of guarding the rights and furthering the progress of their beloved people.[55]

Ghost towns across the Pottawatomie map, due to the course of the railroads and the later ushering in of Oklahoma as a dry state are several. One of them was Moral, so called because Brooks Walker, the first settler allowed no saloons. Principal occupation of the residents is jokingly said to have been catching squirrels for Kansas City and St. Louis parks. Other towns long gone are the Corner, near present day Asher, Young's Crossing, Violet Springs, west of what is now Konawa and Keokuk Falls in the northeast corner.[56]

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[51] *Ibid.*

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Thomas Wildcat Alford, *Civilization*, as told to Florence Drake, (Norman, 1936), p. 74.

[54] Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 555.

[55] Alford, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

[56] Fortson, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 21, 22, 23.

These border towns were wide-open brawling places which sprang up to serve men travellers the fire water they could not obtain across the line. They were hangouts for outlaws, among them the famed rustlers, Bob and Bill Christian. Here was the scene of activity of Al Jenning, notorious train robber who later reformed and crusaded against frontier crime. His father, J. D. F. Jenning was an early Pottawatomie County judge.

When Congress divided the land into Oklahoma and Indian territories, the border was what is now the Seminole-Pottawatomie county line. Under law, Oklahoma territory was wet and on this side, Indian territory was dry. Hence, the above named border saloon towns which wrote bloody history fifty years ago.

Travellers on cattle trails riding horses and wearing boots got liquor at these ''last chance'' saloons and hid it in their boots to enter dry territory. Here was coined the terms ''bootlegger'' and ''last chance'', still national catchwords in today's liquor traffic.

Oldtimers recall that foremost of the county saloon keepers were Andy Morrison, George Young, Bill Conner, Jesse West, D. N. Beatty and Dr. N. Stutsman. Rivalry in this business caused many gun battles and much bloodshed. There were 62 saloons and two licensed distilleries in Pottawatomie County fifty years ago.[57]

The *Shawnee Herald,* in a 1903 editorial said that ''Shawnee's daily consumption amounts to 700 gallons of beer and 25 gallons of whiskey.'' When the Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf passenger trains stopped at the Shawnee depot, the conductors would call: ''Shawnee—twenty minutes for lunch and to see a man killed.'' So reports one pioneer who heard the call many times.

A number of fine citizens are today living memorials of unselfish promotion of a great city and county. Pioneers who made their contributions are too many to mention, but these few come to mind: Robert R. Hendon, Geo. E. McKinnis, E. L. Estes, Jesse Pelphery, Geo. K. Hunter, J. Lloyd Ford, Geo. H. Kerfoot, Drs. B. F. Nisbett, G. S. Baxter and W. M. Gallaher, M. M. Henderson, Kib Warren, G. C. Abernathy and Sid Clarke.

One typical example is Clarence Robinson, now municipal judge of Shawnee.[58] Judge Robinson was an educator in the early years and as superintendent, organized the 117 Pottawatomie County schools under statehood, riding horseback hundreds of miles a year for six years to complete the job. Earlier, as mayor of Tecumseh, he championed her cause for the county seat, meanwhile serving as president of the board of education and studying law.

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[57] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[58] Interview with Mrs. Clarence Robison, wife of municipal judge of Shawnee.

When Shawnee strode ahead as the real hub of the county, Judge Robison, never a man to hold grudges came here in order to serve better. In addition to his work as a practising attorney for 40 years, he has continued almost constantly as a public official and an educator. Scores of other citizens have paralleled this record in the county and again it has been proven that people are what basically make a town.

The "good old days" were here in 1903 in all their glory. Despite the brawl that goes with settlement and early growth of any town, Shawnee was even then a church town, prominently Baptist. The churches were filled to capacity every service, and summertime revival meetings brought the gospel forcibly before the public. Civic clubs were springing into prominence and the Chamber of Commerce was boosting our advantages, and justifiably.

Thanks to establishment of both railroad shops and a number of other industries, times were good here fifty years ago, and money was spent freely. Patent mdicine shows flourished on street corners on Saturday nights. Local theaters, notably the Becker brought top stock company players here with everything from vaudeville to opera.[59]

Sara Bernhardt appeared here that year in "Camille" and set a local style fad. The Becker had 808 reserved and 400 general admission seats and always had big houses. Dorothy and Lillian Gish, later great actresses, lived as little girls near the Santa Fe tracks in Shawnee and played around the nearby blacksmith shop with other girls and boys.[60]

Older residents remember an old gentleman, Tom Wright, a colorful person who used to walk daily up the middle of Main street, followed by his pet goose.

Benson Park, between Shawnee and Tecumseh was central Oklahoma's brightest spot for the first quarter of this century,[61] though nothing remains of it today. Open streetcars were loaded every evening and Sunday, particularly, with laughing, singing pleasure seekers bound for Benson Park.

Facilities were ample in addition to the natural beauty of the spot. There were a baseball diamond, a roller coaster, a band shell and outdoor auditorium, a skating rink and a large swimming pool called "The Plunge". Sunday School picnics were always held there, school and social outings and family fests from over the

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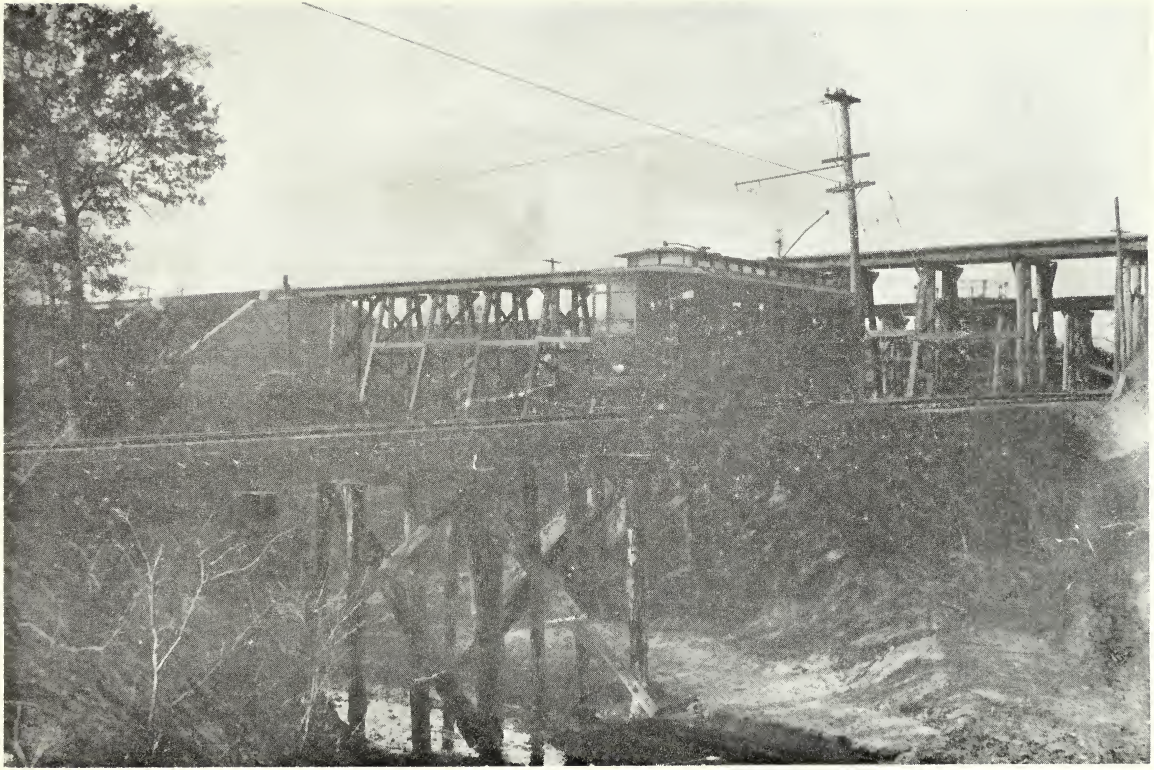
[59] Cofer, scrapbook collection. (For history of Shawnee's Episcopal Church, see Rev. Franklin C. Smith, "Pioneer Beginnings at Emmanuel, Shawnee," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1949), pp. 2-14.—Ed.)

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] *Ibid.*



Streetcar between Shawnee and Tecumseh

entire county gathered in Benson Park. Oldtimers declare that we youngsters have no idea what we missed.

Celebrities were many who came to the Park, including Eugene V. Debs, socialist candidate for president, Bob Fitzsimmons, one time heavyweight champion of the world and Annette Kellerman, who created a local scandal by wearing a sleeveless and legless bathing suit for her dip in ''The Plunge''.

Popular, though short-lived was another play spot, the Old Mill resort built by George A. Strauss, northeast of town. Here operated the first outboard motor in Oklahoma, it was claimed.[62]

C. L. Estes built a proud boat, the ''Shawnee Queen'' and gave her several practise runs on the North Canadian river from the Beard Street Bridge to the Old Mill Dam, some five or six miles.[63] Builder and captain Estes booked excursion runs for weeks ahead only to find that some crank smashed the propellors one night. The culprit was never found and shortly afterward, the war department declared the river unnavigible. Estes' ''floating palace'' never plied the river, but she lives in the minds of many local oldtimers.

Yes, 1903 was a memorable year. Shawnee was flexing her muscles for greater growth. Newcomers flocked in, business and industry boomed, but life nevertheless had a leisurely pace and Shawnee folk were singing ''In the Good Old Summertime'', ''Bird in a Gilded Cage'' and ''Sweet Adeline'' with the rest of the nation.

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[62] *Ibid.*

[63] *Ibid.*

ARTIST MÖLLHAUSEN IN OKLAHOMA—1853

By Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk

In 1858 there was published in London the English translation of the *Journal*[1] of the artist who accompanied Lieutenant A. W. Whipple on the 1853 Pacific Railroad Survey across Oklahoma, the renowned Balduin Möllhausen. Notwithstanding its wide popularity at the time, the *Journal* has never been reprinted, and copies of the London edition are now extremely rare. There are extant three other journals or diaries of this same expedition and, to the credit of our own state, all have been edited and re-published in Oklahoma. The official Whipple *Report*[2] appeared as Volume III of the official government series of reports on the railroad explorations, and has been edited and re-published by Dr. Grant Foreman. Both the first hand field notes of Whipple and the diary of Lieutenant D. D. Stanley, Whipple's quartermaster, have been published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* By presenting now the Möllhausen *Journal,* as far as is known, the cycle is complete.

Traveler, artist, author Heinrich Balduin Möllhausen was born near Bonn on the Rhine River, Germany, January 27, 1825, the son of the Prussian artillery officer, Heinrich Möllhausen and his wife, Elisabeth Baronesse von Falkenstein. Balduin's education at the Gymnasium of Bonn was cut short when he was fourteen because of family financial reverses. He tried farming in Pomerania, and later saw military service in the Austrian army during the Revolution of 1848. Wanderlust brought him to America in 1849, and he "led the roving life of a hunter" for nearly two years in the Kaskaskia River region in Illinois. When His Royal Highness, Duke Paul William of Wurttemburg organized and set out on a scientific expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the summer of 1851, he granted Möllhausen's special request to accompany him. They experienced many difficulties but reached the South Platte River region in what is now western Nebraska late in the fall when farther travel west was blocked by attacks and threats by war bands of Cheyenne and of Ogallala Sioux Indians. The Duke and Möllhausen were now forced to turn back, and set out alone through wild country for the Missouri River and Fort Kearney. They suffered in terrible blizzards, all their horses died and the Duke fell ill on the way. The two men had resigned themselves to death on November 25 when a mailstage from Fort Laramie came by. Only after long entreaties was room allowed for one more passenger on the already overcrowded stage. Which of the two was to be the passenger was left to the toss of a coin. Chance decided in favor of the Duke. Möllhausen was now left alone in the wilderness but after many weeks was finally rescued in a half crazed and starved condition by a friendly band of Oto Indians who took him to their village and nursed him back to health. Möllhausen later wrote of his Oto friends, "My loving memories of them shall be a priceless possession through all the years to come." Many months later, he joined the Duke in New Orleans.[3]

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[1] Heinrich Baldwin Möllhausen, *Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific,* translated by Mrs. Percy Sinnett (London, 1858), 2 vols. This English publication was located in England by George H. Shirk, and is now in his Oklahoma Collection of historical volumes.

Special acknowledgment is due Mrs. H. E. Minshall, of Oklahoma City, who generously made and supplied the typescript of Möllhausen's *Journal* that appears here in *The Chronicles.*

[2] The official Whipple report was Vol. III, *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad From the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean,* 1853-54, 33rd Cong., 2d Sess., Senate Ex. Doc. No. 78. This was edited by Grant Foreman and published as *A Pathfinder in the Southwest* (Norman, 1941). Hereafter this will be referred to as *Pathfinder*; whereas the original Whipple Journals were edited and published by Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk, "The Journal of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVIII, No. 3, (Autumn 1949), p. 235, and which will be referred to hereafter as *Whipple.* The Stanley diary was published by Lona Shawyer, "Stanley Explores Oklahoma", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXII, No. 3 (Autumn 1944), p. 259.

Back again in Germany early in 1853, Möllhausen met Baron Alexander von Humboldt who became his friend and patron. Möllhausen soon returned to America with letters of recommendation to join a United States government expedition to the west. He was assigned as topographer to the Pacific Railroad Survey that crossed Oklahoma under the command of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, and was also commissioned by the Smithsonian Institution to serve as naturalist on this expedition, his talent as an artist having a large part in these appointments. It was on the Whipple Expedition in the summer of 1853 that Möllhausen discovered and collected many zoological specimens described later by noted scientists in their publications. He also made many beautiful sketches of scenes along the way, and took notes for the Oklahoma section of his *Journal* presented here in *The Chronicles.*

A year later in Berlin, Baron von Humboldt prevailed upon King Frederick William IV to appoint Möllhausen custodian of the libraries in the royal residences around Potsdam, a position that he held until his death in 1905. This fortunate appointment gave the young man comfort and leisure which he henceforth devoted to writing. He was one of the most prolific among German writers of his time, the "last great exponent of transatlantic fiction in Germany," in which he always expressed his warm admiration for the American people and their achievements and institutions. Möllhausen produced in all 178 volumes, many of them novels based upon his thrilling adventures in America yet one of his finest works is his *Journal* first published in German. Barba, Möllhausen's biographer, has said of him: "In view of his splendid portrayals of Indian and pioneer life, and by virtue of the high character of his sea-novels, there is none who deserves so much the title of 'The German Cooper.' "[4]

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[3] Brief accounts of their adventures on the 1851 Expedition written by "His Royal Highness, Duke Paul Wilhelm von Wurttemberg" and by "Mr. Moellhausen," the Duke's companion appear in Louis C. Butscher's "A Brief Biography of Prince Paul Wilhelm of Wurttemberg (1797-1860)," *New Mexico Historical Review,* Vol. XVII, No. 3 (July, 1942), pp. 181-225; and in Louis C. Butscher, ed., "An Account of Adventures in the Great American Desert by His Royal Highness, Duke Paul Wilhelm Von Wurttemberg," *ibid.,* No. 4 (October, 1942), pp. 294-344.

Thus, Möllhausen early in life came under the influence of Baron Alexander von Humboldt, and the two remained at all times warm friends. Without doubt, much of Möllhausen's interest in the North American continent and his many books on American life were inspired by von Humboldt, the latter himself writing the "Preface" for the Möllhausen *Journal.* The contributions of von Humboldt to the development of North America are extensive, but are even more enriched by the inspiration that went into the Möllhausen *Journal.*

By the early 1850's the subject of a trans-continental railroad was one of great preoccupation with the American people. Each section of the country had its own special reason why such a project was of importance; but the clamor became one of great political significance. Senator T. H. Benton was a tireless advocate of the subject; and wrote or talked of the "Great National Highway" to all who would read or listen.

Congress responded by the act of March 3, 1853 (10 U. S. *Stat.* 219) and granted $150,000 to the Secretary of War for use in making surveys of possible railroad routes from the Mississippi River to the Pacific.

Jefferson Davis was then Secretary of War. He decided upon three surveys; the northern route, to be surveyed by Isaac I. Stephens; the central route, intended as the direct line to San Francisco, by Captain J. W. Gunnison; and the southern route, the one across present Oklahoma from Fort Smith west, to be surveyed by Lieutenant A. W. Whipple. The Whipple party, although selected in Washington from among a great number of applicants, did not actually assemble complete until the expedition was ready to leave Fort Smith. Various members of the party joined Whipple at different stops along the road; and Möllhausen reached Little Rock ahead of Whipple.

The Möllhausen *Journal* is different in style than the Whipple and Stanley diaries; and combined together they provide today a

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[4] "Heinrich Balduin Möllhausen," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1934), Vol. XIII, pp. 80-1.

(Courtesy of Oklahoma University Press)

Heinrich Balduin Möllhausen

most complete record of this famous expedition. Whipple naturally recorded technical matters and exact scientific observations, whereas Möllhausen devoted his attention to subjects of personal interest and to his impressions along the trip. Space limitations have required that here portions of the Oklahoma section be deleted, but in those instances the editors have limited their deletions to relatively unimportant effusions and reports of conversations that Möllhausen had with others along the route.

The Oklahoma Historical Society is extremely fortunate in owning a number of original Möllhausen drawings and sketches, all coming to the society through the generosity of the Whipple family.[5] The illustrations reproduced here are from this source.

We join Möllhausen at Fort Smith and will travel with him until he has crossed the 100th Meridian and left Oklahoma:

THE JOURNAL

Fort Smith, like every other town in America, before it has well come into existence begins to think of establishing railroad communications. In the summer of 1853, when this railroad fever had reached its crisis, a small company under the command of Lieut. Colonel Whipple U.S.S., met here on the subject of an undertaking no less important than that of marking out a suitable line for a railway between this point and Pueblo de los Angelos on the Pacific Ocean; by which it is proposed that the locomotives shall hereafter rush fearlessly through the territories of hostile Indians, establish a connection between the two oceans, and bring the gold mines of California within easy reach. For a long time this matter of the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean had been a favourite subject of conversation, as well as of more serious debate, in all the western settlements; no one of the numerous little towns had neglected to furnish, in their newspapers, the most exhaustive proofs, that the line must absolutely run through their district if the advantages of good coal, excellent timber, and an admirable supple of water were not to be neglected.

For a considerable time meetings had been held, resolutions taken, deputations sent from town to town, the views of the locality obstinately defended, and even maintained occasionally in pugilistic encounters; and, finally the government of the United States had organised three several expeditions, under the guidance of engineer officers, and with a suitable military escort to traverse the country in various directions, and report concerning the several advantages of the proposed lines.

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[5] For a complete list of the Möllhausen drawings owned by the Society, see Dr. Charles Evans, "Itemized List of the Whipple Collection", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1950), p. 231.

The southern expedition, to which I belonged, had to follow the thirty-fifth parallel of north latitude, commencing its labours at Fort Smith.[6] The plan of operations best adapted to the purpose in view was at length agreed on, regard being had to the wishes of the Fort Smith people that the line should pass through their town, and the persons who were to carry the plan into execution,—namely geologists, surgeons, botanists, astronomers and draughtsmen, twelve[7] persons in all; were all there with bag and baggage, waggons, provisions, instruments and utensils of various descriptions; but there were still wanting mules and labourers, two wants which afforded great satisfaction to the inhabitants, who immediately offered to supply both, the first for good payment, the labourers for nothing, and furnished moreover in many cases with good recommendations. The settlement lies too far to the west to afford many opportunities of getting rid of superfluous mules and unemployed labourers.

The mules of these regions are dearer than elsewhere, and for the most part still unbroken, but they are strongly built of indomitable powers, of endurance, and indispensable for a journey through these endless western steppes. As for the workmen, they are strong sturdy fellows, who, though wild enough, and little to boast of in point of morals, can turn their hands to anything that is required, know the dangers of a journey of this kind, and will fight if need be for themselves and their comrades' skins.

The long stay at Fort Smith, which the manifold preparations for so tedious a journey rendered necessary, was employed by our young and jovial troop in the enjoyment of full measure of all the delights which here, on the frontiers of civilisation, we were about soon to renounce for so long a period; and the inhabitants of the little town consequently found means not only to obtain some pecuniary profit from their guests, but also to show themselves in the light of friendly hosts, who, if it were only for their amiability, deserved to have a Terminus. They on their parts were glad to keep in good humour the men who were to help them to their railway; and so it came to pass that we were overwhelmed with caresses and coaxings, and balls and festivals given in our honour,—a course of policy to which we saw not the least objection. We had quartered ourselves with a Mr. Rogers,[8] formerly a major in the militia, and now, in the character of hotel-keeper and chief authority in Fort Smith, reposing on his laurels; and we found ourselves extremely contented, and well cared for at a charge of two daily dollars a head. In the evening, when the tropical heat had given way to a pleasant coolness, we were sure to find a merry party of guests assembled round the old gentleman, who entered into all their jokes, and told of many a hard tussle that he had had with hostile Indians in his younger days, and exhorted the young fellows to energy and perseverance in the work they were about to undertake. ‘‘My boys,’’ he said, ‘‘you have a long and dangerous journey before you, but keep a good heart and find out the best line for the rails to California; and when you have found it don’t forget that you are not without friends in Fort Smith, who will show themselves mindful of the trouble you have taken. You come back this way. I’ve got land enough hereabouts that will be worth a thousand times what it now is when we have the railroad finished, and if you like to come and settle in our town—a thriving one it will be then—I’ll give every one of you a plot for building on that you may choose for yourselves.’’

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[6] The survey started from "Camp Wilson", a temporary bivouac established by the party a few hundred yards south of Ft. Smith.

[7] The twelve are named and their duties detailed by *Whipple*, p. 238.

[8] See footnotes 14 and 20, *ibid.*, pp. 245 and 248, for descriptions of Captain Rogers and his hostelry.

These pleasent festive nights at Fort Smith were, however, soon at an end. In order to accustom ourselves to a camp life and discover practically any defect there might be in the equipment of the expedition, while it was still possible to supply it, we determined to take up our abode *pro tem.* in a forest clearing not far from the town, and pitched our tents accordingly in a spot[9] protected from the burning rays of the sun for the greater part of the day by the overhanging boughs.

The party, including a military escort under the command of Lieutenant —Johns, [10] consisted of above seventy persons; and the whole expedition was under the orders of the engineer, Lieutenant Whipple, a man who had already distinguished himself in similar undertakings, and to special professional qualifications united the advantage of particularly pleasing manners, which inspired confidence in all who approached him.

In a very short time we were all quite reconciled to our new mode of life, and by the time the charm of novelty was worn off, the power of habit had come in to reconcile us to the inconveniences, small or great, which are not easily separable from a bivouac. One sleeps well enough upon the ground when one has no choice, and scorpions and tarantulas soon lose their terrors; you learn to bear the heat when it must be borne; if you get wet, the rain cannot penetrate further than the skin; and broiled meat, and black coffee sweetened with maple sugar, make a superb meal when there is nothing better to be had.

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[9] Camp Wilson, *ibid.*, p. 247.

[10] The name “Johns” given here is an error, probably typographical, made in one or the other—German or English—editions of Möllhausen’s *Journal.* Whipple gives the name as “1st Lieutenant John M. Jones, 7th Infantry,” in the published *Report* of the Pacific Railroad Survey (*Reports of Explorations and Surveys,* Vol. III, *op. cit.,* p. viii). Lieut. Jones came from Fort Gibson in command of the military escort, and was waiting at Fort Smith when Whipple and his party arrived there on July 2. Lieut. Jones accompanied the expedition to the Pacific Coast, Whipple reporting him as having been one who “contributed greatly to the success of our operations” in his letter to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, June 30, 1855 (*ibid.*).

Lieutenant John Marshall Jones, a native of Virginia, graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point, July 1, 1837. He was commissioned brevet 2nd Lieut., 5th Infantry, July 1, 1841. He served in the 7th Infantry, commissioned 2nd Lieut., April 18, 1845; Capt., March 3, 1855, and resigned May 27, 1861. He was commissioned Brig. Gen., in the Confederate States Army, in 1861, and was killed in action in the Battle of Spottsylvania, Virginia, on May 10, 1864. —Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), Vol. I.

One of the most difficult tasks in the preparations for a journey through these steppes is the breaking and shoeing these animals, whose strength and power of enduring fatigue, even under a scarcity of food and water, is incomparably greater than that of the horse. In situations where the latter, even though relieved of all burden, can scarcely drag along his exhausted limbs, and must perhaps at last be left behind as a prey to the wolves, the mule goes on patiently bearing his burden, and fighting against the dreadful enemy hunger by the way, by cropping the withered plants of the marshes, or even prickly brambles. But as the strength of the horse and the perseverance of the ass are in some measure united in the mule, so does he also unite his own person almost all the faults that can make horse or ass intolerable—timidity, obstinacy, perverseness, cunning, are the qualities with which one has to contend in them, especially in the process of breaking; and the difficulty is increased when the herd consists of animals hitherto unacquainted with one another, who have to make acquaintance by means of a fierce battle among themselves; and as many have usually been sold by former owners on account of incurable vice, it is often necessary to have recourse to severe and even cruel methods to subdue them. For this, which is no light labour, the assistance of Mexicans and Indians is almost indispensable. These people seem to have a kind of instinct by which, after a very cursory inspection of the herd, they can find out the most unmanageable animals in it, and they make it their business to catch them first.

The Arriero, as he is called, is provided with a long line or lasso ending in a noose, which he holds in loose rings in his right hand, and as soon as he has made up his mind which animal is to be his victim he gallops round and round the herd, now anxiously crowding together, and watches for a favourable moment when the mule shall expose his head. The moment he has done so, the Arriero whirls the lasso round his own head, and then flings it dexterously over that of the shy mule, which rears and kicks in indignation at the loss of its freedom. But the lasso is now round his neck, and the more he struggles, the tighter it becomes, so that in a very short time the exhausted creature feels that if it does not mean to be choked, it is necessary to admit the cogent reasoning of his antagonist, and he allows himself to be drawn under a sort of scaffolding, with four upright posts, between which he has just room to stand. The animal is then lifted, by means of a cleverly contrived tackle, about three feet from the ground, one of its legs is attached by leathern thongs to each of the four posts, and before it can look around or guess what is going to be done, four smiths standing ready with iron and tongs have completed a work which, even with a quiet horse, usually takes ten times as long. As soon as the shoes are in their places, the frightened creature is delivered over to the waggon driver, the exhortations to obedience are repeated, with illustrative remarks, with the whip and the lasso; the well broken mules with which the novice is harnessed set him a good example, and his fits of rage become less frequent, until, in a relatively short space of time, the new mule is declared fit for service, and associated with his already tame brethren.

The luxuriantly wooded shores of the Arkansas, beyond the point where the Canadian River falls into it, are agreeably diversified by small prairies, which from time to time form openings in the thick forest.

The Sugar Loaf,[11] the Kavaneau,[12] and the Sans-bois mountains bound really paradisaical valleys, over which Nature has poured out every kind of loveliness with inexhaustible profusion. The meadows, which are perfect beds of splendid flowers, tempt the traveller almost irresistibly to linger, or even take up his abode in them. They are ready to receive whatever seed he may drop into their bosom and to return him a thousand fold; and the numerous little streams, which constantly refresh the soil, dispel the fear of the excessive heats of summer, and promise a joyful harvest; while the neighbouring woods offer the settler hard hickory trunks for the beams of his log-house, and slender stems enough for his fences. The winter is here milder than in most of the neighbouring regions; for the impenetrable woods and the near mountains defy the north wind and protect the tenderest germs from this enemy so dreaded in less favoured regions. Even the Red Skins were not able to resist such attractions, and when the covetous Pale Faces drove them over the Alleghany mountains and across the great river, the already half-civilised races of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Cherokees, who had left the graves of their fathers and their hunting-grounds in the far east, gave up their unsettled nomadic life, and took up their abode in these western regions. In this new home they sowed and reaped, and learned from the grateful soil what the missionaries had long preached to them in vain, and what the selfishness of their white neighbours, who shamefully denied their capacity for culture, had constantly hindered them from learning.

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[11] Möllhausen had made a side trip to Sugar Loaf Mountain on July 7th, footnote 16, *Whipple*, p. 246.

[12] Mount Kavanaugh. On present Oklahoma maps, this is shown as Cavanal Mountain west of Poteau, Le Flore County.

Every Indian is capable of civilisation, if only his first introduction to it is such as to awaken confidence, and do away with the mistrust that has existed for centuries among his people. From his first acquaintance with the European intruders he has been driven through the country like a noxious animal, flying continually from the arrogance of the whites, and often, through their unprincipled policy, engaged in bloody strife with brother tribes, or wickedly encouraged in his plans of vengeance for the thousand wrongs inflicted upon him by the professors of a religion of love, in order that they might obtain a justification for their own unchristian and treacherous behaviour. How, under these circumstances, should he have learned anything of the blessings of a peaceful settlement, of a cultivation of the soil, and of a regular and orderly life?

If there are, nevertheless, tribes to be found, who, without having entirely renounced the customs or the character of their forefathers, have become peaceful citizens, industrious cultivators of the ground, and well conducted, hospitable men, the very smallest part of the merit assuredly is to be ascribed to the Europeans. It has been almost wholly the result of the spontaneous development of the germs of culture and of all good, which, after long slumber, have at length burst forth under the least favourable conditions. It is delightful to the traveller to go from settlement to settlement among these Choctaws and Cherokees, and to find himself everywhere received with open arms like an old friend. Here the wanderer need have no fear of a rustling among the bushes, of the hissing arrow or the whistling tomahawk. The crow of the domestic cock mingles with the call of the little partridge, and the moaning cry of the panther has been long silent before the barking of the house-dog; and where once was heard the wild howl over slaughtered enemies and bloody scalps, you now listen to the peaceful bells of the grazing flocks and herds.

Here are blooming farms which would do honour to a European settler, luxuriant crops, and a general prosperity that enables such of these sons of Nature as aspire to higher culture to seek it in the Eastern States. He sees the wife of the Indian no longer degraded to be the slave of her husband, but receiving the honour due to her as a wife and a mother.

These new disciples of civilisation have learned from the whites to keep negro slaves for house and field labour; but these slaves receive from their Indian masters more Christian treatment than among the Christian whites. The traveller may seek in vain for any other difference between master and servant than such as Nature has made in the physical characteristics of the races; and the negro is regarded as a companion and helper, to whom thanks and kindness are due when he exerts himself for the welfare of the household.

These pictures of content and domestic peace must not, however, be sought for too near the settlements of the whites, and also not at the time when the government of the United States sends its annual payment for the lands sold and ceded to them by the Indians; and when cruel speculators find means to get the greater part of the treasure, just received, back again into the hands of the whites.

The most efficient means for this miserable purpose is of course "fire-water." A small quantity of this poison is enough to rob the Indian of his reason; and when one of them has in the madness of intoxication parted with what he has become possessed of but an hour before, and which might have helped him to a comfortable existence in future, the speculator, having ascertained that there is no more money to be got out of him, drives him without mercy from his door.

On the 15th of July 1853, the expedition under Lieutenant Whipple left the camp at Fort Smith, and in accordance with the previously arranged plan, crossed the river Poteau, which was easily done as the garrison boat could be used. Once on the other side, there was nothing for the long train of waggons to do, but to follow the road along the marshy bottomlands on the sharp angle formed by the Arkansas and Poteau. The surveyors had to pursue their labours in this crooked route, on which it was not possible to describe a long straight line, since the thick growth of canes, which had taken the place of underwood beneath the high cottonwood trees and sycamores, did not admit of any considerable deviations from the path we were following. After a few miles, the road began to rise, and Indian farms glimmered occasionally between the impenetrable masses of forest. The old road, in laying out which the endeavour had been to avoid the more considerable obstacles, and take advantage of every little opening in the woods, was not in a state to admit of rapid progress with the waggons. Roots of trees and decaying trunks every moment arrested the procession, and since the thick shake of the overhanging boughs had prevented the drying of the ground, the last of the twelve waggons (each drawn by six mules) had to be literally drawn out of the mud, as if from a morass. Scarcely had we reached the higher ground on which the waggons could roll easily along, and the beasts of burden obtain a firmer footing, than the oppressive heat was varied by a tremendous storm, by which the whole cavalcade was thrown into disorder. There was a clearing near a large plantation[13] not far off; and after the waggons had been with some confusion drawn thither, we all hastened to get the mules unloaded and unsaddled, so as to allow them to run freely in a herd, and then everybody endeavoured to find the best protection he could for himself. Considering that this was our first day of march, and that our party was as yet scarcely organised, it will not appear surprising that it presented at this moment a somewhat dolorous and at the same time comic aspect. The high spirits of most of us had gone down, in some cases very low indeed, and one or two tender youths had taken refuge under the waggons, and were shutting their eyes from the glare of the lightning; others who liked to display their hardihood, as well as the really hardy workmen, lay down wrapped in their blankets on the grass; but it might be observed that while the workmen soon fell asleep, the gentlemen had to stuff their blankets in their mouths to keep their teeth from chattering with cold, occasioned by the thorough wetting they had got. The most cautious and prudent of the party set about putting up a tent, and after many a vain attempt had just succeeded nicely in the unaccustomed work, when the sky cleared up, and the sun looked laughingly out upon the drenched and deplorable figures.[14]

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[13] Camp 1. The first camp was at Ring's Plantation, east of present Spiro. See footnote 19, *Whipple*, p. 247.

Some of the most practical of the party had nevertheless found means to shelter themselves pretty successfully, by spreading the blankets over the bent boughs of a shrub, and then digging with their knives a canal round it; while their saddles placed in an inverted position formed a sort of chair, on which their weapons and their persons remained high and dry under their dripping canopy; the rain running off through the channel they had dug for it, and the hunched up occupant of the bower pursuing his meditations on the beauties of nature undisturbed.

In the meantime the black clouds had covered the whole horizon, and enveloped the entire landscape in gloom; the lightning, flash after flash gleaming from all points of the compass—drawing dazzling zigzag lines, and lighting up the dark masses of the woods with a peculiar magic splendour. The storm violently shook the tops of the highest trees, as if in rage at not being able to find an entrance beneath their dense canopy—heavy claps of thunder succeeded each other with only intervals of a second or two, sufficient to enable us to hear the roar of the distant storm, the downward rush of the rain, or the fall of the decayed trunks of trees. Just as the tempest had reached its climax, a glare of lightning, accompanied by a deafening burst of thunder, struck the extreme summit of a mighty hickory tree—a crash followed, and the tree was cleft from the top to the root.

The frightened herd of mules, which had been crowding anxiously together, now dispersed grazing in all directions, our camp fires began to crackle and blaze, and every one looked out for the driest and most comfortable spot he could find, in which to pass the night, and gain new strength for the morning's march.

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[14] Whipple records the events of the same storm, *ibid.*, p. 247.

At the distance of about a mile from the river a road runs through the valley of the Arkansas, as far as the Choctaw Nation Agency, about fourteen miles from Fort Smith.[15] The paths which occasionally cross it are only those made by the Indians, with one exception, namely, that of a bye road which strikes off five miles before you get to the Agency, and runs to Fort Koffee [*sic*] on the Arkansas, and thence again in a straight line to the Agency, after rejoining the main road, which here crosses a broad prairie. The bye road leads entirely through the forest, which here assumes quite a different character, consisting wholly of dwarf oaks, and the underwood being replaced by luxuriant grass and flowers. Northward from the road a solitary hill of conglomerate rises a hundred and fifty feet from its base; it is but scantily wooded, and affords from its summit a fine prospect over the valley of the Arkansas, to where, near Van Buren, the horizon is bounded by mountains.

The most noxious and poisonous animals of the whole region seem, however, to have made this hill their headquarters. Just as you reach the top you find, perhaps, the copper-head snake, rolled up into a ball, but stretching his head towards you, darting his tongue out, and seeming to measure the distance between him and the foreign disturber of his peace, while preparing for a spring. If you happen to roll away a stone from the place where it has been lying, you are sure to find a whole nest of scorpions beneath it, the largest about three inches long and the smallest scarcely perceptible, but raising their tails, armed with poisonous stings, in the most hostile manner. As this is not quite pleasant company, you make but a short stay on this hill, and a short time after you have left it, at a sudden turn of the road you see old Fort Koffee lying[16] before you. This little fortress was erected thirty years ago, as a defence against the Indians, and named after its founder, the American general Koffee.[17] It is beautifully situated on a hill about eighty feet high, that rises abruptly from the waters of the Arkansas, and on the landside slopes gently down; and the white building gleams out pleasantly from the dark cedars. After the building of Fort Smith, however, Fort Koffee lost its garrison, and was, twelve years ago, transformed into a missionary[18] school house, and the buildings erected for a warlike purpose have since then been turned to account for peaceful ends. Well cultivated fields of maize and wheat lie close round the gardens, in which negro slaves are sometimes diligently at work and sometimes loitering leisurely about; while groups of darkcoloured children at play peep out curiously with their black eyes at the passing wanderer. The school is supported by the American government, and under the guidance of a married Methodist preacher.[19] On an average about fifty of the young Choctaws are receiving their education here, and a similar institution for girls[20] was a few years ago established nearer to the Agency, and is now apparently very prosperous, and producing good fruit. The way from the Mission to the Agency leads along the side of a spacious prairie, sometimes crossing parts of the grassy plain, sometimes cutting off small tracts of light wood, and at last, when near the Agency, turning into the deep forest, when after proceeding for a short distance you come again upon fields of maize and wheat, the log-houses, surrounded by flourishing young fruit trees, which announce the commencement of the rising Indian town[21]

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[15] Camp 2 was established July 19 near the Choctaw Agency, a location later known as Skullyville, and after the Civil War as Oak Lodge, about a mile and a half east of present Spiro. For its history, see William B. Morrison, "The Saga of Skullyville," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (June, 1938), p. 234.

[16] Fort Coffee was located at "Swallow Rock" on the Arkansas River. On April 22, 1834 work was started on the post and it was occupied by the 7th Infantry on June 16, 1834. It was abandoned in November 1838.

[17] General John Coffee, a personal friend of General Andrew Jackson, commanded the Middle Tennessee Mounted Rifle Brigade, Tennessee Volunteers, in the Creek War of 1813. He served with General Jackson in the Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815. As President, Andrew Jackson appointed General John Coffee and Major John H. Eaton U. S. Commissioners who made the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek on September 27, 1830, which provided for the removal of the Choctaws from Mississippi to the Indian Territory.

The town itself consists of a kind of broad street, formed of log-houses and gardens, and does not differ much in appearance from many other thriving villages; Indians, Negroes, and Europeans are seen moving about—domestic animals of all sorts enliven the farmyards, gardens, and streets; the sound of the threshing machine is heard, and the regular fall of the smith's hammer upon the anvil, and in general there is an appearance of lively industry about the place, called by the Indians Hei-to-to-wee [?], but by the American population Sculleville [Skullyville] or simply the "Agency."

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[18] The abandoned buildings at Fort Coffee were repaired and, in time other new buildings were erected, for the establishment of Fort Coffee Academy for Choctaw boys, by appropriations provided by the Choctaw General Council in 1842. The Academy was operated under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was first opened for students on January 9, 1844.—"Life Among the Choctaws," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (Spring, 1953), pp. 102-07, illustrated by a sketch of "Fort Koffee" school by H. B. Möllhausen (original sketch in Whipple Collection, OHS).

[19] The Reverend William H. Goode was appointed Superintendent of Fort Coffee Academy; the Reverend Henry C. Benson served as teacher.—*Ibid.*

[20] This school for Choctaw girls in charge of the Methodist Episcopal Church was established by the Choctaw General Council in November, 1842. The school was named New Hope Academy, and with the completion of the first buildings was first opened to students in the fall of 1845. It was located a mile east of the Choctaw Agency at a large spring, and about five miles from Fort Coffee.—Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "New Hope Seminary," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1944), pp. 271-99.

[21] The postoffice here, established June 26, 1833, was named "Choctaw Agency," though the village was best known in the Choctaw Nation as Skullyville. The origin of the name Skullyville is from the Choctaw word *iskvli*, "a small coin," plus the suffix *ville* (French), "town" or "city," alluding to the annuity payments to the Choctaws made at the Agency, under Choctaw treaty provisions with the U. S. Government.

In order to protect the Indians from the oppressions of the whites, and transact their affairs with the government of the United States, as well as to maintain the interests of the whites among their red-skinned brethren, agents have been placed among the various tribes, and have generally become the founders of a settlement. Not only Indians, but whites also, are willing to settle in their neighbourhood; the latter of course with a view to gain, and to being always at hand with goods for barter. In this manner arose the town of Sculleville [Skullyville.] The Agency, with the buildings necessary for cattle-breeding and agricultural purposes, lies on a little stream, or rather spring, which gushes out from the rock, and increasing with every step, hastens towards the Arkansas, between which river and the Poteau the Agency is equidistant.

A smith's forge and storehouses soon made their appearance, and before long well managed farms, surrrounded by beautiful orchards and corn-fields, and the Agency became the rendezvous of all the industrial population of the country as well as of the vagabond Indian. The want of an inn was soon felt; for the Indians both men and women were now often unaccustomed to sleeping on the ground in the open air, and a small boarding-house helped to render the little town complete; and there may sometimes be seen alighting at it Choctaw gentlemen and their families who have been to visit their daughters at school.

Although the Indian population is of course accustomed to intercourse with whites, the appearance of our expedition, with its military escort, attracted a great deal of attention, especially as we proceeded to pitch our camp near Sculleville, evidently with the intention of making a stay of some days. It happened, also, that a council of Choctaw chiefs was being held at the same time, so that it was no wonder if people flocked to the spot from far and near, and that the town assumed its gayest aspect. Men and women all appeared in their best clothes, which, though cut in the European fashion, exhibited glaring contrasts of bright colours and many fantastic and most untasteful decorations. The camp was the great point of attraction, and as I had set up a kind of studio in my tent, many of the Indians came crowding that way, evidently speculating on the chance of having their portraits taken in their splendid full dress. Arrangements for running matches, shooting matches, horse races, dances, and especially for grand games of ball playing, which are peculiar in their kind, came off with great celerity; wonderful things were to be done in these few days; and certainly a traveller may esteem himself fortunate who arrives at Sculleville at the time of a great public meeting of the Choctaws, for he may then learn in a short time, from his own observations of this interesting people, more than he could gather by mere inquiry less satisfactorily in a much longer period.

Christianity has found its way to these people, but still many of them remain attached to the faith of their fathers, which promises them the continued existence of their souls after death, and is in its main points nearly the same as that of the Northern Indian races.

At the western end of Sculleville lies a small warehouse (with a somewhat raised corridor), which is the rostrum of the Choctaw orator, and the open sky the ceiling of his hall.

On a magnificent summer evening, the whole masculine population of Sculleville was assembled before his rostrum, and of the camp of Lieutenant Whipple very few were wanting. The Indians had mostly brought their wives with them, but the ladies were too modest to approach the Council, and remained at a distance; for although the wives of the Choctaws have now assumed something like their rightful place, and are no longer slaves to their husbands, as among most uncivilized nations, they are themselves reasonable enough to see that the interference of a single woman in political affairs would sometimes do more than the men of the whole tribe could make good again. It will probably be a long time before the emancipation of the sex is to be looked for amongst the Choctaws.

The first orator[22] who presented himself, though a great chief, was no painted and plumed warrior. He wore a cotton hunting-shirt of rather fantastic cut, a brown low-crowned hat shaded his copper-coloured physiognomy, he looked dusty, as if from a long ride, and his horse, still saddled and bridled, stood a little way off.

From his first word the most breathless stillness reigned, and every one listened with profound attention, even those among his auditors who were entirely ignorant of the language in which he spoke. He had no time for preparation, but he knew what he wished to say; there were no theatrical gestures, or attempts to excite the passions of his hearers, but merely a light movement of the hand occasionally accompanying the most emphatic words, which although uttered in deep guttural tones, were distinctly audible to the most distant of the assembly. He spoke with ease and freedom, and was interrupted neither by applause nor contradiction; only a unanimous *Hau*![23] followed on certain questions that he asked, and when he had ended there was a short murmur of remarks among his auditory, and then another orator took his place.

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[22] Reference here is to Chief Cornelius McCurtain.—See footnote 34, *Whipple*, p. 253.

[23] This expressin is not pure Choctaw, and is evidently Möllhausen's interpretation. The proper assent of a Choctaw audience to a speaker in old times was "Ai-omeh!" (*ai*, intensive prefix, and *omeh!* [well!], an exclamation usually used by men).

The questions in discussion were, first, a proposal for running the railroad across a part of the Choctaw Land, to which it is probable that the circumstance of our party being encamped on the spot had given rise; and, secondly, a change in the form of government, as it had been proposed that the power now distributed among several chiefs should be delegated to one.[23a]

The judicial business is conducted in the same manner; and the Choctaws are strict and inflexible in the administration of justice. The punishment of death is sometimes inflicted, in which case the delinquent is seated opposite his judge, cross-legged on the same blanket, and when he is condemned receives his death by a bullet on the spot.[23b]

The sitting on the present occasion was prolonged to a late hour of the night, one speaker following another without any interruption, and the same attention being paid to the last as to the first; even those who did not understand a word were not tired, and the effect of mere tone and gesture upon them was such, that an American exclaimed, ''I used to think English was the finest language in the world, but now I doubt whether Choctaw does not equal it.''

On the following morning[24] our party was again dispersing in small groups about the dark forest paths, for as the expedition was now complete in its numbers, it was intended that it should be soon again in motion, in order to approach the great prairies by easy marches, and so, while accustoming the men and animals to their work, to keep their strength undiminished for the privations they must expect in the immense and often arid steppes through which they would have to travel. The further you go from the Poteau, and the nearer you approach the Sans-bois Creek, the lighter become the woods, and the more frequent the pleasant green prairies; here and there occur ranges of hills, in the neighbourhood of which the country loses its fertility; the sandstone lies near the surface, the upper ridge of the mountains consisting of strata of sandstone lying from south-east to north-west. In the woods some cedars are to be found, but chiefly oaks in such amazing variety, that it would not be difficult to collect from five and twenty to thirty different species.

[23a] The contemplated change in the number of chiefs mentioned here was later provided in a new constitution for the Choctaw Nation, adopted in a Choctaw convention meeting at Skullyville, January, 1857. This "Skullyville Constitution" delegated the executive power formerly held by three elected chiefs to one titled "Governor of the Choctaw Nation." This title of "Governor" was changed to "Principal Chief" in a constitution adopted at Doaksville in 1860; this law was in force until the close of the Choctaw government when Oklahoma became a state in 1907. However, the Choctaw executive was addressed in conversation "Governor" as a courtesy title, during the period; the title "Governor" is also found in newspaper accounts referring to the Choctaw "Principal Chief."

[23b] The description of the death penalty given here was unusual, if not unknown, among the Choctaws. One accused of crime was tried before a regularly organized court of the Choctaw Nation. If condemned to suffer penalty of death, he was allowed to go free but, under the code of honor, the condemned Choctaw returned on the day set for his execution which was usually shooting by a light-horseman or special officer appointed by the court.

[24] On July 26 the party left Skullyville and moved ten miles west to Camp 3. Camp 4 was an additional five miles to the west. Near Camp 4 Möllhausen identified some new species of fish. See footnote 24, *Whipple*, p. 250.

Mule Creek, a branch of the San Bois in present Haskell County and western Le Flore County, was named thus because of the wild chase by horsemen of the party after a beautiful dun colored mule lost by Lieut. Jones at Camp 3. *Stanley, op. cit.*, p. 260, describes the incident.

The country is rich in springs and streams flowing towards the Sans-bois, which, proceeding from the south-west, pours itself into the Arkansas some miles below the mouth of the Arcadian [Canadian]. These waters are good for drinking, and swarm with fish, the majority of which belong to the various species of Pomotis.[25]

Near the Sans-bois mountains the road winds between a chain of rocky hills, where a heavy train can make way but very slowly, and whoever is in possession of a good mule, tired of the creaking of the waggons and the perpetual cries of the mule drivers, is fain to seek a path for himself, even at the risk of losing his way, especially as the risk is not great, the woods being light, and the meadows that so frequently interrupt them affording the traveller such a wide prospect that it is not difficult to find the track of the waggons again, should he lose it.

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[25] "The General Report upon the Zoology of the Several Pacific Railroad Routes" published in Vol. X (Washington, 1859), *Reports of Explorations and Surveys, op. cit.*, attest the boundless energy and keen interest of H. B. Möllhausen in collecting many zoological specimens, chiefly fishes and birds, while on the Whipple Expedition. This remarkable man must have fished in all the streams along the way in Oklahoma, beginning on Sugar Loaf Creek, then on the headwaters of the San Bois and its tributaries, on the tributaries of the Canadian, Coal Creek west of present McAlester, and on west including a small stream near Rock Mary. He is cited as the collector of many different kinds of fish found in Oklahoma by the noted naturalist, Charles Girard, M.D., in his report on "Fishes" (400 pages, many engravings) published in Vol. X, *ibid.* The minnow-like fish (*Bryttus humilis*) caught by Möllhausen near Rock Mary is here described (*ibid.*, pp. 21-22) and illustrated by a "size of life" engraving (Plate VII, Fig. 9), while another engraving (Plate VII, Fig. 13) shows a different kind of the same species caught by Möllhausen on Sugar Loaf Creek. The "Report on Birds" by Dr. C. B. Kennerly, physician and naturalist on the Whipple Expedition, published as Part IV, No. 3, Vol. X, *ibid.*, lists Möllhausen as a collector of more than sixty different kinds of birds, most of them found in the autumn west of Oklahoma, but including a parakeet (p. 21) and a yellow-crowned heron (p. 33) from near Fort Smith, besides a green heron (p. 33) found on "Sans Bois Creek, Choctaw country."

In these little solitary excursions, the wanderer, besides coming from time to time upon an Indian farm, where he has a good chance of obtaining rural productions at a small price, and meeting with little adventures, has often the good fortune to fall in with various scientific treasures; such, for instance, as the most beautiful specimens of fossil ferns, in the beds of small streams, upon inclinations of beds of coal visible on their banks, or upon new kinds of cactus[26] which seem to announce the approach to the Flora of Texas.

On the north side it is easy to ride up almost all the hills, but they are very abrupt and precipitous on the south, so that great care is required to descend these steep rocky declivities without coming into much closer contact with the stones upon them than is desirable. But presently from this declivity you obtain such a wonderful view, that you are continually tempted to repeat the not very safe descent, by climbing the hills at various points. When you reach the rather higher plateau which, on account of a few crippled pines, has received the name of Pine Grove,[27] such a landscape is opened to the view, that any one must indeed be dull and insensible who can contemplate it without not merely surprise but emotion.

The whole country of the Choctaws lies there unrolled before your eyes, and looking to the east whence you have come, you see for the last time the Sugar Loaf mountain on the borders of the State of Arkansas, and a low chain, scarcely distinguishable in the horizon, passes behind the dark masses of the Cavaneau, which are met by the mountains of Sans-bois, the highest points of which, due south from Pine Grove, gradually sink towards the west, and lose themselves in the flat country.

The great valley, lying thus like a picture framed in by blue mountains, is by no means a level surface varied only by the distribution of forest and prairie, although that will often compose a scene of great beauty, but hills and even mountains lie scattered about it in all directions, and the green prairies and dark woods are intersected by streams and rivulets, the windings of which are traceable through the meadows by the bushes on their banks, and through the forest by the deeper green of the trees.

The traveller is tempted to linger long at this point, for he is now on the frontier of a rich and beautiful country, and will soon find himself in one where his eye will search vainly round the horizon for some spot on which it can rest with pleasure. He bids farewell to the paradise, cuts his name on a crippled oak on the rocky declivity, casts a long lingering glance at the Sugar Loaf now veiled in mist, and then looks about cautiously for the best place to scramble down, leading his mule behind him. When he gets to the bottom he turns his face westward, the woods become lighter, and he soon finds himself on the edge of the prairie, at whose western extremity among some trees he hopes to find his companions with their tents already pitched.[28]

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[26] There are twenty-four exquisite, original drawings and paintings of cacti by H. B. Möllhausen, in the Whipple Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society, ref. fn. 5, *supra.*

[27] Pine Grove or Piney Grove was a steep hill about one mile from Camp 5. Whipple also describes it in detail; Foreman, *Pathfinder,* pp. 39-40.

Some of the larger of the prairies, which lie apart from others, are often made the place of rendezvous for thousands of Indians, who come together to carry on their ancient games, which are coeval with the existence of their tribes, and which will only be forgotten when they perish. No matter how far they may have advanced in civilization, the Indian gentleman educated in the Eastern States is as ready as the still wild hunter of the same tribe to throw aside all the troublesome restraints of clothing, and painted from head to foot in the fashion of the "good old times," to enter the lists with unrestrained eagerness for a grand national game of ball.

As soon as the Pine Grove and the principal heights of the Sans-bois mountains are left behind, the character of the country becomes entirely changed, and only in the bottom lands, or on the banks of small streams, are strips of forest to be seen, and small clumps of trees scattered here and there over the rolling prairie, as the Americans call it. Hitherto you have been travelling through woods interspersed with prairies, now there lie before you prairies varied by occasional patches of wood.[29]

When you come within a few miles of the Sans-bois creek, however, you see signs of a more vigorous vegetation: you come upon fences, corn fields, and herds of cattle, and frequently catch a glimpse through the trees of a log-house. If you follow the road into the forest that forms the broad border of the Sans-bois, you will hear, at almost every hour of the day, the strokes of a smith's hammer falling briskly and regularly on the glowing iron and the anvil beneath it, as long as the industrious cheerful smith is able to wield it.

Following the sounds of the forge, you find your way through herds of sleek well fed cows and oxen, who are reposing comfortably across your path, and are not at all inclined to allow themselves to be disturbed in the very pleasant occupation of chewing the cud; you come soon to a clearing, and to the paling of a farmyard, in the middle of which rises a rough but well-built log house some Indian children are wallowing about before the door, and a haughty-looking cock is observing their proceedings, while his own large polygamous family is picking up a living about the yard; a cleanly dressed Indian woman is following her domestic occupations, her dark earnest eyes continually turning to her youngest darling, rolling there in the grass, some large dogs are stretched out in the shade of a tree, and would enjoy completely the sweets of idleness, were it not for the trouble of snapping occasionally at a tiresome fly. But unweariedly the mighty hammer continues its strokes, so that the little smithy trembles again, and the bellows draw long deep breaths.

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[28] Camp 5, July 29th.
[29] Camps 6 and 7.

Somehow the alarm that has been sounded finds its way into the smithy; bellows and hammer stop, and a sooty Indian[30] advances to the door,—and extending his hand with a friendly "How do you do?' invites the stranger to enter his abode, while his assistant, a blue black negro, leaves the fire to take care of itself to welcome the unexpected visit from a white man. In the meantime the train has come up; visitors make their appearance one after another at the little farm, and begin to look about them for eggs, milk, butter, chickens, and such like dainties, for which they gladly pay high prices, and the eyes of the Indian woman sparkle at the sight of cash, for already in her mind's eye she sees the pretty stuffs and gay ribbands which this unlooked-for windfall will enable her to procure. The Indian smith sells the travellers some head of cattle, a waggon-load of maize, and is even induced without much difficulty to accompany the expedition as guide, as far as Gaines Creek, on the frontier between the lands of the Choctaws and Chickasaws. The conditions of the bargain are soon arranged; the smith washes the soot and ashes from his face, smooths his long black hair—his stout boys saddle him a horse—his wife hands him his coloured hunting shirt, his powder-horn, and shot-pouch—his rifle he takes himself, and after a brief farewell to his family, and some instructions to the negro for the eight days of his absence, mounts his horse, proceeds to the head of the procession, and pursues his way without once looking round.

Our bivouac[31] for the first night of his guidance was to be on the banks of the Sans-bois River, which receives its waters from the mountains of that name, and flows for a considerable time in their vicinity, but it has another source in the angle farther west, where it is joined by the Gaines Creek[32] and the south arm of the Canadian. Flowing then directly towards the east, it continues small up to the great turn, where it is joined by the waters of Cooper's Creek,[33] a stream rising near the Canadian, and carries them in a north-easterly direction to the Arkansas. Like all the rivers of that region, the Sans-bois is bordered by land as well adapted to the purposes of the farmer as land can be, its waters are clear and wholesome, flowing mostly over pebbles, and abounding to an extraordinary degree in fish. It is well worth while in the evening to throw in a line while you sit listening to the nocturnal life in the forest,—the loud flapping of the wings of the wild turkey, as he flutters from bough to bough, seeking his house for the night on the top of some lofty tree, while the white heron announces his presence by his hoarse cry, and the owl utters his hollow shriek. I was busy drawing fish after fish to the bank, but a rustling sound in the bushes near me made me snatch my rifle, which I had laying ready, though only to lay it down again and feel rather ashamed of myself, for I had been alarmed by no more formidable animal than a drake. There is not really the slightest cause for alarm, for the Wild Comanche is still far off, and the call of the sentinel from the camp is distincty audible,— and what a glorious enjoyment there is in this solitude!

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[30] Fraser, an Indian employed by Whipple as a guide (Frazer or Frazier).

[31] Camp 8, August 1st. The party has crossed the Sans Bois.

[32] Gaines Creek was first designated South Fork.

[33] Cooper Creek is present Beaver Creek.

In short marches our procession drew near the sources of the Sans-bois, but the almost vertical rays of the burning August sun made travelling in the middle of the day very exhausting; by the afternoon every one was longing intensely for shade and cold water, so that we generally made it a rule to get our creaking train of waggons in motion soon after sunrise, in order to get as much of the day's march done in the early hours as we could. The sandy Canadian River, flowing ten miles to the northward of our route, had not yet been touched upon, and it was therefore agreed among some members of our party to make an excursion to it, if possible at the spot where the Northfork and Southfork fall into it nearly opposite one another. A day on which our party was to make a halt was fixed on for the purpose.[34]

As soon as we were within two days' journey of Gaines Creek, we pitched our camp,[35] with rather more care than usual, in a most lovely little valley, on the borders of a murmuring brook and beneath the shade of lofty umbrageous trees; our while tents gleamed out prettily on the fresh green meadow gay with flowers which extended from our camp to the foot of the neighbouring wood-crowned hills. The mules, freed from their burdens, were grazing in herds, or rolling in the cool soft grass to cleanse their heated and dusty bodies. The human part of the company was lying scattered about in groups, talking cheerfully over the little occurrences of the day. All at once, however, it was perceived that Dr. Bigelow, the botanist of the expedition—a general favourite and

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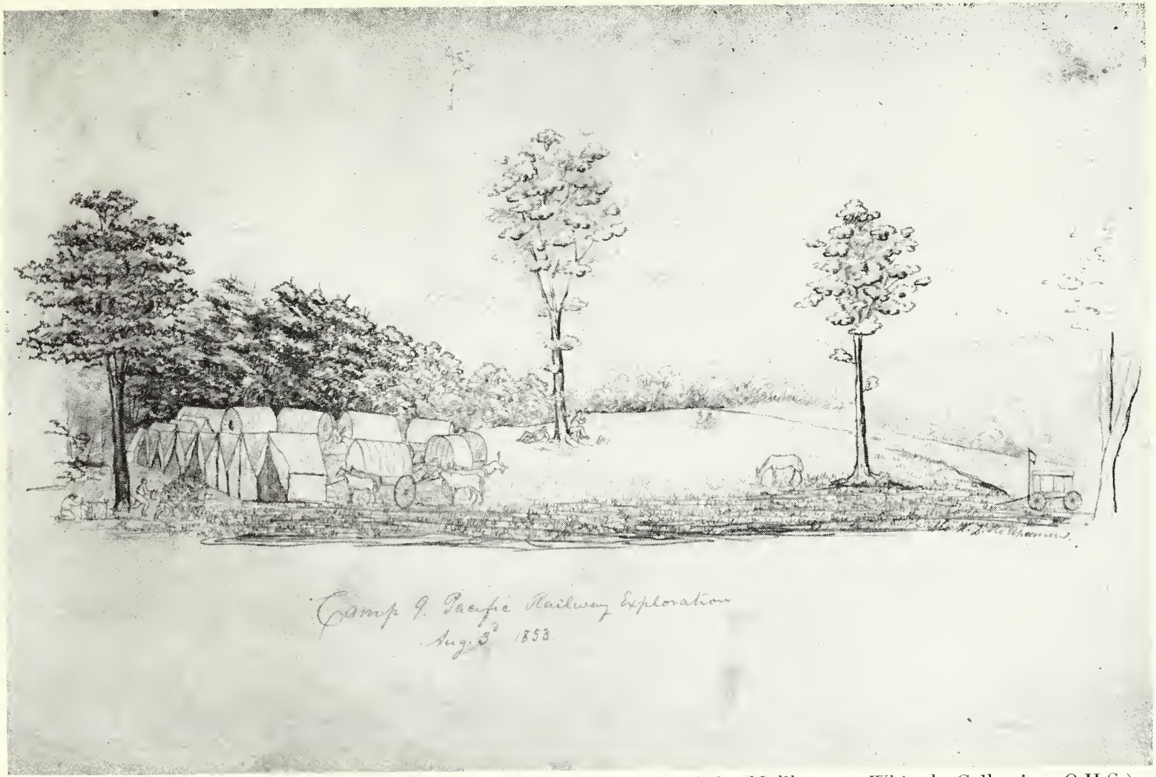
[34] Möllhausen and Dr. Bigelow made a side trip to the Canadian on August 3rd.

[35] Camp 9. This camp, near a stream called by Whipple "Santa Rita," was near present Quinton in Pittsburg County.



(From original sketch by Möllhausen, Whipple Collection, O.H.S.)

Camp 9 near Quinton, Oklahoma, 1853.

by far the oldest of the party, was not forthcoming. The aged doctor was a pattern of gentleness and patience, always rejoicing with those that rejoiced, never wanting where a hearty laugh or a good joke was to be heard, quite conscious of his own little eccentricities, and quite willing that others should amuse themselves with them. He was not only a zealous botanist, but also an enthusiastic sportsman, though it must be owned that his exertions in the latter department were not productive of as much profit as in the former, for he had never yet succeeded in bagging anything but a rattlesnake and an old *hat.* The snake, which had rolled itself up conveniently into a ball, he managed to hit after firing at it only seven times, and his bullet went through the hat in a triumphant manner, somebody having thrown it upon the muzzle of his pistol. To his patients he was most kind and attentive, and of his mule, Billy, he made an absolute spoiled child.

The good old doctor was immediately missed, but there was no cause for any serious anxiety,—and while we were still discussing the matter this way and that, we heard a loud voice of the object of our anxiety, and immediately afterwards he emerged from the thicket driving Billy before him, and dragging an enormous snake behind. ''Halloh, Dutchman,'' he called out (that was the appellation he had thought proper to bestow on the German naturalist) —''Halloh, Dutchman, here's something for you,— a splendid specimen of a snake;'' and with these words he threw into the circle a gigantic rattlesnake of the species with lozenge shape marks, called Diamond rattlesnakes. It was seven feet long, four inches in diameter, and had wide open jaws, armed with a formidable row of poisonous teeth; and since, though it was dead, it showed no trace of a wound, every one was curious to hear the account of the doctor's ''fight with the dragon.''

After a ride of fifteen miles, through marshy lowlands, over gentle slopes adorned with luxuriant vegetation, across rocky ridges on the hard stone of which the ironshod hoofs of our mules sounded like hammers, and where little hares started from the low oak brushwood, our reconnoitring party reached the Canadian at the intended spot, namely, where the Northfork and Southfork join it.[36] The broad sandy bed of the river showed only some narrow shallow runnels of thick-looking water, but from the swiftness with which they ran, it was easy to see that when the water was high this innocent-looking river might assume a very wild aspect. The scene had a dreary desolate character, and though the banks were richly grown with cotton-wood and cedar, no agreeable effect was produced. Trunks of trees, blackened by the effects of the water and of time, lay uprooted and half covered with sand upon the banks, their withered ghostly-looking branches and roots sticking out; here sat the white heron motionless and as if petrified, there the grey bittern; and the vulture wheeled slowly above the almost dry bed of the stream.

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[36] The South Fork of the Canadian River shown on maps that included the Oklahoma region from 1822 to 1860 is the stream now known as Gaines Creek. The latter name was applied to the stream locally in the Choctaw Nation by 1850. Möllhausen evidently mistook Longtown Creek for the South Fork of the Canadian which is farther west in present Pittsburg County, Longtown Creek emptying into the main Canadian opposite the North Fork of the Canadian near old North Fork Town, Creek Nation, vicinity of present Eufaula. On supposedly authentic maps of Oklahoma today, the main Canadian River is designated "South Fork of the Canadian" or "South Canadian." Thus, the name "Canadian River" (i.e., main Canadian) has disappeared or is being lost even though early government reports and authentic historical volumes about Oklahoma refer to this noted river as the *Canadian.*

We were all glad to get away from a place that had so little attraction in it; but the sun set when we were still five miles from the camp and Fraser urged us to hasten our return, though we would willingly have gone in pursuit of some of the wild turkeys that now made their appearance in masses, enlivening every wood, and flew, beating their wings, to the high trees where they sought their nightly rest. There was still a rocky chain to be crossed, the twilight was passing rapidly into darkness, and when we did occasionally see the starry heavens through the openings in the thick foliage, they only served to dazzle us and make the dark shades appear still blacker.

The Indian rode silently on, without slakening for a moment the pace of his horse, and we followed, one after another, quickly up the slopes, and still more quickly down into the ravines. No one wanted to be left behind, on we went rapidly in the darkness along a path that we should have traversed much more cautiously in the day time; and soon the watchfires of our camp, gleaming in the distance, informed us with what inexplicable exactness the Indian had hit the right direction through the pathless wilderness.

Gaines Creek[37] was reached at last, and the Indian smith[38] returned to his forge, so we had to seek another guide. As long as we remained in the country of the Chickasaws, in which we found ourselves after crossing[39] Gaines Creek, there was no difficulty in finding the way; and there was also plenty of choice of camping places;[40] for running streams and gushing springs were sparkling all over among the rich grass of this beautiful country, at least unless where the exuberant climbing plants and wild grapes had absorbed all the moisture and nourishment of the soil to themselves. In this district the Chickasaws and Choctaws live in a peaceable manner together; for the former, who were originally found more to the south, have come to an amicable agreement with the Choctaws concerning the possession of certain lands, so that it is now often difficult to distinguish one tribe from the other. Their territory extends as far as the Canadian, whilst the paradisaical tract between the Canadian and the Arkansas is occupied by the Creeks or Mus-ko-gees. It is as yet but thinly settled; but well-managed prosperous farms are rising under the hands of the Indians, and the inexhaustible fertility of the soil repays the smallest labour with a superabundant harvest.

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[37] Camp 10, reached August 4, was on the east side of Gaines Creek, a few miles east of present Reams in Pittsburg County.

[38] Fraser, having heard of the illness of his child, was paid off and left the expedition on August 5th.

[39] Gaines Creek was crossed August 5th and Camp 11 established three miles beyond at the home of Stephen Perry. (Gaines Creek, formerly called the "South Canadian," was the eastern boundary of the Chickasaw District in this part of the Choctaw Nation, until the Treaty of 1855 under which the Chickasaws set up their own Nation with new boundary lines.—Muriel H. Wright, "Organization of Counties in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 3 [September, 1930], pp. 315-17, 319-20.)

Not only competence, but even wealth, is to be found among these agricultural tribes; and where but a short time since the painted warrior was endeavouring to express his vague thoughts and wild fancies by hieroglyphical pictures drawn on a tanned buffalo hide, you may now see the civilised Indian, reading a newspaper printed in his mother tongue, and an Indian mistress directing the work of her negro slaves—who certainly enjoy milder treatment than she did herself when she was the slave of her lord and master in his savage days.

Our passage over Coal Creek[41] was happily effected, and coals for our field smithy obtained; and since the land stretching out to the west appeared, with few interruptions, very flat, the chains of our surveyors were unpacked, and a viameter fixed to the wheel of a small light waggon. The road was smooth, and leading mostly through prairies, brought us nearer and nearer to the Canadian; and after a few marches, we arrived at the first settlement of the Shawnee Indians, which bears the name of Shawnee Village,[42] though there is in reality no village at all, but only some thriving farms of agricultural Indians, lying somewhat closer together than usual, which has probably given occasion to the name, as a similar circumstance has procured for a settlement further on, the appellation of Shawnee Town.[43]

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[40] Camp 12 was near present McAlester and Camp 13 was near Haywood.

[41] Camp 14 was on Coal Creek, near present Stuart.

[42] An old house, known locally as "White Chimney," and other evidences of an old settlement located about a mile south of U. S. Highway No. 270, about two and a half miles southwest of Cabaniss in Pittsburg County is probably this Shawnee Village.

[43] The Shawnee Town location is on the south side of the Canadian River in Hughes County, about three miles north of Allen. Traces of this old settlement and old graves mark this site.

Scarcely was the arrival of the white party made known, than friendly Indians came trooping on horseback and on foot into our camp, bringing with them large quantities of maize, sweet melons, most refreshing water melons and juicy peaches for sale. Such visitors were of course exceedingly welcome, more especially as the deportment both of men and women was remarkably orderly and modest, and they moved about in their cleanly European costume with as much ease and decorum as if they had worn it from their birth.

The regularly featured faces of the men were moreover adorned by a handsome moustache, of which, as of an ornament very rare for an American Indian, they were not a little proud. The women were all what might be called handsome, and the roses visible on their cheeks, despite the dark colour of their skins, spoke of health and cheerfulness. In pleasant quarters does the weary wanderer find himself, when, resting before the cottage of one of these hospitable Indians in the shade of the roughly made protecting corridor, refreshing himself with new milk and fresh bread, or gathering juicy peaches in their cottage gardens, or finding out the water melons hidden in their cool shady bowers. The few families settled in this district appear far more happy and contented than the larger portion of their tribe,[44] who have proceeded northward to the Kansas and the Missouri, and have seen many of their number succomb to their cruel foes, small-pox and brandy.

The time which the Shawnees can spare from their farms, they generally employ in hunting expeditions, passing by twos and threes into the territories of the Kiowas and the hostile Comanches, to pursue the shaggy bison and the beautifully marked antelope, and after months of absence to bring back their pack-horses laden with dried meat. Their fondness for the chase and for adventure made it easy for us to find among them a guide,[45] who undertook to conduct our expedition as far as the Old Fort Arbuckle, the present abode of the great Delaware, the Black Beaver. A little stunted-looking Indian, denominated John Johnson,[46] mounted upon an extremely swift and powerful horse, was engaged in the capacity of scout. He was a crafty hunter, and though he seemed to pursue his way without taking notice of anything, in reality nothing escaped the keen glance of his little sparkling eyes; he was very taciturn, but it was not so much because he did not understand English, as that he chose to be sparing of his words.

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[44] These Shawnee settlements were begun by some of the Absentee Shawnee who came here from Texas and other southern locations about 1839. They were joined here by bands of the Shawnees from Kansas about 1846.

[45] A Shawnee named Wen-the-eh-beh was employed by Whipple at Camp 14.

[46] John Johnson, a Shawnee, kept a small store at Shawnee Town where he sold such staples as coffee and sugar, and some merchandise, including saddles. He had several fields of corn and other crops, and a good stock of cattle and horses, besides plenty of hogs, turkeys and chickens. His peach orchard was "magnificent, trees breaking under the burden of their fruit." His dwelling was comfortably furnished, good meals served on a table set with chinaware, knives and spoons.—*Whipple*, p. 263.

From Shawnee Village to Shawnee Town is a distance of twenty miles; the way lies near the Canadian River, and is entirely shaded by thick woods. Wild plums and wild cherries peep between the leaves, and an eatable kind of pear grows luxuriantly near the ground, whilst the wild vines wreath themselves round the loftiest trees, and ripen their grapes at their summits in the rays of the almost tropical sun. Between the two settlements on the north side of the Canadian, just at the mouth of ''Little River,'' which reaches it from the north-west, stands an old fortress called Fort Edwards;[47] in which, for a long time, there has been no garrison, and whose barracks the Creek Indians have turned into bartershops and stores, while cattle-breeding and agriculture are carried on, on a large scale in the neighbourhood. A little to the west, on the there high bank of the Canadian, stand still some wigwams or rather log-houses of Quappa [*sic*] Indians, who may boast of not having yet quitted the lands of their forefathers. But they have shrunk to a small band that cannot furnish above twenty-five warriors, and it would scarcely be supposed that they are all who are left of the once powerful tribe of the Arkansas, whose hunting grounds extended from the Canadian to the Mississippi, and who carried on sanguinary and successful warfare with the mighty Chickasaws.

Our train of waggons had scarcely left the Canadian of Shawnee Town, to take a south-westerly direction towards Delaware Mount,[48] than a number of small streams flowing towards the south-east had to be crossed. These were the sources of the Boggy,[49] which joins the Red River in Texas, and pours itself with it into the Gulf of Mexico. The banks of the Canadian form in this part the dividing watershed between the streams flowing towards the Mississippi on one side and the Gulf of Mexico on the other. Westward of the Delaware Mountains, the Topofkee Creek[50] brings its waters from the shores of the Washita, another tributary of the Red River, and carries them to the Canadian. Near the Delaware Mountains the close woods come to an end, the rolling prairies become more extensive, the river beds drier, and the scattered groups of trees on their banks assume a lighter character.

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[47] This was Fort Holmes established in 1834 on the east side of Little River at its mouth, on the present site of Bilby in Hughes County. The post was named for Lieut. Theophilus Holmes, a Dragoon officer who later rose to the rank of Lieut. General in the Confederate States Army. A few miles southwest across Little River was a trading establishment operated by James Edwards, father-in-law of Jesse Chisholm. The store was often known as "Fort Edwards."

[48] Delaware Mount is in northern Pontotoc County.—Foreman, *Pathfinder*, foot note 25, p. 54.

[49] This is Clear Boggy, the principal source of which is the large spring near old Byrd's Mill that is the water supply for the City of Ada.

[50] Present Sandy Creek, west of Ada.

On the 17th of August, we had passed Topofkee Creek and Mustang Creek (tributaries of the Canadian), and were still fifteen miles from the abode of the Black Beaver, when we pitched our camp[51] on the edge of a wood, where a spring, gushing out of a sandstone rock, offered us good cool water. The weary company, thickly covered with dust, lay about before their airy tents, and gazed at the evening sun, which now for the first time seemed to sink in the grass of the distant prairie, and shot its red beams up to the zenith, while in the east above a dark wood, up rose the moon and mingled her silver light with the burning rays.

As soon as a streak of light in the east announced the coming day, every man was again on foot and hastening the preparations for departure, and the cool morning air encouraged us to work briskly at striking the tents and packing the waggons; though we did cast some longing glances towards the cook's blazing fire—the boiling coffee and the brown toasted cakes, and the venison steaks hissing in the pan.

The mules, who had been spending the night much to their satisfaction on the rich grass, were quite in a docile humour, and quietly allowed the cold bit to be put upon their hot tongues, and themselves to be harnessed in long teams to the heavy waggons. Jonhson,[52] the Indian, mounted on his little horse, placed himself at the head of the procession of equestrians, cast one glance behind him, and then turned into the old scarcely recognisable road that led in a south-westerly direction. In this sunny and yet dewy morning, men and animals moved on cheerfully; even the heavy waggons seemed to bowl along easily on the smooth path, and the cattle that were drawing them appearing unconscious of their weight, amused themselves by looking out for tit-bits among the high grass, and cropping them as they went along.

Until noon, a continual rising of the ground was perceptible, but a chain of hills cut off the prospect towards the west, and across these heights lay our road. From thence the eye could range over an immense extent of ground, again bounded in the remote distance by blue mountain masses. At the western end of this sea of grass, and scarcely yet distinguishable, lay the Old Fort Arbuckle,[53] about which a few of the Delawares have settled, and besides their principal occupation, the chase, carry on a little cattle-breeding and agriculture. As we approached it, we saw some herds of cattle lying scattered among the high grass, or moving with slow steps along an old buffalo path that led to the desired shade. This sight inspired our now languid procession with fresh life and spirit, and we all desired ardently to salute the celebrated Black Beaver, not to mention rummaging about in his garden after refreshing melons and peaches.

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[51] Möllhausen and Whipple are not always traveling together in the same party and often camped at different locations. Whipple is now at least one day ahead. Möllhausen's camp for the 17th was in the area west of Ada, in Pontotoc County.

[52] A Shawnee employed by Whipple at Shawnee Town. He left the party at Camp Arbuckle.

Old Fort, or, as it is sometimes called, Camp Arbuckle, served but a very short time as a residence for a garrison, which was afterwards moved thirty miles southward to the new fort of the same name.[54] The abandoned post was then given to a Delaware chief, named Si-ki-to-ma-ker (the Black Beaver), who had done the United States good service in the Mexican war as a hunter and guide.[55] The position was quite in accordance with his wishes; others of his race settled near him, and they now live very happily under the protection of the astute and experienced "Beaver."

The fort itself is such as one might expect to find in these wild regions, consisting of a number of log-houses built in a right angle at the edge of the forest, about a mile from the Canadian, which formerly served as barracks for soldiers; and there is also a separate court surrounded by a high palisade, that is intended as a place of refuge for cattle in case of an attack. Several Delaware families have now taken possession of the abandoned barracks, and are continuing the cultivation of the rice fields laid out by the former garrison. Domestic animals of all kinds increase here without any care, and the thievish Pawnee or Comanche, who should venture to meddle with any of the Delaware possessions, might lay his account with having to a certainty, sooner or later, his scalp hanging out to dry in a peach tree before the door of the Black Beaver; for few as are these descendants of their great and powerful race, the blood and the spirit of their fathers is living in them still, and they are still a terror to their enemies, and faithful self-sacrificing companions to their friends.

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[53] Camp Arbuckle was established in 1850 by Marcy a mile northwest of present Byars in McClain County. The next spring the garrison was removed and the establishment was occupied by the Delawares under Black Beaver.—George H. Shirk, "The Site of Old Camp Arbuckle," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1949), p. 313.

[54] Fort Arbuckle was located 7 miles west of present Davis.—W. B. Morrison, "Fort Arbuckle", *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 1, (March, 1928), p. 26.

[55] Black Beaver, a famous Delaware Chief, was living at Beaverville, the name given the site of Camp Arbuckle.—Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Black Beaver", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1946), p. 267.

The Delaware Indians,[56] who do not now number more than 800, inhabited originally, to the number of 15,000, the eastern parts of the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. Like the Shawnees, they were destined to be continually conquering new hunting grounds, only that they might again resign them to the United State Government. Further and further west they were driven, and on every spot where they rested they had first to use their weapons in self-defence against powerful enemies, before they turned them against the wild animals, so as to obtain food and clothing.

Here, on the extreme frontier of civilisation on the borders of the boundless wilderness, the Delawares can gratify to their hearts' content their love of adventure. They carry their hunting expeditions to the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, and sometmes do not return to their settlements for years together. The long chain of the Rocky Mountains has scarcely a pass through which a troop of these bold hunters has not made its way, nor a spring whose waters they have not tasted. The Delaware fights with the grey bear in California, and pursues the buffalo in the steppes of the Nebrasca [*sic*]; he follows the elk to the sources of the Yellowstone River, and throws the lasso over the maned head of the Mustang in Texas; and it must be added that he does occasionally take a scalp when he can find an opportunity, from a hunter or an enemy's race that he may meet with in the desert, or from the midst of a village that has kept insufficient watch.

From the mode of life followed by these people, it is not surprising that very few men are usually to be found in their settlements, and travellers may therefore consider themselves fortunate who are able to engage some of this race as scouts and hunters. Any at all remarkable feature of a country that a Delaware has seen but once in his life, he will recognise again years afterwards, let him approach it from what point he may, and tracts of country that he enters for the first time, he needs only to glance over, in order to declare with certainty in what direction water will be found. If the beasts of burden, so indispensable in this journey, have strayed away during the night, and have been given up for lost by every one else, having left apparently no trace behind, or because hostile Indians make it dangerous to attempt it, the Delaware will not fail to find their track, and will follow them for days or even weeks together, and return at last with the fugitives. These are the qualities that make them so desirable for guides, and their services, upon which the very existence of a whole party of travellers often depends, can hardly be paid too highly.

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[56] For a brief history of the Delaware tribe, see Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951), pp. 145-55.

Si-ki-to-ma-ker, the Black Beaver, and John Bushman,[57] his neighbour, are renowned as guides far and wide; and our expedition, in halting at Fort Arbuckle, had had it in view to use every means to induce one of them to accompany us in that capacity.

As the foremost members of our Expedition crossed the spacious court, where several women and children were basking in the sun, and asked after the Black Beaver, they were shown into the smallest log-house, where, under a simple corridor, on a kind of rough wooden settle, an Indian sat cross-legged smoking his pipe, and awaiting his visitors in perfect tranquillity. He was a meagre-looking man of middle size, and his long black hair framed in a face that was clever, but which bore a melancholy expression of sickness and sorrow, though more than forty winters could not have passed over it.

The arrival of visitors did not seem at all to disturb him, and his easy and unembarrassed manner showed that he was quite accustomed to intercourse with the Whites. He spoke fluently English, French, and Spanish, and about eight separate Indian languages; and after the first salutations and expressions of welcome, a tempting offer was made to him to induce him to accompany us. For a moment the eyes of the Indian gleamed with their wonted fire, but they soon became clouded over again, and he answered: "Seven times have I seen the Pacific Ocean at various points; I have accompanied the Americans in three wars, and I have brought home more scalps from my hunting expeditions than one of you could lift. I should like to see the salt water for the eighth time; but I am sick—you offer me more money than has ever been offered to me before—but I am sick—I am not likely to want, for my negro can attend to the barter trade, and my relations will help him, but if I die, I should like to be buried by my own people."

No representation that we could make on the subject was of the least avail; the Indian remained steady to his resolution, which arose out of the idea that this journey would be the cause of his death. Apparently, this notion had been put into his head by his wife, who, while playing with her only son a young black bear, frequently addressed to her husband remarks to us unintelligible. It was evident that she did not wish him to go—probably foreseeing that if he once set out he would not very soon return.

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[57] John Bushman, a Delaware, was employed by Whipple as a guide to replace Johnson. He had served as a guide on Captain R. B. Marcy's Red River Expedition in 1852. Marcy described him: "Our most excellent and indefatigable hunter, John Bushman . . . . , a man of eminently determinate and resolute character, with great powers of endurance, and a most acute and vigilant observer, accompanied by prominent organs of locality and sound judgment. These traits of character, with the abundant experience he has had upon the plains, make him one of the very best guides I have ever met with. He never sees a place once without instantly recognizing it on seeing it the second time, notwithstanding he may approach it from a different direction; and the very moment he takes a glance over a district of country he has never seen before, he will invariably point out the particular localities (if there are any such) where water can be found, when to others there seems to be nothing to indicate it."—Randolph B. Marcy, Captain Fifth Infantry United States Army, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the Year* 1852, (Washington, 1854), pp. 81-2.

John Bushman, with his little son a beautiful squaw, paid us a visit in our camp; but it was only to declare how impossible it was for him at present to leave his land. Johnson, the Shawnee too, was now going back to his tribe; so that all that remained for us was to find our way for ourselves as we best might, from wood to wood and from water to water, through the desolate grassy wilderness already on fire in many places.

It happened that by mere accident we met with an interpreter in the person of a little Mexican lad, who, it appeared, would at least be able to hold communication for us with any Indian tribes we might meet. Vincenti, or, in better Spanish, *Vincente,* was a handsome well grown Mexican boy, but with a very artful expression of countenance; he had been for some years in the service of a Creek Indian of the name of Shiasem,[58] who had rewarded him with the present of a horse and free permission to return to his native country. He was perfectly well acquainted with the language of the Comanches and Kaddos [*sic*] and if the present afforded him a welcome opportunity of going home, his knowledge of languages made him extremely welcome to the Expedition.

Vincente, though he was but fourteen years old, had already seen many remarkable vicissitudes.[59] Of his parents and the home of his infancy, he had but a confused recollection. He had lived in a house where friendly *clothed* people surrounded him, and they called him Vincente; near the house were trees with fruit, many cows and horses, he used to be able to talk with the people, and there were some of the words they used (Spanish words) which had not yet escaped his memory. At night he used to sleep wrapt in blankets by the side of his mother. On the last night that he passed in that home, he was awakened by a dreadful yell, and he heard the screams of his mother, but she had vanished from his side, and the room was filled with wild painted men, who threw the furniture into the fire to make a blaze. One of the savages caught sight of little Vincente, then about four years old, and snatched him up, but a call from without was answered by a loud howl from within, and they all rushed out of the house and got upon their horses. There was confusion, and terror, and darkness. Vincente felt himself lifted up and placed before one of the riders, the flames at the same moment burst out of what had been his home, and by the light of the burning house he saw that a troop of Indians were furiously driving away a herd of cattle.

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[58] Jesse Chisholm. The odd orthography is undoubtedly due to the fact that Möllhausen is writing in German. See footnote 50, *Whipple*, p. 261.

[59] Here follows the best account of the kidnapping of this Mexican boy. Whipple states Vincente was the "son of Demencio of Parras." Whipple employed Vincente as an interpreter for $25 a month. In later years the lad was often referred to as the adopted son of Chisholm.

They rode the whole night through, but in the morning made a short halt, and Vincente had a piece of dried meat and some water given him for breakfast. The journey was continued as fast as the cattle could be got forward and the little Mexican passed the day on the saddle before his captor, and the night under one blanket with him. They went on thus for many days, until they at last came to the village of the Indians, who, it appeared, were Comanches. Vincente was then stripped entirely naked, and given over to a dreadful looking woman, who placed him among a troop of Indian children, and from this school of savages the boy issued, wholly ruined for a tranquil civilised life.

Eight or nine years passed in this way, and then he was made over in barter from his Comanche owner to Shiasem, who took him with him to the settlements and employed him in various kinds of light service. The bright quick understanding of the boy had enabled him soon to master as much knowledge as could be had among the Creeks, and his good-natured master was now willing to afford him this opportunity of making himself useful as an interpreter, and at the same time of inquiring after his relations in Mexico; but Vincente seemed to rejoice more at the chance of fallng in with his old tormentors, and being somehow revenged on them, than of treading again his native soil. That his Indian educaton had been by no means thrown away upon him may be inferred from his reply when one of us asked him what he would do if the Comanches should catch him again. Without a moment's hesitation, he said, "I would greet them as dear old friends; I would win their confidence, and accompany them on their plundering parties. But I would sleep with eyes and ears open, and on the first opportunity I could find I would poison some of them, or stab them in their sleep, and then ride away with their best horses."

The time of our sojourn at Fort Arbuckle passed very quickly; some of us made excursions to the neighbouring Delawares, or to the Canadian River, which we were now to lose for awhile, though to meet with again beyond the Antelope Hills; others went about botanising upon its desolate willow-covered banks, or searched about its broad sandy bed for a place deep enough to bathe or fish in with small nets. Now that we were so near the Indian country it was not likely that our hunts would be very productive, and the only game we could find here were horned frogs, and little lizards with steel blue tails. Our people were now practised well in the use of the rifle and revolver, an exercise in which little Vincente would gladly have spent every day from morning till night; he too was now fully armed, and soon showed himself one of the best shots of the party, although he could not well use his rifle without a support. Amidst these occupations evening came on unperceived; and then, when all was quiet, the astronomers set to work at their observations of the newly discovered comet,[60] but the rest of the company gathered round the Black Beaver, and endeavoured, by artfully contrived questions, to elicit from him some anecdotes of former days; and when he did begin to tell a story in his simple truthful manner, every one listened with the greatest attention.

''What kind of hunting shall we find in the great plains?'' asked one of them after a pause. ''There's many a creature that you can go after, wanders about those prairies,'' answered the Black Beaver, ''and especially there's the buffalo, countless herds of them; but at this time of year you won't often get an opportunity for a shot at them, as they are all going to the north. They find the sun here too warm for their shaggy hides, and by the time they are driven back by the snow storms in the autumn, you will have crossed the Rocky Mountains, and be in a country where no buffalo has ever grazed. They are shy of this mountain chain, and I never found, but in two places in the neighbourhood of passes, certain signs that the buffaloes have ventured through to the other side. You may find perhaps a grey old fellow of a bull here or there, but he will not be worth spurring your horse after,—his flesh would be tough, and you could at best only use his tongue.''

Amidst such talk as this we wiled away the fine summer evenings at Camp Arbuckle; and we regretted more and more that we were not to have the benefit of the Black Beaver's experience on our journey.

On the 22nd of August, our Expedition left the fort, some of the least magnanimous of our party returning with the corn-dealers towards the east, and the rest turning their faces joyfully in the direction that the sun himself pointed out to them. The Black Beaver gave us the benefit of his escort for the first day, and brought us to a spot where, on close examination, the tracks of old waggon wheels were discovered. It was the path by which, years before this, some Delawares had led Captain Marcy. ''Only go straight on along this road,'' said the Beaver, as he left us, ''and you will come to the Rio Grande.'' Nobody but an Indian, certainly, would have thought of calling it a road, where the eye could distinguish nothing of the kind, and only the softest mocassims [*sic*] permitted a slight ridge in the ground under the thick grass to be felt.

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[60] Whipple became very preoccupied with his astronomical observations in connection with this comet. It was first seen by the party on the evening of August 21st, and was observed almost nightly for several weeks.

We followed, however, in the direction to which he had pointed, and journeyed on in the neighbourhood of Walnut Creek; now over far-stretching grassy uplands, now through deep-wooded ravines; it was still the "rolling" prairie that we were travelling on, but the rolling waves had now become mighty billows, and the beds of rustling brooks had changed into deep chasms, at the brink of which we often had to stop and consider how we should get to the other side. Willows and oaks shaded the scantily flowing streams; the last kind of tree, especially, is widely diffused over the neighbouring chains of hills, though it is no longer so lofty and vigorous as when it drinks its nourishment from a cool fertile soil, but a low, gnarled trunk that struggles in vain to keep the burning sunbeams from drying up its juices.

The wind, which was from the west, had been all day driving towards us clouds of smoke, which slowly floated before the breeze, or were more rapidly dispersed before a stronger gust. It was evident that as far as we could see from north to south, the prairie was in flames, and the fire was driven rapidly by the increasing wind over the high grass towards the east. Under these circumstances it was necessary to be exceedingly careful in our choice of a camping place for the night, and we thought we might count on being tolerably safe if we pitched our tents between two ravines not far from one another.[61] These ravines were broad and deep, and their precipituos walls, down which poured several streams of water, were destitute of any vegetation that could offer nourishment to the flames; so that the westerly one might fairly be considered as a natural limit to the advance of the fiery tide.

Our cattle were driven down into the one lying eastward, to withdraw them from the sight of the fire, and obviate the danger of the panic, terror, and wild fight called a *Stampedo;* and when they were safely disposed of, the greater part of our company betook themselves to the other side in order to watch the fire from the edge of the ravine, and extinguish in time any sparks that might be driven that way.

Although these fires in the prairies frequently arise from accident, or the carelessness of traveling or hunting Indians, it does sometimes happen that they are intentionally kindled by the inhabitants of the steppes, who burn great tracts of the plains to favour the growth of young vigorous grass. From among the singed stubble, fine blades shoot up in a few days, and the whole surface is soon clothed again in bright green, and has the appearance of a well cultivated cornfield where the young corn is just springing up; and then the Indians proceed thither with their herds of cattle, after they have first kindled a fire in another district.

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[61] Camp 22 was in the vicinity west of Wayne.

It is, nevertheless, a matter of no unfrequent occurrence that one of these intentionally kindled fires proves the destruction both of the cattle and of the Indians themselvs; for though any one can light the fire, at almost any part of the waving grassy plain, it is often beyond any human power to control it after it is lit, when a storm wind arises to drive it over the boundless surface.

As we sat thus at the edge of the ravine calmly watching the whirling clouds of smoke, and the flames that were now just visible in the distance, or observing the movements of the terrified animals that were hurrying through the high grass and seeking shelter in the ravine, we were suddenly startled by a cry of fire from the camp.

The effect of such a cry upon minds already excited by the scene we had been witnessing may be imagined, for every one knew that not only the success of the expedition, but the lives of those concerned in it, were imperilled by such an accident. We all rushed down to the camp, where, through the carelessness of the cooks, the nearest grass had been set on fire, and under the influence of the violent wind, the flames were spreading terrifically. Fortunately, the accident had happened on the east side of the tents and waggons, so that the chief danger was blown away by the wind, while on the other side the prairie fire counteracted the current of air, and approached the camp but slowly. Our whole company now formed a close rank, and following the rapidly spreading fire, stifled the flames by a brisk application of blankets, sacks, and articles of wearing apparel; and with considerable exertion the danger was at last overcome. Only a spark was to be seen here and there, whilst on the other side of the ravine the conflagration raged unchecked.

The flames had now advanced in a diagonal line to the western edge of the ravine, but the space was too wide for them to cross; the flying sparks went out when they had reached not more than half way, and we were now able to give our undisturbed attention to the majestic phenomenon before us, and watch the fire as it moved across the plain; first, while yet afar off, withering up the tracts of juicy grass before it, and then, at a touch, converting them into ashes.

The night as it came on showed us a sublime picture—a picture that can be adequately described by neither pen nor pencil. The vivid colour of the flames made the sky appear of the most intense black, while they shed a glowing red illumination on the grey clouds of smoke that were rolling away, and changing their hue every moment as the fire was driven before stronger gusts of wind, or nourished by more or less luxuriant vegetation.

A peculiar disquieting sort of sound accompanies these prairie burnings; it is not thundering, or rushing, or roaring, but something like the distant hollow trembling of the ground when thousands of buffaloes are tearing and trampling over it with their heavy hoofs. It sounded threateningly to us in the camp, and it was with a thrilling kind of admiration we contemplated this awe-inspiring spectacle.

On the following morning our Expedition was on its march again in its accustomed order, but it had to journey for hours over the burnt surface, from which the waggon wheels and the stamping hoofs raised up a fine black ashy dust, that rendered respiration difficult both to men and horses; the complete calm and the heavy dew that had fallen during the night had quenched, but not altogether extinguished, the conflagration, and light clouds of smoke that ever and anon rose, and then dispersed in the clear atmosphere, betrayed that there were sparks still glimmering which only needed a breath to renew the scene of the previous day, and bring devastation over some yet unconsumed tract of country. The eye accustomed to rest on the pleasant fresh grass, is wearied by the dismal blackish grey of the burnt ground, and seeks in vain for some variety; the flowers have vanished, and the lizards and horned frogs, if alive, do not venture out of their holes. Only numerous skulls of wild animals long since bleached by the wind and now partly blackened by the fire, stare out of the singed stubble with their eyeless sockets, and awaken in the traveller, among other reflections that of the wonderful productiveness of the chase that from time immemorial has maintained the wild inhabitants of these steppes. Here lay a great buffalo skull with its huge horns still looking formidable, there, among colossal bones, a stately pair of antlers, which time seems to have turned to lime; but the buffalo's shaggy hide is probably hanging on the glossy copper-coloured shoulders of some Comanche, and the stately Virginian stag, and the crafty hunter that pursued him, have both long been dust.

At last we had left dust and ashes behind us, and again went rejoicing on our way through flowers and grass; but the light breeze from the west, at first scarcely perceptible, grew suddenly into a gust, that whirling over the plain sent up dust and ashes high into the air, and awakened again the slumbering element—roused it to continue its journey, and once more crackling and smoking, it pursued its devastating round towards the east.

The fire advanced very slowly, and occasioned only a short delay; the little *rodentia* could easily escape from it, but a troop of forked kites and brown falcons had nevertheless hastened thither, and circling sportively about in the black smoke, and watching their opportunity shot down, snatched their frightened prey from before the flames, and carried it off in their sharp claws. Our people soon burnt clear a space amply large enough to contain our whole party, and as the flames approached they were checked by the bald strip, and opening, left us a wide secure passage. Again we were passing through dust and ashes, but not for long, and the far stretching train of waggons was soon moving across the green slopes in the neighbourhood of Walnut Creek, where all the life of the prairie appeared to have taken refuge.

In one ravine the leading stag moved composedly along with a troop of fat deer, and offered himself as a convenient target for the hunter, who was following his movements on the high bank. The white wolf was lying down exhausted in the shadow of the single tree, his dry tongue hanging out of his jaws, and gazing, without disturbing himself, at the muzzle of the weapon from which he was about to receive his death. The small groves were alive with families of turkeys; and large prairie hares were crossing the valleys in all directions, and vainly endeavouring, by laying down their long ears, to render themselves invisible.

Our airy tents were pitched on the edge of a cool well-watered ravine, and faint and exhausted with the sultry heat of the day and our long ride, we were lying about in groups in the shade, when our attention was attracted by two horsemen, who were advancing over the plain from the west, and directing their course straight towards our camp.[62] In these wild regions one can only expect to meet with Indians, but every one anxiously awaited the arrival of the strangers, who, when they came up, rode at once fearlessly into our circle, leaped nimbly from their strong horses, and shook the hands held out to them in a friendly manner. They were two tall, slender young men, their limbs almost girlishly delicate, so that when you compared the strong bows they carried, with the small hands and slender wrists that had to manoeuvre them, you could not help wondering that they should be able to draw the strong sinew and the feathered arrow to the ear. A light woollen blanket was wound round their hips, leaving the upper part of the body entirely bare; they wore leggings and mocassins of soft leather, and a quiver made of rich fur, and filled with poisoned arrows, was slung carelessly to their copper-coloured shoulders; their youthful Indian faces were set in a frame of coal black hair, and were not without an expression of subtlety and cunning; red and blue lines were drawn, in Indian artistic style, round their eyes and over their prominent cheek-bones, and their scalp locks were fashionably dressed with coloured feathers.

The newcomers belonged to the tribe of Wakos,[63] or Waekos, neighbours of the Witchita Indians, who live to the east of the

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[62] Camp 23 was at Dibble in McClain County.

[63] For brief history of the Waco, see Wright, . . . *Indian Tribes* . . . ,pp. 253-4.

Wichita Mountains, in a village situated on the bank of a small river rising in that direction. They were now on a journey to the Canadian, to meet a barter-trader there, but having heard of our Expedition, had turned out of their way to pay us a visit. The Wakos and Witchitas[64] differ only in name, and in some slight varieties of dialect; their villages are built in the same style, and are only about a thousand yards from one another. Their wigwams, of which the Witchitas count forty-two, and the Wakos only twenty, look a good deal like haycocks, and are constructed with pliable poles, eighteen or twenty feet long, driven into the ground in a circle of twenty-five feet diameter; the poles are then bent together and fastened to one another at the top, and the spaces between filled with plaited willow twigs and turf, a low aperture being left for a door, and one above for a chimney. A place is hollowed out in the centre for a fireplace and round this, and a little raised, are placed the beds of the inhabitants of the hut; which, when covered with good buffalo skins, make tolerable resting places. Each of these wigwams is generally occupied by two families; and the Wako tribe is reckoned at about two hundred, that of the Witchitas at not less than eight hundred members.

These Indians practise agriculture; and beans, peas, maize, gourds, and melons are seen prospering very well round their villages, though their only agricultural implement is a small rake. With this, they manage to get a little seed into the ground, and the fruitful soil repays the trifling trouble with the most abundant harvests. Scarcely, however, has the melon become eatable, and the cobs of the Indian corn formed, than these thoughtless creatures begin to consume it, and hold feasts that only end when the whole stock has been eaten up,—and then for the rest of the year they have to live as well as they can by the chase. They are skilful [*sic*] buffalo hunters, and, like most of the prairie tribes, shoot their game with arrows from their horses. Those we met had large herds of horses and mules grazing near, the brands on which showed that their lawful owners lived many days' journey off in Southern Texas.

Although our two Indian visitors entered our tents in a very friendly manner, they could not be induced to remain the night with us, though we would gladly have persuaded them to do so, as having missed our way, we should have liked to employ them the following day as guides.

Shortly before we broke up our camp on the following morning, an Indian of the Kechie[65] tribe made his appearance. These people also live near the Witchita Mountains, and can bring about a hundred warriors into the field. Guided[66] by this new acquaintance, our procession found its way back to the old road, thickly overgrown as it was with grass; and by following it, we found it possible to cross the deep full streams at places where the banks had been formerly cut down and trees felled, so that a passage could now be effected with very little labour. We had, however, to make very short marches, as the path was continually crossed by the small rivers, which, in manifold windings, intersected the lowlands, watering a lovely district that for fertility can hardly be surpassed.

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[64] For brief history of the Wichita, see *ibid.*, pp. 255-60.

[65] The approved spelling of "Kechie" is *Kichai.* For a brief history of the tribe, see *ibid.*, pp. 164-6.

"You have been often in these prairies before, friend Dutchman?" said the Doctor one day to his companion.

"Yes," was the reply; "many a hundred mile have I travelled in them. I have seen the plains on the Nebrasca under all aspects."

"Doctor," cried the narrator, here suddenly interrupting himself, and seizing his companion by the shoulder, while he pointed with the other hand to some distant object, "look over that first hill there, and you will see a wood. Run your eye along that dark streak, and at the end of it you will see some black specks,—like bushes standing apart, those are buffaloes!" The old Doctor's sportsmanlike ardour was aroused in a moment, especially as he saw some horsemen from the front of the cavalcade spring forward and gallop in the direction indicated, where a small herd of buffaloes was quietly reposing in the high grass.

"Hurrah! buffaloes!" exclaimed the eager old gentleman, cocking his rifle, and like his companions, making vigorous use of his spurs. To overtake a herd of frightened buffaloes with mules would, however, not be very possible; and it was therefore determined to approach them unperceived, and get within range under cover of a hill. But each of the twelve or sixteen enthusiastic hunters was animated by a natural desire to be the first to fire a successful shot at this superb game, and each, therefore, endeavoured to push before his comrades. The Doctor broke silence first by firing off his rifle, and exclaiming, "Well, if I didn't hit the buffaloes, at any rate I fired the first shot;" and a loud laugh, in which the good-natured old gentleman joined with all his heart, was the reward of his facetiousness, as turning their smoking animals, the disappointed hunters rode slowly towards the train of waggons, now just visible in the remote distance, and for a long time their talk was only of buffaloes.

Numerous herds of these animals still animate the boundless prairies to the west, and extend their wanderings from Canada to the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Missouri to the Rocky Mountains. It is probable that the great mass of them regularly proceed northward in the spring, and in the autumn return to the warmer regions; but a few may be found scraping away the snow from their food near the sources of the Yellow Stone, and even further north; and there are also others that contrive to subsist through the summer in Texas, on the grass, burnt up as it is by the heat of the sun; but these are but few, and usually old bulls, which have been too stiff, or too lazy to follow the black columns of their comrades.

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[66] The Kichai guide was of great help, relates Whipple. He led the party back without difficulty to the Marcy trail and then as far as Marcy's Camp 28.

In former days, when the buffalo was a kind of domestic animal among the Indians, no decrease was perceptible in the countless herds; on the contrary, they increased and multiplied in the luxuriant pastures; but when the white found their way into these regions, the thick soft skin of the buffalo pleased them; they found some parts of its flesh to their taste, and both articles promised to yield abundant profit in civilised countries. In order to obtain them, a desire for the intoxicating and glittering productions of the whites was excited amongst the dwellers in the prairie, and small quantities of these tempting articles offered in return. Then the devastation began; thousands of buffaloes were killed for their tongues only, and still more frequently for their shaggy hides; and in a few years there was an evident falling off in their numbers. The careless Indian never thinks of the future, but lives only for the present and its enjoyments; and he now no longer needs to be urged to the chase, but will pursue this noble animal while there is one left. The time, perhaps, is not far distant when these imposing herds will live only in remembrance, and 300,000 Indians, as well as millions of wolves, deprived of their chief support, and wild with hunger, will become the scourge of the civilised and settled parts of the country.

Buffalo hunting is not only the chief occupation of the prairie Indian, but also his highest enjoyment. Mounted on a swift, strong horse, itself probably but just caught, he can overtake almost any animal that shows itself, and delights in sending his deadly arrows among the flying herd while at full gallop.

When the Indian proposes to overtake a herd of buffaloes, he strips himself and his horse of every article that can be dispensed with; leaves saddle and clothing behind, and takes with him only a raw leather thong, forty feet long, which is fastened to the jaws of the horse, and then, being thrown over his neck, drags at its full length behind on the ground. This serves to recover the horse in case of his getting loose by the fall of his rider or any other accident.

The hunter carries his bow, and as many arrows as he can conveniently hold in his left hand, and in his right a heavy whip, by the merciless use of which he urges his horse among the flying herd, and up to the side of a fat cow or young bull. The docile steed soon understands the intention of his rider, and needs no further urging, but places himself near the chosen prey, so as to give the hunter an opportunity of burying his arrow up to the feather in some soft part; but scarcely has the arrow whistled from the bow, and the sharp iron found its way through the curly hide, than the horse springs away as far as he can go, to escape the horns of his now furious enemy, and seek out another victim. Thus the hunt proceeds with the rapidity of a storm wind, until the exhaustion of the horse warns the wild hunter to put some restraint on his ardour. The wounded animals in the meantime have been left by the herd, and are lying exhausted or dying on the route over which the wild hunt thundered but a few minutes before. The wives of the hunters follow in their track, and are soon busily employed in cutting up the game, and conveying the best pieces and the skins to their wigwams, where they cut the meat into thin strips, dry it, and tan the skins in their simple manner.

The greater portion of the animals slaughtered is left to the wolves, which are always found in considerable numbers in the train of the buffalo.

The chase is, however, not the only mode in which the Indian carries on his endless war with the buffalo. Another plan is to draw a wolf's skin over his head and the upper part of his body, and go crawling on his hands and knees, pushing his weapon before him, and approach the game in a zig-zag line. The long hair that hangs over the buffalo's eyes prevents his being very clear sighted, and as long as his keen olfactory organs give him no warning of the presence of the Indian beneath the disguise, the enemy will often succeed in getting near enough to kill him without disturbing the rest of the herd.

The poor buffalo is persecuted at all seasons of the year, even when snow storms have drawn a covering over the hollows, and rendered a hunt with horses impracticable. The herd at these times can only work its way slowly through the deep snow; but the Indian has contrived broad plaited snow-shoes, which he fastens to his swift feet, and so skims over the uncertain ground after the laboriously wading giant, and kills the now defenceless animal with the lance. More buffaloes, however, are sacrificed to the uncontrollable passion for the chase than to real necessity, and the war of extermination against this fine ornament of the prairie is carried on in the most unmerciful manner. There will probably be no thought of forbearance till the last buffalo has disappeared, and shortly afterwards, the last red-skin, and with them the only native poetry of the great North American continent.

Wherever Providence has placed living creatures, it has afforded them the means of existence, and in these vast plains, from which civilisation long shrank back, in the belief that they were desolate, there lived thousands of human beings, who had no wish that they were not able to gratify. They lived in plenty, for countless herds of buffaloes were given to them, and to the buffaloes again fat pastures; but the thirst for gain found its way into these solitudes, trampled the glorious works of the Creator into the dust, and will one day look proudly on the roaring locomotive, rushing through the prairie, on its great errand of uniting together the two opposite oceans.

Our would-be buffalo hunters, with the old Doctor at their head, reached the camp at a late hour.[67] It was pitched between the sources of the Walnut Creek and the Deer Creek, and consequently about the middle of the Cross Timbers, the strips of forest that form such a remarkable feature of this region.[68] These strips begin at the Arkansas, and extend in a south-westerly direction to the Brazos, a length of more than 400 miles, with a breadth varying from five to thirty. Throughout their whole extent the Cross Timbers show the same character; the trees are chiefly dwarf oaks, standing with such wide spaces between them, that waggons can drive through with great ease; the soil is sandy and barren, and only in the neighbourhood of great rivers, intersected by a few brooks; but wherever they are found, the oaks assume a loftier, more vigorous growth, and also tolerate willows as their neighbours. Where heavy rains have laid bare the ground, you see a reddish loam, crossed by white streaks of gypsum, which broaden as they proceed westward, until they reach the enormous bed of gypsum that begins at Fort Mary and the Natural Mounds.[69]

These Cross Timbers form, to a certain extent, the boundary between the lands adapted for cultivation, and the barren steppe, as well as between the civilised and wild inhabitants; for eastward of this natural boundary are found numerous brooks and springs, which unite to form small rivers, and then carry their waters to the Canadian or the Witchita [Washita], leaving everywhere abundance and blessing behind them. Superb trees of the most luxurious growth mirror themselves in these waters, and flowery meadows of indescribable loveliness border their banks. Westward of the Cross Timbers stretch the great plains in their sublime monotony.

The following day's march brought us to the neighbourhood of Deer Creek;[70] a river that certainly deserves its name, for as our noisy procession approached, fat deer, roused from their slumber among the high grass, were seen breaking from their covert, and bounding away through the many entangling creepers to the river side, to hide themselves in the thick woods. Troops of turkeys were stepping gravely across the open space, or strutting about proudly with their fan-like tails spread out, glittering in the sun with all the colours of the rainbow; but, alarmed by the sound of the waggon wheels, they fled incontinently, with outstretched necks, and hid themselves among the bushes, where nothing but a slight occasional rustle betrayed their presence. Game was now to be had in superfluity; and our long-drawn cavalcade scattered about in all directions, and shots were heard from far and near. Nobody could resist the temptations here offered; the popping went on all the rest of the day, the sportsmen working their way panting through whole fields of mulberry bushes; and in the evening we lay in groups round the fires, praising the excellence of the fresh game, that speedily vanished before our vigorous appetities, driving away the troublesome insects with clouds of tobacco smoke, and reconing the various distances that lay between us and our homes.

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[67] Camp 25 near Tuttle.

[68] Caroline Thomas Foreman, *The Cross Timbers* (Muskogee, 1947).

[69] An unusual formation located in Caddo County a few miles southwest of Hydro. The principal butte was named Rock Mary by Lieuts. Simpson, Morrison and other junior officers in honor of Mary Conway, a popular young member of the 1849 party of emigrants. To call the same "Fort Mary" would be a misapprehension. For the naming of Rock Mary, see Grant Foreman, *Marcy and the Gold Seekers* (Norman, 1939), pp. 215, 306.

[70] Now Boggy Creek, a branch of the Canadian in northern Grady County.

The passage of Deer Creek[71] was easily effected, but there was more difficulty with the little streams formed by the numerous springs of this region, which flowed from all directions towards the river, and whose deeply hollowed beds formed serious obstructions in our path.

A general rise of the ground was now perceptible; and since the Cross Timber track was nearly passed, the woods had become more scanty, and a wider view was obtained over the face of the country, which again resembled long rolling waves.

We made a good day's march from the point where Deer Creek is crossed, to the spot where you first catch sight of Rock Mary and the Natural Mounds, a group of bold steep hills in the thenceforward treeless plain. Up to this point no particular change in the character of the scenery is perceptible; there is the same juicy green in the prairies, the same low gnarled oaks in the woods, the same level road over which waggons and horses proceed at the same steady pace.

We turned out of a ravine covered with low oak woods, and saw the wide, boundless plain stretching out before us. It was the first time we had seen the horizon line touching and mingling with that of the distant prairie. The far-stretching outline was only broken by the Natural Mounds—a group of hills of a conical shape; which, by the effect of the mirage then prevailing, assumed the most wonderful forms: sometimes seeming to rise out of a broad lake; sometimes to hang down from the bright sunny horizon.

The wide plain now lay extended before us, like the ocean in its sublime tranquillity; a few dried-up hollows and rushing streams had still to be passed, but they presented no formidable obstacle to our

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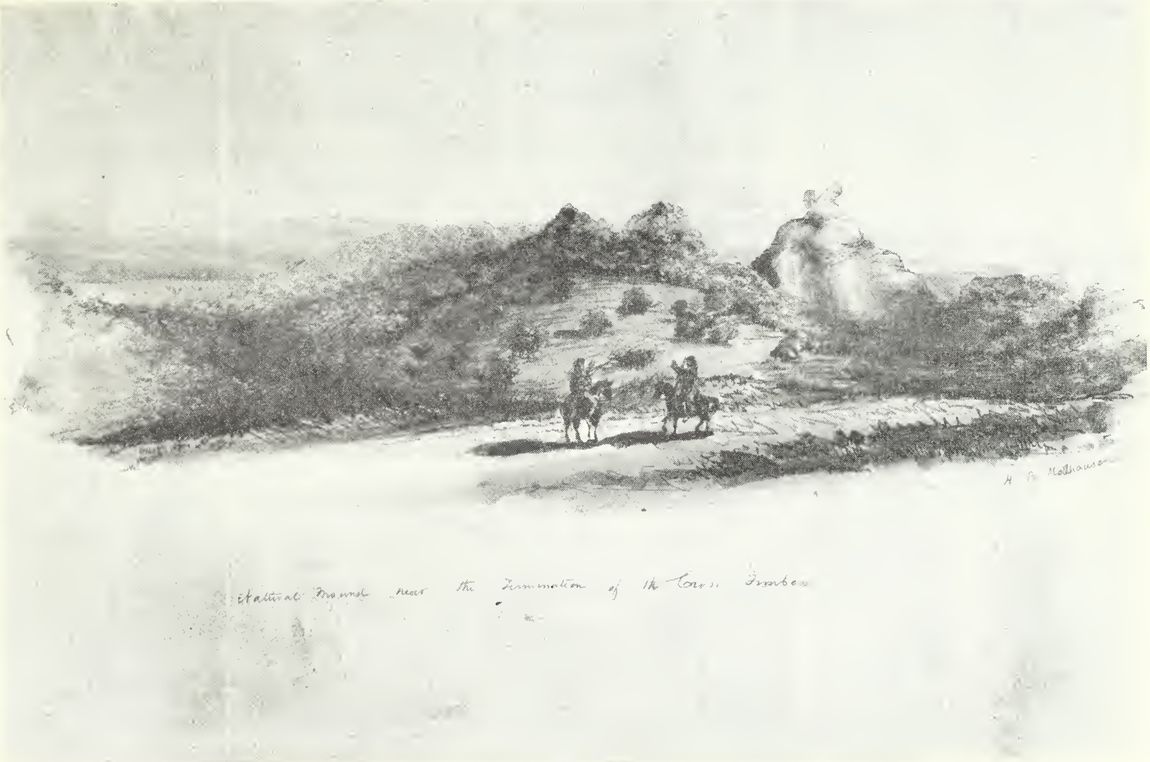
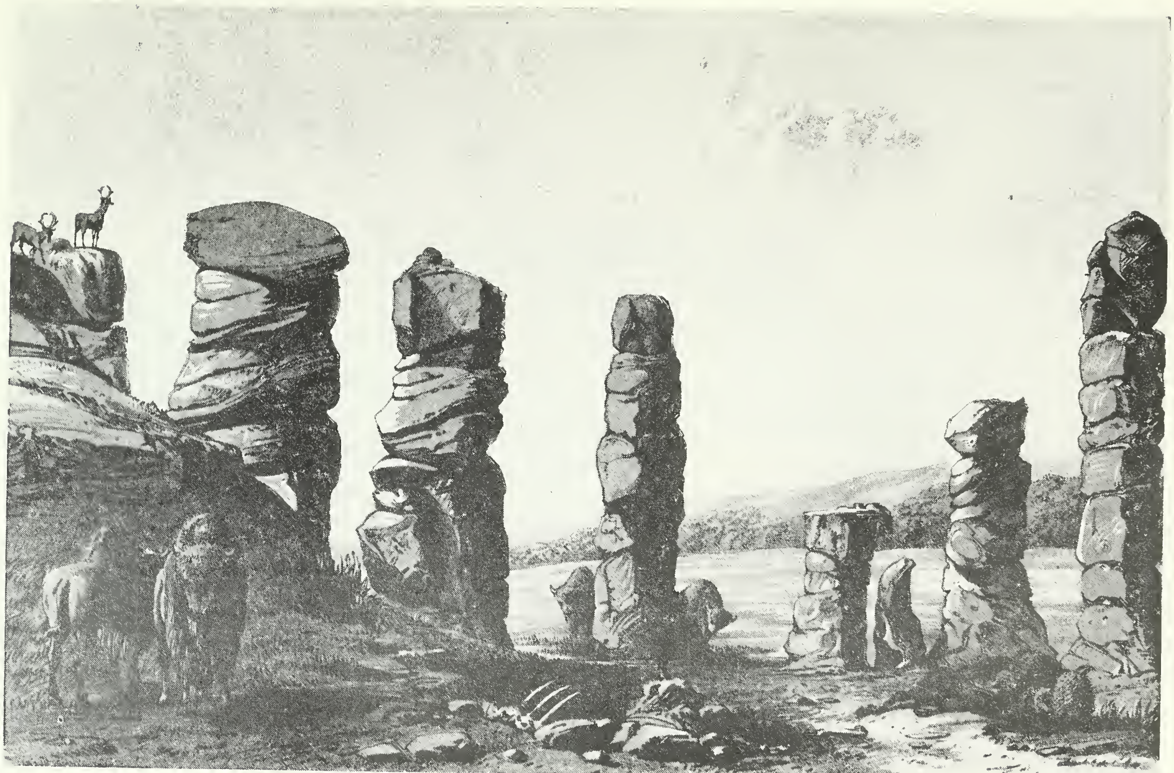
[71] August 28th.


Natural Mound near the Termination of the Cross Timbers
H. B. Möllhausen

(From original sketch by Möllhausen, Whipple Collection, O.H.S.)

ROCK MARY



(Möllhausen sketch in *Diary*, London Edition, 1858.)

Sandstone column formation in vicinity of Natural Mounds in Oklahoma, 1853.

course; for instead of the former sandy loam, a firm red sandstone lay near the surface of the ground, and had opposed too solid an obstacle to the gnawing tooth of time, and the wild rush of the waters, to allow of the formation of deep ravines, such as are found on the east side of the Cross Timbers. Even this rock, however, had yielded to the influence of thousands of years, and been washed and worn down in particular places; where harder and more impenetrable veins crossed the soft sandstone, the most remarkable forms had arisen, sometimes so distinctly wrought out that you would hardly imagine you had not before you the work of human hands, and of capricious human fancy directing the chisel. Especially striking was the passage from one of the hollows I have mentioned, into a larger one, where, on the smooth sandstone rock stood some formations, appearing at a distance like a number of cupolas, but on a nearer view rather like gigantic urns or vases. They were from eight to ten feet high, at the largest parts from four to six feet in diameter, and formed of a deep red sandstone; there was first a broad round foot, then a column, at first slender, but increasing rapidly in circumference, and then, where it attained its greatest breadth, suddenly running to a point, as if to form the cover of the vase. When we had passed this place, our road lay towards the Natural Mounds, which appeared much nearer than they really were, from the perfect level of the steppe.

Mile after mile was passed, and the sun was sinking in the west, when our train of waggons passed Rock Mary to the northward, winding among the hills, westward of which our camp[72] was to be pitched for the night, near a brook whose vicinity had long been manifested by the presence of cottonwood trees. The Natural Mounds, the chief of which bears the name of Rock Mary, are a chain of conical hills, lying separate, but scattered in a direction from north-west to south-east; they are all about equal in height, namely, about eighty feet, and covered with a horizontal stratum of red sandstone. They appear to be the remains of a former elevated plain, which has been preserved from complete destruction by the upright mass of rock contained in it; and this seems the more probable, because on the flat plain to the west, you find what looks like a range of columns; consisting of blocks of sandstone lying so regularly one upon another, that it is not easy at first to be convinced that these—not perhaps imposing, but certainly surprising structures, have been formed solely by the hand of nature, or left thus after a comparatively recent convulsion.

There are twelve or fourteen of these columns still standing, and more that are gradually being worn away; the largest attain a height of about twenty-five feet; some consisting of vast square blocks of free-stone, whilst others, of the same height, have not a diameter of more than two or three feet, and sooner or later will fall.

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[72] Camp 29, probably in the extreme southeast corner of Custer County.

A spring of water, as clear as crystal, trickled out over a bed of firm sandstone, in the neighbourhood of this colonnade, and was soon swelled into a rivulet by other veins that opened all over the rock, and the rivulet has become a strong though small river by the time it pours itself into the Canadian. This was the boundary between the sweet and the salt waters, and on the following day we entered on the great gypsum region, which passes with reason for the greatest in the North American continent, and is only exceeded in length (according to Darwin) by the great bed of gypsum in Chili, on the Western coast of South America. Where it begins, at the Arkansas, it has a breadth of fifty miles, and it extends in a south-westerly direction across the Canadian to the sources of the Red River, then over a part of the elevated plain, (*Llano Estacado*,) touches on the Colorado, and then stretches out beyond the Brazos and Pecos, to a length of at least 400 miles. Wherever, on this tract, the gypsum comes to the surface, it shows itself in every conceivable form: sometimes as white veins, which intersect the red loam in the deeply-hollowed beds of the rivers; sometimes in masses like alabaster lying on the surface of the plain, with such deep openings and chasms, that you can easily go far down into them; and then again as transparent, finely foliated, sparry plates of selenite, of several feet square in surface, and only two inches in thickness, so that it would be easy to make large window panes out of them. They are so employed in the towns of the Pueblo Indians, the descendants of the ancient Aztecs, on the Rio Grande, all the apertures for light being closed with them; and these panes have the advantage of allowing the occupants of the house to look out, without it being possible for the keenest eye to see what is passing in the interior of the feebly-lighted rooms. The water of the above-mentioned rivers, which rise in the gypsum region, have always a taste of soda and magnesia, in some places so strong as to make them almost undrinkable, and to produce an evident effect on the health. For this reason, travellers on approaching this desert, make what haste they can across a tract where the sight of cool bright, and yet undrinkable water, is painfully tantalising, when they consider how many a toilsome day's march they have to make through an otherwise waterless prairie.

Our expedition did not, therefore, leave the sweet springs of the Natural Mounds without making the necessary preparations. In order to have recourse as seldom as possible to the bitter water, the skins, and casks carried with us for the purpose, and even the cooking utensils were filled with good water, and when all was ready for our departure, and our horses saddled and watered were standing round, one after another of the party was seen going down to the spring, and taking in such long draughts of the delicious fluid, that they seemed to be quenching their thirst for days and weeks beforehand.

At last our cavalcade got in motion again; the road over the plain was excellent; the Natural Mounds and Rock Mary were left behind in the blue distance, and as on the wide ocean, the eye ranged round a circular line, formed by the horizon and the prairie. A sublime repose, indeed, a deathlike stillness reigned around, even the noise of the waggons seemed to die away in the infinite space. The scene was strange and new—almost too new to awaken more than a vague general interest.

The horsemen had left the train of waggons, and rode on confidently over the short grass; there was no more fear of their losing the way, for they must have gone almost a day's journey to get out of sight of their companions; and though some columns of smoke, rising in the west, denoted the presence there of some human beings, they were so far off that no precaution was necessary. A troop of Kiovas [*sic*] or Comanches could not have come nearer than three miles unperceived.

The small swells and inequalities of surface that showed themselves here and there, were almost destitute of vegetation, but glittered all over in the rays of the sun. Many a one of the party was induced to turn his horse that way in order to examine the place, and search for supposed treasures; but on closer investigation they proved to be nothing more than semi-transparent crystalline fragments of gypsum. A troop of these inquiring persons who were pursuing their way, in the eagerness of their talk, at a rather brisker pace than the rest, and had got considerably in advance of the slowly-rolling waggons and their escort of foot soldiers, made a halt upon one of these glittering hills, and alighting from their mules, left them to crop what they could, with only the precaution of leaving the long leathern thongs trailing on the ground, that they might easily catch them again; and determined to rest, and await the arrival of the lost stragglers. The geologist,[73] in the meantime, hammered away lustily at the rocks; the doctor, who was never wanting, instituted a search for plants; the topographer gave himself a great deal of trouble to note down on the chart some variations in the level of the plain; and the German naturalist toiled, in the sweat of his brow, to roll over blocks of gypsum in hopes of discovering snakes and lizards, and transferring them to his spirit bottles. Scarcely had the old doctor reached the top of the hill than he called out, joyfully: "Here! come here, all of ye, the earth is split open here and we can get inside!" We did not let him wait long, and on coming to the spot really found a wide funnel-shaped opening in the ground, which, at a depth of twelve feet down, enlarged and showed entrances to low caves and chasms. As soon as the first surprise was over we made preparations to descend. The rough alabaster-like gypsum formation of the walls offered points of support enough for our hands and feet, and in a short time the whole party was below, endeavouring to find an entrance through the low passages into the nearest grottoes; but they were pitch dark within, and the marks of the feet of wild animals were pretty plainly impressed on the soft sand of the floor, so that it did not appear to us quite advisable to thrust ourselves in blindfold. Fortunately, one of us found that he had got with him in his hunting pouch the means of kindling a light, so after a little discussion, another of the party determined to lead the way, and crawled accordingly, with his comrades behind him, on his hands and knees, into the nearest passage, holding the light in one hand, and with the other cautiously pushing forward his revolver. The narrow path soon led to a lofty, spacious grotto, whose vaulted roof rested on two irregular pillars; it was very cold, but showed some beautiful and picturesque formations. Here, large masses hung from the roof in the form of stalactites—there, curiously perforated fragments rose from the floor;—in one place the wall was cleft from top to bottom, in another appeared the opening to an inner grotto—not large enough, however, for a man to enter—and at every step made by the explorers some new and interesting phenomenon presented itself, the white rocks glimmering and glittering in the faint light like masses of ice and snow. All the passages opening into this grotto seemed to lead into the open air again, but they were only large enough to allow of the passage of wolves and wild cats, who would certainly have made their way out as we approached. Some of the grottoes we did examine, but without finding any thing remarkable.

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[73] Jules Marcou was born at Salins, France, April 20, 1824. He joined the faculty of the Sorbonne in 1846, and two years later came to America under the auspices of the Jardin des Plantes. He married an American, and lived at Cambridge, Massachusetts, until his death in 1898.

The journey through this gypsum region lasted five days: towards the end of the time the want of good water was much felt, and every one had to quench his thirst with a bitter draught. Unfortunately it was found not only that the thirst became more troublesome than ever, but a general feeling of indisposition prevailed through the party, and the food, which seemed also affected by a disagreeable flavour, became quite distasteful to us. Under these circumstances it will not seem surprising that much of our accustomed good humour and cheerfulness disappeared, and that we jogged along, with as much patience as we could, but in a very dull mood.

When we got to within two days' journey of the Antelope hills, the land of the gypsum region, and at the same time the boundary between northern Texas and the lands of the Indians, the formation appeared to be undergoing a change, for the small elevations were no longer covered with fragments of gypsum, but with fossil oyster-shells. This continued, however, only for a short time, and then the plain resumed its former character.

The mules and the small herd of cattle we had with us were well content, for the salt taste of the water was to them an agreeable condiment, and the grass was plentiful though not high. Scantily watered as the district was, we could manage every evening to reach a brook, which offered sufficient for our necessities, while our cattle found food on its banks. All these streams, including the most considerable of them, the Gypsum Creek,[74] hastened in various windings to the Witchita [Washita] and Canadian. They were swarming with fish of many species, amongst which we particularly distinguished the *Chaetodon rostratus*,[75] armed with its tremendous row of teeth; this creature appeared to share the dominion of the waters with the soft-shelled coriaceous turtle.

The Kioway Indians hunt these regions, but the boundary between their grounds and those of their western neighbours, the Comanches, is not determined. The great tribes of the Comanches and Kioways live on a friendly footing with one another, and extend their ravages and their hunting expeditions from the settlements of the Shawnees to the Rio Grande, and from the Nebraska or Flat River to the colonies on the Mexican Gulf.

We reached the Canadian at last; and at the moment when its broad mirror was first spread out before us, we caught in the blue distance a glimpse of the misty Antelope hills.[76] They vanished again from our sight however, when, in order to get to the river bank, we descended between some wild hills into the valley.

A great change took place in the aspect of the river as we approached it. The dull brick-coloured fluid moved slowly through its broad bed, scarcely covering the sand that rolled along. The holes that we scraped, to get water for drinking, were immediately sanded up again, and a few drops were sufficient to inform us that the waters of the Canadian, which at a lower part of its course were fit for every purpose, were here as unpleasant as that of any of the salt streams that paid tribute to it. We redoubled our haste, therefore, to get to the Antelope hills, that when we had reached their western declivity we might revel once more in the pure element of which we had so long been deprived.

The Antelope or Boundary Hills are six table-shaped elevations, rising 150 feet above the plain; their form is regular, in some oval, in others round; they look like gigantic ramparts, are all covered by a horizontal stratum or table of white sandstone, eighteen feet thick, and are without doubt the remains of elevated plateaus, which here rise in so remarkable a manner above the boundless plain. Each of these ramparts may be ascended at certain parts, and when you stand on the platform and look round, your view is bounded only by the blending line of the horizon and the grassy plain. How grand and calm, how sublime and yet how oppressive, is the prospect!

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[74] Probably East Barnitz Creek in Custer County.

[75] Girard in his report on "Fishes," *op. cit.*, p. 110, explains his adoption of the name *Squamipennes* instead of *Chaetodontidae* for this "Family" of fishes. The specimen caught in Gypsum Creek by Möllhausen is described on p. 209 (*ibid.*) with special mention of the developed "maxilar teeth," and listed by Girard under *Pimelodus Felinus.*

[76] The Antelope Hills, now in Roger Mills County, are very near the 100th Meridian that marks the western boundary of Oklahoma. These noted hills were once the landmark for the international boundary line between Spanish and American territory.

With no more variety of scenery than this, our journey continued for many days,[77] and the monotony was only seldom broken by the appearance of an isolated conical hill, or table-shaped rock, which, on account of its rarity, we regarded with great interest and attentively examined.

The prairie dog, as it is called, though in fact it is no dog at all, but a marmot, is certainly one of the most curious of the living creatures found in these regions. It was named dog, *petit chien,* by the old Canadian trappers, on account of its peculiar cry, somewhat resembling the bark of a small dog, and the name has continued in use to the present day. The almost incredible extent of the settlements, or villages as they are called, of these peaceful little inhabitants of the earth, can be appreciated when you find that for days and days together you are travelling among small hills, every one of which marks an establishment of this kind. The single dwellings are generally eighteen or twenty feet apart, and the hillock at the entrance of each consists of a good waggon-load of earth, which has gradually thrown up into the light of day by the little inhabitants in constructing their subterranean abodes. Some habitations have one, others two entrances, and the firmly trodden path leading from one to the other gives rise to the conjecture that relations of friendship must subsist among these lively little animals. Their choice of a site for their villages appears to be determined by the presence of a peculiar kind of short crisp grass, which flourishes on these elevated plains, and which forms their sole nourishment; and their populous republics are to be found even on the lofty table lands of Mexico, in places where for many miles round there is not a drop of water, and where no rain falls for many months. Water can only be obtained there by digging to a depth of a hundred feet, so that it is to be presumed that the prairie dog does not need it, but is satisfied with the moisture afforded by an occasional heavy dew. The winter they doubtless pass in sleep, for they lay up no store for that season, and as the grass is withered in the autumn, and the ground afterwards hard bound in frost, they cannot obtain their foot in the customary manner. When they feel that their sleepy time is approaching, which is commonly towards the last days of October, they close all the entrances to their abode to protect themselves against the winter's cold, and then settle themselves to their long sleep, and do not wake again till the warm spring days recall them to joyous life. The Indians say that the prairie dog does sometimes open the doors of its house during the cold weather, but that this is a sure sign of warmer days approaching.

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[77] Möllhausen did not give strict attention to the daily camp sites nor did he make an effort to include references to each day's journey. The party was in Oklahoma until September 7th, and on that day without doubt crossed the 100th Meridian.

A small species of burrowing owl is often found as a joint tenant of these subterranean dwellings, and appears to live on good terms with the small quadrupeds who inhabit them; but the owl is more common in the villages that have been abandoned by their original occupants. The prairie rattle-snake also sometimes introduces himself; but it is a great mistake to imagine, as has sometimes been done, that he comes as a friendly visitor; and when the unpleasant sound indicating the presence of the poisonous reptile is heard from one of the villages, you may be sure that if it had not been previously forsaken by its tiny population, the rattle-snake has either driven them out or devoured them.

These little colonies present a curious appearance if you can succeed in getting near before their sentinels have given the alarm. As far as the eye can reach there is a busy life and bustle going on; a little yellow brown personage, something like a squirrel, is sitting upon every hillock, with his little tail sticking up, and in everlasting motion, while thousands of small voices unite in chorus.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Oklahoma Corporation Commission Historical Data

The following tabulated material presents historical data on the members of the Oklahoma Corporation Commission since statehood, giving names of members, tenure of office and other notes that are not available in any other one place. This original compilation is a tabulated part of a thesis on political science titled, "Oil and Gas Regulation in Oklahoma" prepared at Stanford University for the Ph. D. degree, by Eugene L. Swearingen, Assistant Professor of Economics in Oklahoma A. and M. College. Mr. Swearingen's contribution on the history of the Corporation Commission is here published in *The Chronicles* to make it a matter of permanent record in the Oklahoma Historical Society collections:

Members of the Corporation Commission since 1907

1st Commission (1907-1911)

All were elected Sept. 17, 1907. Exact term of office determined by casting lots. Terms set so that one expires each two years.*

Secretary.

J. E. Love (D) Elected 1907. Reelected in 1912.
J. J. McAlester (D) Elected 1907—Served until 1911. Did not run for reelection .
A. P. Watson (D) Elected 1907. Reelected in 1908 and in 1914.

2nd Commission (1911-1915)

J. E. Love (1907-1918)
A. P. Watson (1907-1915) Removed from office by impeachment and succeeded by W. D. Humphrey (D) 4-23-1915.
Geo. A. Henshaw (D) Elected 1910—Served 1911-1917. Followed by J. J. McAlester.

3rd Commission (1915-1917)

J. E. Love (1907-1918)
W. D. Humphrey (Appointed 4-23-1915) Elected 1916. Served 1915-1919.
Geo. Henshaw (1911-1917). Did not run for reelection.

4th Commission (1917-1918)

J. E. Love (1907-1918) Died in office in June, 1918.
Campbell Russell (Elected 1916 to succeed Henshaw—Served until 1922.)
W. D. Humphrey (1915-1919)

5th Commission (1918-1919)

Art L. Walker (D) Appointed in 1918 to fill vacancy created by death of J. E. Love. Elected 1919.
Campbell Russell (1917-1923)
W. D. Humphrey (1915-1919) Resigned to enter private law practice.

6th Commission (1919-1921)

Art L. Walker (1918-1923)
Campbell Russell (1917-1923)
R. E. Echols (Appointed 5-21-1919 to succeed W. D. Humphrey, who resigned.)

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* Tenure of Corporation Commissioners given here is compiled from *Directory of the State of Oklahoma*, 1951, issued by the State Election Board, J. Wm. Cordell,

7th Commission (1921-1923)
- Art L. Walker (1918-1923) Resigned.
- Campbell Russell (1917-1923) Defeated in 1922 primary by Frank Carter.
- E. R. Hughes (R) Elected 1920 over Echols. Served 1921-1927. Won again in 1928. Served 1929-1935. Succeeded by A. S. J. Shaw.

8th Commission (1923-1925)
- Joe Cobb (Appointed 1-15-1923 to succeed Art L. Walker who had resigned. Served 1923-1925).
- Frank Carter (Elected 1922. Served 1923-1929)
- E. R. Hughes (1921-1927) and (1929-1935)

9th Commission (1925-1927)
- Fred Capshaw (Elected 1924. Served 1925-1931)
- Frank Carter (1923-1929)
- E. R. Hughes (1921-1927) and (1929-1935) Only Republican who has ever served on the Corporation Commission. Defeated Frank Carter in general election Nov. 6, 1928.

10th Commission (1927-1929)
- Fred Capshaw (1925-1931)
- Frank Carter (1923-1929)
- C. C. Childers (Elected 1926. Served 1927-1933)

11th Commission (1929-1931)
- Fred Capshaw (1925-1931). Did not run for reelection.
- E. R. Hughes (Elected 1928. Served *again* 1929-1935.) Won Republican Primary 1934 but withdrew before run-off primary.
- C. C. Childers (1927-1933)

12th Commission (1931-1933)
- Paul A. Walker (Elected 1930. Served 1931 until he resigned 7-11-1934)
- E. R. Hughes (1929-1935)
- C. C. Childers (1927-1933) Ran for reelection in 1932. Was beaten slightly by both J. C. Walton and A. S. J. Shaw. Walton then won from Shaw in run-off primary.

13th Commission (1933-1934)
- Paul A. Walker (1931-1934)
- E. R. Hughes (1929-1935)
- J. C. Walton (Elected 1932. Served 1933-1939)

14th Commission (1934-1935)
- Reford Bond (Appointed 7-11-1934 by Governor Wm. H. Murray to fill vacancy created by resignation of Paul A. Walker. Served 1934-to date.) Elected 1936. Reelected 1942 and 1948.
- E. R. Hughes (1929-1935)
- J. C. Walton (1933-1939)

15th Commission (1935-1939)
- Reford Bond (1934-to date). This is the longest tenure record of the twenty men who have served Oklahoma as members of the Commission.
- A. S. J. Shaw (Elected 1934. Served 1935-1941)
- J. C. Walton (1933-1939) Did not run for reelection.

16th Commission (1939-1941)
- Reford Bond (1934-to date)
- A. S. J. Shaw (1935-1941)
- Ray O. Weems (Elected 1938. Served 1939-to date) Reelected in 1944 and 1950.

17th Commission (1941-1947)
- Reford Bond (1934-to date)
- Wm. J. Armstrong (Elected 1940. Served 1941-1947) Did not run for reelection in 1946.
- Ray O. Weems (1939-to date)

18th Commission (1947-to date)
Reford Bond (1933-to date) Comes up for reelection in 1954.
Ray C. Jones (Elected 1946. Served 1947-to date)
Ray O. Weems (1939-to date)

BLOOMFIELD SEMINARY CENTENNIAL

A century of time has now rolled by (1953) since the first bustle of activity came to a pleasant hillside three miles southeast of the present town of Achille in Bryan County; and this, the centennial year of the founding of Bloomfield Academy, seems the proper time to revisit this historic and interesting spot.

Now enclosed within the farm of Dr. E. W. Bolinger, the first location of Bloomfield was in the Northwest Quarter of the Northeast Quarter of Section 8, Township 9 South, Range 9 East.

As with all such ventures of those days, the first construction was inevitably paralleled by an equal need for a cemetery; and the graves at Bloomfield today hold our principal interest. The visitor should remain on State Highway 299 for two miles south of Achille; then turn off at the Bloomfield Marker and proceed another mile south and then one-half mile west and from this point on the section line road the old Bloomfield Cemetery is still prominently seen on the sunny knoll one hundred yards to the left.

The site for the Academy was selected in 1852 by Reverend[1] and Mrs. J. H. Carr, and the institution was opened as a boarding school in September, 1853. The first building was located approximately seventy-five yards south and west of the Cemetery; and little remains today to mark the exact site of the first building.

In 1876, the Chickasaw Legislature reorganized the school as an institution of higher learning for Chickasaw girls, to be known as ''Bloomfield Seminary.'' The original building was destroyed by fire on October 15, 1896, and about a week later ''An Act to rebuild Bloomfield Seminary'' was passed by the Legislature, and approved by Governor R. M. Harris on October 24, 1896, appropriating $14,000 for the purpose. A large, substantial frame building was erected on a new location in Section 5, several hundred yards northwest of the former site, the section line dividing the two locations.[2] The institution was fortunate in the high caliber of persons who served it as superintendent, through the years, and it remained as an educational strong point for the area until the establishment was again destroyed by fire on January 24, 1914. Rather than again rebuild, decision was made to acquire the old Hargrove College property north of Ardmore, and to reestablish the institution there. In 1929, the name of Bloomfield was changed to "Carter Seminary."

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[1] For a photograph of Rev. Carr, see the frontispiece of *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 4, (Dec., 1924). Mrs. Susan J. Carr gives a history of the school in "Bloomfield Academy and Its Founder," *ibid.*, pp. 366-79.

[2] For a photograph of the new building, see Muriel H. Wright, *Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951), p. 91. Miss Wright's father was Dr. Eliphalet Nott Wright, mentioned in the text.

On this our centennial visit our interest lingers at the old cemetery. Much history could be unraveled, even now after one hundred years, by our attention there. One of the oldest dated stones is a model of delightful simplicity:

Little
Kitties
Grave
1853

Perhaps one of the first students at the new institution, Kittie did not live to see completed even the first semester of the boarding school; and her simple monument, now in its second century, has seen the entire history of Bloomfield pass before its face.

Just a few yards from Kittie's grave is that of Angelina Hosmer Carr, of Bedford, Massachusetts, the wife of Reverend Carr. Her stone reads:

Angelina H.
wife of
Rev. J. H. Carr
Born in Mass.
April 1st 1820
Died
Sept. 28th 1864
Servant of God well done
Rest from Thy loved employ
Many Shall Rise up and call Thee Blessed
Little Hattie and Dollie Infant
Children Rest Here with Mother

and its language stands aptly today as a memorial to the sacrifice and fortitude of that pioneer mission family.

Several other stones cannot be overlooked; and the family plot of Holmes Colbert is worth a visit. The central stone reads:

HOLMES COLBERT
Died
Mar. 24, 1873
Aged
43 yrs. 6 mo. 2 ds.
"An Honest Man is the Noblest Work of God
Thy name be Thy Epitaph"

Here a mystery creeps in and who will supply the answer? In his Who's Who on Indian leaders, H. F. O'Bierne[3] records that Colbert died on March 24, 1872 and was buried at Glenwood Cemetery in Washington. Yet, here he is resting in our own Bloomfield Cemetery and with the date of his death recorded as exactly one year later.

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[3] H. F. O'Beirne, *Leaders and Leading Men of the Indian Territory* (Chicago, 1891), p. 296.

Next to Colbert is the grave of one whose name in itself is exciting to the reader of Oklahoma history. The adjoining stone is inscribed:

"Eliphalet Nott"
COLBERT
Born
Sept. 21, 1856
Died
Nov. 21, 1863

Eliphalet Nott was President of Union Seminary, Schenectady, New York, and here we find his name carried into Oklahoma history by another of the great Indian families. It will be recalled that Reverend Allen Wright gave the same name to one of his sons, Eliphalet Nott Wright. This is not to be unexpected when it is recalled that Holmes Colbert and Allen Wright were close friends and roommates at Union; and a comparison of the birthdates of their two sons reveals that Colbert was the first to remember this famous educator, as young Wright was born on April 3, 1858, some two years later than was Colbert's son.

Speaking of mysteries, the visitor's fascination will turn to the dozens of bois d'arc stakes, in neat rows, marking a good portion of the cemetery. The durability of bois d'arc is well known; and could these posts, still in exact and geometric rows, be grave markers or are they simply corner stakes for each of the cemetery plots? That Bloomfield was a Confederate garrison and hospital during a portion of the War is well known, and perhaps these neat stakes each mark the grave of a now unremembered Confederate soldier. In this centennial year of Bloomfield, who will supply the answers?

—George H. Shirk.

L. C. Heydrick Collection on the Red Fork Oil Discovery, 1901

The Editorial Department recently received two bound volumes of data covering photostatic copies of letters, articles, briefs and other materials relating to the history of the Red Fork oil discovery in the Creek Nation, June 25, 1901, compiled by L. C. Heydrick, of Wichita Falls, Texas. The cover title of the first volume is "Red Fork Discovery—June, 1901"; and the title of the second, "Supplement and Final Report of Red Fork Discovery, June, 1901"—"October 1, 1953." In his first volume, Mr. Heydrick presents the genealogy of his father, Jesse A. Heydrick of Butler, Pennsylvania, who with John S. Wick, a former resident of the same place, secured "an amendatory agreement" with members of the Creek Council and some prominent citizens of the Creek Nation to "mine, operate, take and sell oil, gas and other minerals, except gold and silver" on "500,000 acre more or less" in the Creek Nation, the said assignment dated July 16, 1900.

A well was drilled and oil discovered at Red Fork on June 25, 1901, on the land claim of Sue A. Bland, of the Creek Nation, wife of Dr. John C. W. Bland. While this well was a very small producer, it is historically important as the first drilled in Tulsa County, a first step in the later fabulous activities and discoveries in this Oklahoma region that saw the building of Tulsa into the "Oil Capital of the World." *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXX, No. 3 (Autumn, 1952), pp. 312-32, presents an article "First Oil and Gas Well in Tulsa County," setting forth a history of the Red Fork well, written and documented by Fred S. Clinton, M.D., of Tulsa, who was associated with Dr. Bland's interests at the time of the discovery. In 1901, the Creek Nation was still held in common by its Indian citizens, individuals having no right under existing laws to give title to a lease or sale of any portion of the land. The Wick-Headrick lease had never been approved officially by proper authorities, and shortly after the discovery at Red Fork, the lease was declared null and void by the Department of the Interior and the well shut in for a time. However, it was on the Sue Bland claim which became her allotment as a Creek citizen, and when the production began again two or three years later, Mrs. Bland and her heirs after her death received royalties regularly until recently at the final closing of the well.

Mr. L. C. Heydrick sets forth in these two volumes his father's activities in the Creek Nation before and at the time of the discovery at Red Fork. This material has been placed on file in the Library of the Historical Society where it is available to researchers and anyone interested in the history of oil development in the Tulsa region.

—M. H. W.

A REPORT OF THE OKLAHOMA SOCIETY'S DELEGATE TO THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY OF ANTWERP

1953

The Oklahoma Historical Society was honored as the only Historical Society in this country officially invited to the celebration of the 75th Anniversary of the founding of the Royal Geographic Society of Antwerp, Belgium on June 5 to 6, 1953, and was furthered honored in having as its representative in attendance on this auspicious occasion the Very Rev. Urban de Hasque, S.T.D., LL.D., the only delegate from the United States attending the Jubilee, serving also as delegate for the National Geographic Society of Washington, D.C., the only other invited American Society. Father de Hasque, a Life Member of the Historical Society and historian of the Diocese of Oklahoma with a half century of service in Catholic Church pastorates here, serving under appointment by the Oklahoma Historical Society to the Jubilee celebration thus visited his native land of Belgium where he is a son of an ancient family whose name is commemorated in the well known avenue, "Rue Soeurs de Hasque" that leads from the public square to the State University building in Liege.

The resume given here on the celebration of the founding of the Royal Geographic Society of Antwerp is based on Father de Hasque's notes. This two-day Jubilee commenced on Friday, June 5, with a meeting of the 27 foreign delegates and their wives and representatives of other scientific societies on board the beflagged steamer "Flandria," followed by luncheon and a sail down the Scheldt at high tide through the "Kruisschans" lock into the harbor of Antwerp, its large docks equipped with the best maritime installations for loading and unloading steamers rapidly of any harbor in the world. The delegates landed on the pontoon and soon assembled in the City Hall, built in 1621 under Spanish domination, where they were welcomed by City officials addressing them in Flemish, the official language of the Flemish City of Antwerp. In the evening, delegates and members of the Royal Society met at an "intimate dinner" in the large dining hall of the Philotax Club, one of the oldest and most select in the City.

The delegates convened the following morning in the only Museum of its kind in the world: the recently restored Moretus-Plantin Museum,—the original home, printing shop, engraving atelier, offices and book store of these famous printers of the Sixteenth Century, the whole printing plant with presses, volumes, engravings, family portraits by P. P. Rubens, a rare copy of the Bible in six different languages on each of the in-folio pages printed by Christopher Plantin and some of the geographical books of Mercator and Ortelius having been acquired by the City of Antwerp. A fine feature of typography on menu cards and diplomas for the festive occasion was the reproduction from the original plates of some of the maps by Mercator and Ortelius.

The two most important and most formal sessions of the Jubilee were held in the afternoon and the evening of June 6. The Academical Seance in the afternoon was in the restored Sixteenth Century mansion of Ortelius, the eminent geographer and cartographer of Antwerp and contemporary with the famous Flemish Kramer, in Latin *Mercator,* whose navigation "chart" remains a standard in map-making, and thereby better known throughout the world today.

The assemblage met in the large hall of this new permanent headquarters of the Royal Geographic Society and the Ethnological Society of Antwerp, the young King of Belgium—Beaudouin—being represented by Lieut. Gen. Aviator Leboutte accompanied by leading Ministers of State and notables. Consuls of foreign countries occupied the first places behind the King's representatives. President Frederic Good, of the Royal Geographic Society, the foreign delegates including Very Rev. Urban de Hasque and the principal speakers occupied the stage behind the long table, facing the large public gathering in the hall. The King's Privy Council, Verwilghen read a paper presenting an eulogy in Flemish on Mercator's life and successful accomplishments as a geographical-mathematician. The Superintendent of the British Museum, A. R. Skelton, reviewed in French with a slight accent the correspondence between Mercator (Kramer) and the merchants of London on subjects of geography and map making. Professor of the Sorbonne and Secretary of the Geographic Society of Paris, Perpilou presented in brilliant French "all the facets of Ortelius' dim luster to proclaim him the 'Ptolemy of the Sixteenth Century.' "

At the final banquet on Friday evening, June 6, after the address in Flemish and French by the President de la Chambre ("Speaker of the House of Representatives"), Frans Van Cauwelaert, the Very Rev. de Hasque was the first among the delegates to present the traditional "Scroll of Honor" from the National Geographic Society of Washington, D.C. As the senior member of the delegates, he was the only delegate who received a diploma (*Diplome de Membre d'Honneur*) from the Royal Geographic Society of Antwerp, inscribed in French and bearing the original signatures of the President, F. Good and the Vice President, Lieut. Col. N. Laude.

The diploma presented Father de Hasque is a beautiful piece of typography bearing the reproduction from the original plate of the map of the world by Mercator made in 1538 (*Mappemonde de Gèrard Mercator, 1538*). A photograph of this diploma along with the banquet Menu (in French) beautifully printed and illustrated from the original plate of Ortelius' map of Africa, 1570, and bearing likenesses, evidently an original plate, of the great geographers and cartographers Mercator and Ortelius themselves, is in the Oklahoma Historical Society Library filed with the original notes reported by Father de Hasque on this memorable 75th Anniversary of the Royal Geographic Society of Antwerp.

M.H.W.

FIRST MAP OF ARKANSAS TERRITORY, 1822, INCLUDING OKLAHOMA, PRESENTED TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY BY VERY REV. URBAN DE HASQUE

Soon after his return to Oklahoma City from his visit to Antwerp in the summer of 1953, the Very Rev. Urban de Hasque discovered in a New York collection a rare map of Arkansas Territory which he secured and has generously presented as a gift to the Oklahoma Historical Society's rare map collection in the Library. This map was the first officially published for Arkansas Territory, 1822, and includes the Oklahoma region with the names of streams and other locations at that time. It is titled "Map of Arkansa and other Territories of the United States" and "Respectfully inscribed to the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War by S. H. Long Major T. Engineers," and shows other territories and the Great Plains region west of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. This map is in perfect condition and is bordered on each side with printed columns giving a description of the topography of the regions shown and an historical sketch of Arkansas over the name, "Governor, 1819 James Miller 1822."

When he was in Antwerp, Father de Hasque discovered a French Atlas of the United States published in 1825, containing a map of Arkansas Territory exactly like the 1822 map described above, except that all place names and other information are printed in French. The Atlas was presented to the National Geographic Society in Washington upon his return to the United States last summer. At his request and through the kindness of Mr. T. W. McKnew, Secretary of the National Geographic Society, a full sized photograph of this French map of Arkansas Territory, 1825, has been presented the Historical Society. These two maps of Arkansas—1822 and 1825—make a rare exhibit in the Historical Society's collections for researchers. It should be recalled here that the Major S. H. Long, Topographical Engineers, mentioned above, commanded the first exploration by a United States expedition down the Canadian River in 1819 through Oklahoma, and much of the information given on the two maps is from his notes and report.

M.H.W.

BOOK REVIEW

The Golden Hurricane. By Robert Rutland.[*] (Tulsa: Tulsa Quarterback Club, 1953. 105 pp. $2.50.)

All books recounting football and football greats, especially stories of the sport in Oklahoma, are interesting, and Robert Rutland's chronicle of fifty years of football at the University of Tulsa is no exception. Football came to Indian Territory with the transfer from Missouri to Henry Kendall College, of Norman Leard. The game, born twenty-six years earlier, was still in its formative years, and informality is the word that best characterizes those first games. The Henry Kendall-Bacone game constituted the entire 1895 football fare for Indian Territory.

In 1907 the college moved to Tulsa. This move brought many changes to the institution, but not the least important was that it brought to the college a man whose name will always be inseparable with its football lore, Sam McBirney. Football reappeared on the Campus in 1912; and with McBirney dividing his time between banking and his favorite hobby of coaching football, the school could by 1916 boast of an invincible championship team, one that trounced Bennie Owen's Sooners, 16—0.

In 1921 Kendall College became the University of Tulsa, and soon the team, like its school, had a new name, The Golden Hurricane. A fine stadium, built by public subscription, was dedicated in 1930; and under the coaching of Elmer Henderson, secured in 1924 from U.S.C., the Hurricanes continued to chalk up scores in the big-time. Henderson was succeeded by Vic Hurt in 1936, the same year that Tulsa joined the Missouri Valley Conference. Hurt remained until 1939, and was followed by Chet Benefiel, who in turn was succeeded in 1941 by the renowned Henry Frnka.

Games in the Sun Bowl, Orange Bowl, Sugar Bowl, Gator Bowl and Oil Bowl constitute part of the enviable record of this fine school and its team, all having been faithfully chronicled by Rutland. The volume has its place in any Oklahoma library; readable and interesting, the book also is a ready reference for the football record of the college. An appendix is included, giving the complete scoring record of the team.

—**George H. Shirk**

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

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[*] Robert Rutland is Research Associate in the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

NECROLOGIES

J. ELMER WYAND
(1873—1920)

J. Elmer Wyand was born March 27, 1873, on a farm near Rushville, Illinois, the son of George and Jane (Tipton) Wyand. He obtained such education as was afforded by the country school near his home, and later attended Normal School at Rushville, Illinois. During a three-year period of teaching thereafter, he studied law at nights, was admitted to the Illinois Bar in 1896, and established his office in Rushville, where he built up an extensive law practice.

Even at this early period Mr. Wyand exhibited a flair for public service and was twice elected to the Lower House of the Illinois Legislature, in 1900 and again in 1902. For several years his health had been failing, and in the fall of 1904, he discontinued his law practice, disposed of his law library, and went to San Antonio, Texas, to regain his health. A year there brought a very decided improvement, and in the spring of 1905 he went to Muskogee, Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, where he started the practice of law anew.

His intense interest in public affairs again manifested itself in the active part he played in helping to mold the young State of Oklahoma. He was chairman of the Muskogee County Election Board which canvassed the returns of the election at statehood.

In September 1908, he formed a partnership with DeRoos Bailey, under the firm name of Bailey & Wyand. Subsequently Charles A. Moon became a member of the firm, and the partnership name was changed to Bailey, Wyand & Moon.

In 1912 Mr. Wyand was elected to the Lower House of the Oklahoma Legislature, from Muskogee County. He was very active as a member of the House, and with J. H. Maxey, also of Muskogee, who was Speaker of the House, and with Judge E. P. Hill, of McAlester, formed a powerful triumvirate. Mr. Wyand was appointed special prosecutor before various legislative groups and committees, and in this capacity he performed worth-while service to the State of Oklahoma. It was largely through his efforts that the Oklahoma Free State Fair at Muskogee was established and its name given Legislative sanction.

In 1916, after Mr. Bailey's death, Mr. Wyand formed a law partnership with the late Bower Broaddus and C. A. Ambrister, of Muskogee.

Mr. Wyand was married to Loe May Long in 1910, and the family home was maintained for many years on East Broadway, near the Library, in Muskogee, Oklahoma. In the fall of 1910 he lost his left arm in a hunting accident. As a result he suffered terrific pain during the remaining years of his life, and only his indomitable will kept him active in his chosen profession. His last public service was devoted to the City of Muskogee, where he was elected Mayor in 1916. Mr. Wyand was not a member of any lodge or church, but he believed in an Omnipotent God. On November 27, 1920, he passed away at the family home in Muskogee, survived by his wife.

—B. E. Witchell

Bartlesville, Oklahoma

J. ELMER WYAND

HON. JOE NEWBERRY
(1865—1952)

The name Newberry is found in the earliest recorded history of the Chickasaw Indians. In the Pontotoc Treaty of 1832, in which the Chickasaws negotiated with the United States government for the sale of their Mississippi lands, the name New-berry appears with other illustrious leaders as Ish-te-ho-to-pa, Tishomingo, and Levi Colbert.

The father of Joe Newberry, Lewis, was born in Mississippi and came to the Indian Territory in 1837, when he was eleven years old, with other members of his tribe and settled near the present town of Durant, Oklahoma. It is believed that the Newberry who signed the Pontotoc Treaty was the father of Lewis Newberry.

When Lewis was of school age, he was sent back to Tennessee to school. The education he received, in conjunction with his natural intelligence and methodic thinking, proved invaluable to him in later years as an official of the Chickasaw Nation. He was primarily a farmer, but like many of the pioneering Chickasaws, he saw the need for leadership in his tribe. He was elected to the Legislature and later represented the interests of the Chickasaws as delegate to Washington, D. C., during the early stages of action by the Dawes Commission (1894-1906).

Lewis Newberry married Lucy Hawkins, who also came from Mississippi, and to this union five children were born; only three lived to adulthood: Martin, Frances, and Joe. During his early manhood, Lewis Newberry was outstanding for two qualities: his ability to speak well before an audience in Chickasaw, Choctaw, and English, and his proficiency as an athlete gained him a wide reputation throughout the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations. Lewis Newberry died at his home near Durant in 1886 at the age of sixty years. His wife survived him to witness the admission of Oklahoma as a state in 1907, and died in that year.

Joe Newberry was born on his father's farm near Durant on October 6, 1865, when the potency and security of the Chickasaw Nation were at their lowest ebb, for the Civil War had just been concluded. He attended the schools within the Chickasaw Nation, but was happiest when working on his parents' farm. Through the influence of his father and his brother, Martin, he became interested in Chickasaw politics, and served his nation as a member of the legislature for seven years, five years in the House and two years in the Senate.

During the allotment period Joe selected his land in the Red River Valley, near the present town of Willis, Oklahoma. In October, 1889, he had married Mary Ferguson, the daughter of James Ferguson, a member of a well-known southern family of English origin. Two of Mrs. Newberry's relatives have since held the office of governor of the state of Texas. Mrs. Newberry's grandmother, Sally Hayes, came in a sail boat to the United States from Debershire, England. To the marriage of Joe and Mary Newberry were born seven children: Franklin, Calvin, Bernie, Mattie, Wilson, Frances and Inez, all of whom are living.

Mr. Newberry served as a member of school boards for several years and always took an active, progressive interest in the education of the Chickasaw youth. On September 25, 1900, while he was Speaker of the House, sixty-three pupils from Harley Institute, at Tishomingo, addressed a petition to the Honorable Senators and Representatives of the Legislature of the Chickasaw Nation:[1]

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[1] Harley Institute file in the Chickasaw section of the Indian Archives, O.H.S.

"We the undersigned members of the students of the Harley Institute, so most respectfully petition your honorable body to pass a law prohibiting the attendance upon this institution of any and all boys who smoke Cigarettes, and to exclude and expell any and all students who use or smoke Cigarettes who shall not quit and abstain from the use of the same while in school, within ten days from the passage and approval of said law."

The bill was recommended by Mr. Newberry but was killed in the Senate on October 30, 1900.

An act typical of the character of Joe Newberry is the following: In the early part of the 1904 Legislature, a bill was passed appropriating $600 for school books to be used in the neighborhood schools of the Chickasaw Nation. On November 19, 1904, the Chickasaw Legislature passed a law, known as the General School Law, which voided the one passed a few days before. During the time between the passage and the repeal of the bill, Mr. Newberry purchased $141.00 in books for the neighborhood schools and paid for them out of his own funds. On March 6, 1906, when the final curtain was being drawn on the tribal affairs, someone found the invoice which had never been mentioned by Mr. Newberry. As a result the following act was passed: "We deem it unjust to the said Joe Newberry should lose anything, personally, on account of the transaction from which the Nation received all the benefit."[2] Mr. Newberry's money was refunded. The period just prior and during the administration of Joe Newberry as tribal Superintendent of Schools was the most difficult in the history of Chickasaw education. Under the rules of the Curtis Act, the Indian Bureau was to assume control of all the educational affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes. J. B. Benedict, a school man from Illinois, had been appointed by the Bureau Superintendent-at-large for schools of the Five Civilized Tribes, and J. M. Simpson was elected as the Chickasaw Superintendent. The Chickasaws resented the plan so bitterly that the Bureau of Indian Affairs withdrew their representative to the Chickasaw Nation, and at the same time, withheld all payments of royalties. This forced the Chickasaw Nation to support their schools out of their other limited tribal funds. Without the income from the royalties the Chickasaw educational system could not function efficiently. It was not long until much of the school equipment and supplies needed replacement. Only the teachers, who remained loyal to their profession, were unchanged. Reports were made throughout the United States of the poor conditions of the Chickasaw schools during this period. However true some of these were yet the majority of the derogatory reports were given by men who wished to force the close of the Chickasaw government.

The financial affairs of the Nation's educational department rapidly grew worse. The teachers, if they were fortunate enough to obtain cash for their school warrants, were paid from thirty to eighty cents for every dollar represented on their warrant. Then, in 1901, when education was at a very low level, the leaders of the Chickasaw Nation, under the guidance and leadership of Governor Douglas H. Johnston, decided they could hold out no longer and they agreed to the regulations made by the Indian Bureau. As a result, the warrants were paid out of the accumulated coal and asphalt royalties.

Just before Oklahoma statehood, while Mr. Newberry was still Superintendent of Chickasaw Schools, the United States Congress enacted a law providing rural schools in the Indian Territory, day schools for whites and Indians, and separate schools for Negroes. The Chickasaw Legislature passed an act to suspend all the Chickasaw National Schools after the date of January 31, 1906, from which time they were operated by the

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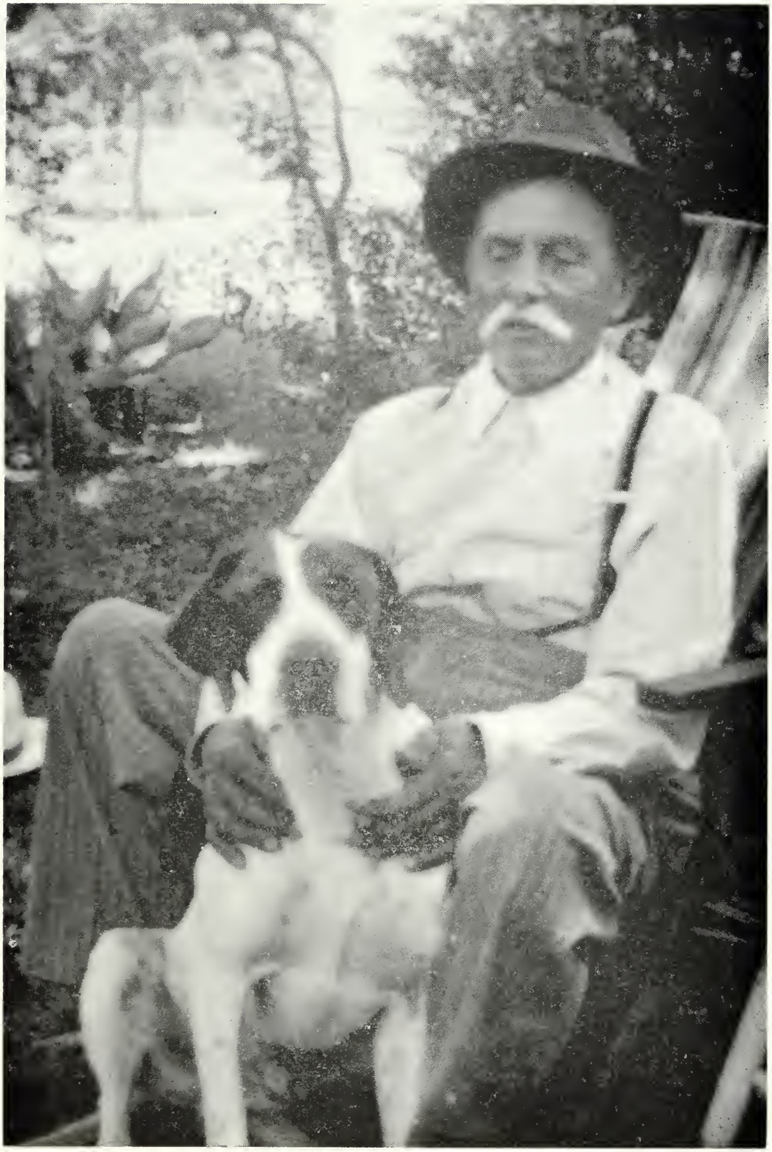
[2] Miscellaneous School Papers of the Chickasaws, Indian Archives, O.H.S.



HON. JOE NEWBERRY

Indian Bureau. In the same session of the Legislature an act was passed giving the complete library of Bloomfield Academy to Joe Newberry for his faithful service to the schools of his people. Mr. Newberry declined the offer of the library.

Due to the time-taking task of concluding tribal affairs, Mr. Newberry remained Tribal Superintendent until 1923, when the office was abolished. During his entire tenure of office, Joe Newberry made a tour of each school once a month during the term to check on the progress of the pupils, the efficiency of the teachers and the wants of the school. This trip was always made by horse and buggy.

Stoical and reticent in disposition, little is known of the personal life of Joe Newberry. Mrs. Newberry lived until 1944. On May 17, 1952, at his home in the east part of Tishomingo, death came to the last Superintendent of Schools of the old Chickasaw nation. The *Johnston County Capital Democrat* gave the following account of his death:

"Joe Newberry, 87, an early day Chickasaw leader, died Saturday at his home east of Tishomingo after a long period of invalidism and a severe stroke suffered a few weeks ago.

"Services were conducted Monday by Dr. C. R. Murray, pastor of the Presbyterian-Christian Church in Tishomingo, and burial was in the Newberry plot of the Willis, Oklahoma, cemetery.

"Soon after coming to Tishomingo, he united with the Presbyterian Church, and for some time served as elder in the church. He also gave much of his time to assisting in the religious services of the Chickasaw churches."

—Carl Reubin.

Tishomingo, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE THIRD QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HELD IN THE CITY OF DURANT OKLAHOMA, ON NOVEMBER 12, 1953.

The regular meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held Thursday, November 12, 1953, at 12:00 o'clock noon, at the Hotel Bryan, Durant Oklahoma (meeting moved up from October 22, 1953).

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: General W. S. Key, Judge Baxter Taylor, Judge N. B. Johnson, Dr. T. T. Montgomery, Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Col. George B. Shirk and Secretary, Dr. Charles Evans. Also sitting in on the meeting but in no official capacity, was Mr. John Easley, owner and publisher of the *Daily Ardmoreite*, of Ardmore Oklahoma, who was heartily invited to lend his presence, since he had been honored as a former Director of the Board and a great friend of the Society.

Dr. T. T. Montgomery brought to the attention of President Key that lunch time was set at 1:00 o'clock P.M. at the K. C. Waffle House where "some victuals" would be provided, and allowing about one hour to eat, and it would take about 30 minutes to arrive at the Durant Cemetery where dedication ceremonies of the monument erected to the memory of Judge R. L. Williams would be conducted, he urged that the meeting go forward as quickly as possible. Dr. Montgomery also stated the citizenship of Durant deemed it a signal honor that the Board of Directors had held two official meetings in Durant in two successive years.

The Secretary presented a report on the new membership for the quarter, growing out of the Campaign for Increase of Membership, begun on or about October 10, 1953. He presented a list of twenty-three LIFE MEMBERS: Dr. J. M. Allgood, Altus; Mr. Harold Eugene Bailey, Oklahoma City; Mr. J. Phil Burns, Oklahoma City; Dr. Claude S. Chambers, Seminole; Mrs. J. D. Cole, Muskogee; Mr. J. C. Cravens, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Myrtle Creason, Oklahoma City; Mr. Arthur A. Criswell, Wewoka; Dr. Charles B. Duffy, Ponca City; Dr. D. L. Garrett, Tulsa; Dr. John F. Gray, Jr., Tulsa; Mr. Richard B. Hall, Washington D. C.; Mr. Walter M. Harrison, Oklahoma City; Mr. O. T. Jennings, Healdton; Mrs. John E. Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Josephine Hume Maxwell, Tulsa; Most Rev. Eugene J. McGuinness, Oklahoma City; Dr. Raymond L. Murdock, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Lorene Cruce Norris, Los Angeles, California; Dr. Charles M. O'Leary, Oklahoma City; Mrs. W. C. Seago, Oklahoma City; Mrs. D. A. Sweet, Shawnee; Dr. E. O. Johnson, Tulsa.

ANNUAL MEMBERS: Mr. Ira O. Alexander, Mr. G. S. Baxter, both of Shawnee; Miss Marjorie Allen, Mrs. J. E. Myers, Miss Martha McGowen, and J. L. Tramel, Norman; Mr. Harry M. Andrews, El Reno; Mrs. Robert L. Atkins, Mr. Clarence E. Bates, Mr. Homer Bebout, Mr. Harold J. Binder, Mr. Charles E. Bowman, Mr. W. B. Cleary, Mr. Roger L. Cole, Mrs. Charlotte L. Cox, Mr. J. C. Colter Dodman, Sister Jeanne Frances, Dr. Robert B. Howard, Mr. Harold D. Herndon, Mr. Robert T. Howard, Mr. Jack H. Langston, Mrs. Wendell Long, Dr. R. C. Mills, Dr. James Floyd Moorman, Mr. Loyd T. D. Morgan, Dr. Robert J. Morgan, Mr. Malcolm Morrison, Mrs. C. C. Precure, Dr. Joe M. Parker, Mr. Fred Schilling, Dr. Edward E. Shircliff, Mrs. Floyd C. Smith, Mr. Ray L. Walde, and Mr. Dick Williamson, all of Oklahoma City; Mr. John Homer Baransy, Moreland; Mr. R. A. Barney, Washington D. C.; Mr. Daniel Bartlett, St. Louis, Mo.; Mr. Ernest E. Wood, Independence, Mo.; Mr. Ralph Woodruff, Osceola, Ark.; Mr. Sam W. Blackburn, Mr. J. Dewey Clemens, Mr. A. E. Plume, Ardmore; Mr. Mel H. Bolster, Falls Church, Va.; Mr. A. J. Brawshaw, Weatherford; Miss Florence Wicker, Greenville, So. Carolina; Mr. W. T. Weir, Philadelphia, Miss.; Dr. J. E. Walsworth, Monroe, La.; Mr. Riley Thompson, Indian Village, Minn.; Mr. George Owl, Cherokee, N. Carolina; Miss Sylvia Lee, Berkeley, Calif.; Mr. W. J. Lemke, Fayetteville, Ark.; Mr. Noel Loomis, Minneapolis, Minn.; Mr. Amos J. Mabry, San Francisco, Calif.; Mr. Robert T. C. Head, San Francisco; Mrs. Melvin Fowler, Lynwood, Calif.; Mr. Edwin W. Frazer, Marion, Ky.; Mrs. Bess Brown, Dr. W. F. Dunaway, Dr. I. M. Lightner, Mr. Homer W. Long, and Mrs. Emma C. Stivers, Guymon; Mr. S. W. Brown, Mathis, Texas; Capt. V. H. Brown, Mr. Frank S. Giles, Dr. Hugh C. Graham, Dr. Carl H. Guild Jr., Mrs. Rosalie P. Hickman, Mr. George E. Norvell, Mrs. Norman W. Smith, Mr. T. H. Steffens, Mrs. Anna Teel Smith, Mrs. S. P. True, and Dr. Fred E. Woodson, all of Tulsa; Mrs. Ben F. Browning, Chandler; Mrs. Mayme B. Clark, Sapulpa; Mrs. Luther B. Clegg, Bethany; Mrs. Jessie J. Clift, Mr. Phil McMullen, Mrs. Alpha Burger Skirving, and Mrs. Ada B. Warner, Blackwell; Mr. Hiram Coodey, Chicago; Mrs. M. L. Coppock, Cherokee; Mr. Homer Croy, Mr. Lon Deutsch, Mrs. Stanley W. Irons, Mrs. Glenn Rutgers, all of New York City; Mr. J. H. Crump, and Mr. Charles Slack, Fairview; Mr. Jack Darling, Lawton; Mrs. Lon Wilhite, Welling; Mrs. J. I. Denison, Hobart; Mr. Allen Lowery, Blackwell; Mr. Clyde Duckwall, Jr., Commerce; Mr. Raymond H. Fields, Guymon; Mrs. Phillipa J. Fife, Guthrie; Mr. Ralph Stone, Hollywood, Calif.; Mr. H. C. Ford, Granite; Mrs. W. O. Wailand, Alva; Mr. Milford E. Quimby, Vian; Mrs. R. C. Nelson, Jay; Mr. Tom McGiboney, Paoli; Dr. O. H. Miller, Ada; Judge Lockwood Jones, Cordell; Dr. W. A. Franklin, Newkirk; Mrs. E. E. Gore, Altus; Mr. R. O. Green, Mr. F. E. McKee, Mrs. Lattie D. Ogden and Mr. Leo G. Whitlow, Eufaula; Mr. Herbert M. Gregory, Mr. Claude C. Harris, and Dr. Charles E. White, Muskogee; Mr. E. F. Guidinger, Mr. W. A. Kruse, Bartlesville; Dr. E. A. Johnson, Hugo; Mr. Kenneth Porter Laird, Arlington, Va.; Dr. S. B. Leslie, Sr., Okmulgee; Dr. E. C. Lindley, Duncan; Mr. John R. Willingham, and Rev. John Mueller, Durant; Mr. William A. Moyer, Pawhuska; Dr. Tracey H. McCarley, Sr., McAlester; Mrs. Dolores W. Rowe, Tahlequah; Rev. L. H. Patterson, Rush Springs; Dr. James W. Parker, Elk City; Dr. Laile G. Neal, Ponca City; Mrs. Esther E. New, Muldrow; Mr. David Oven, Jr., Enid; Mrs. Elizabeth Parramore, Poteau; Mrs. Emma Samuel, Mrs. Grace Samuels, Pryor; Dr. Milton J. Sugarman, Elk City; Mrs. J. J. Swan, Chickasha; making the Campaign one of the most profitable ever carried out by the Society in that length of time, with some $816.00 brought into the Treasury and many eminent men and women from all over the country have become supporters of the Society. Mr. John Easley, sitting in with the Board, stated he believed $25.00 for a Life Membership was "too cheap" and that it should be increased to $100.00. President Key commented that perhaps the fee should remain as it was, because school teachers, who were the principal buyers of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* were not too well supplied with "the coin of the realm." Judge Vaught, with a nod toward Mr. Easley, suggested there would be no objection to the $25.00 Life Members increasing their "contribution" to $100.00 if they so desired. Judge Baxter Taylor made a motion that we accept the applications of the new members and admit them to full membership; motion seconded by Judge N. B. Johnson and carried unanimously. The Secretary was authorized to send our Membership Certificates to the new life members, whereupon the Secretary advised he had already arranged for this to be done.

The Secretary then reported the following gifts, portraits and pictures had been received since July 23, 1953, presented by many people of the State and throughout the country: German Naval uniform sash, German-American dictionary, German Navy uniform epaulet, French key, German belt buckle, top ornament from German officer's helmet, German enlisted men's helmet decoration, French and German paper money, French, German and English coins, bread voucher used in France during World War I. Donor: Casper G. Cronkite. Hand-painted Oklahoma Flag, donor: O. R. Miller. Kickapoo head-piece, Kickapoo Trinket Basket, donor: George Kishketon. Columbian Exposition Commerative coin and an 1833 half-dollar, donor: Marjorie Brainard. China Canteen, Knight Templar Sword, scabbard and sash, sword and scabbard used by Union Soldier in War between the States, donor: Mrs. Darwin Alonzo Sweet. Froe, dogwood glut, hickory shingle maul, rail maul, mortar and pestle and squirrel club, donor: Coleman James Ward. Half mark coin, donor: Valentin Helmel. Guitar carried in the Run of 1893, donor: Evelyn Barrett. Old newspaper, donor: Judge W. J. Hulsey. Two confederate bills, donor: Jimmy Wright. 1914 dime, donor: Norma McCrary. Booklet on Salina and a booklet honoring W. A. Graham on his 100th birthday, donor: Thomas J. Harrison. Seven pictures of floats at the Chouteau celebration of 1953, two pictures of Mr. W. A. Graham on his 100th birthday, three pictures of the Union Mission Memorial Park Cemetery, donor: Thomas J. Harrison. Photograph of Frank F. Wood, donor: Evelyn Barrett. Large framed picture of Kickapoo Chiefs, photograph of Kickapoos, donor: George Kishketon. Oil photograph of Nancy Brazelton and Gordon Dowell, outstanding 4-H Club girl and boy for 1953, donor: Mr. Holler of Stillwater. Framed photograph of Capt. C. P. Sweet of the 4th Ohio Volunteers, donor: Mrs. D. A. Sweet. Photograph of John M. Taylor, U. S. Indian Police, donor: Mr. Ralph Hudson.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that we accept the gifts, pictures and send a note of thanks to the donors and list them for publication in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, together with the names of the new members. Motion seconded by Judge N. B. Johnson and carried unanimously.

The Secretary then presented to President Key, a written request from Mrs. Rella Looney for 100 expansion-type envelopes or folders for filing of historical documents and papers in the Indian Archives department, costing approximately $60.00. Judge N. B. Johnson moved that this expenditure be allowed; motion seconded by Judge Vaught and carried unanimously.

The Secretary then presented two bids for repair of the Murals, plaster and background: one from Will Kolar in the amount of $400.00 and one from Elizabeth Jane Williams, Cherokee Artist, at a price of $375.00. Mrs. Jessie Moore remarked that Dr. Jacobs, President-Emeritus of the University of Oklahoma and for many years head of the Art Department of the University, should be consulted as he was professor of Art at the time the Indian students came over and went to school there and later had painted the Murals in the Capitol at Washington. President Key suggested this matter be left to the Executive Committee to handle and consult with Dr. Jacobson if they deemed it necessary and helpful. Judge Vaught then moved this matter be referred to the Executive Committee and motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour. The original motion was amended by Judge Vaught to include the Chickasaws, which was seconded by Dr. Harbour and carried unanimously.

Judge Taylor stated that Mr. Stone of Oklahoma City wanted to have a picture of Lew Wentz hung in the Oklahoma Historical Society and suggested this request be investigated. President Key replied that he had seen the painting and that it is a fine portrait and would ultimately be presented to the Society, inasmuch as the Board of Directors had requested several years ago that a portrait of Lew Wentz be placed in the Hall of Eminent Men and Women. He said further, that he had given personal attention to this matter and would continue to do so.

Judge Vaught then called attention to pictures and article in the *Oklahoma City Times* of November 11th, which showed the grave of a former governor of this State (and his wife), Hon. J. C. "Jack" Walton, unmarked, and that this situation was a reflection upon the State of Oklahoma; and further stated, that if some friends or relatives of the Waltons were not able or were not willing to place markers at these graves, that he was in favor of the Oklahoma Historical Society doing so. President Key suggested appointment of a Committee to contact the members of the Walton family and see if they were able to do anything about this, and if not, to make contact with friends to see if they would not be willing to place these markers, and if not, the Oklahoma Historical Society would. President Key invited Judge Taylor to act as a committee of one to do this but at Judge Taylor's request, President Key appointed Col. George Shirk on the committee with Judge Taylor as chairman, to look into the matter of markers for the graves of the Waltons. Mr. H. Milt Phillips then stated that the Trainmen of Oklahoma would probably want to contribute to the cost of the markers if the Oklahoma Historical Society took over the responsibility of furnishing them. President Key then enlarged this committee to include Judge Vaught and asked Mr. Phillips to make this suggestion in the form of a Motion. Mr. Phillips then made a motion as follows: In view of the newspaper report that the graves of Governor Walton and his wife are unmarked, that the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society be empowered to name a committee for the purpose of determining the facts and to proceed with such steps as may be feasible to provide the markers with and in cooperation with the Oklahoma Trainmen or other organizations or individuals interested. The motion was seconded by Judge Vaught and carried unanimously.

President Key then read the Treasurer's report and found the affairs of the Society in a sound and splendid condition. A tribute was paid to Mrs. Jessie Moore who has been Treasurer of the Society for more than thirty years.

Mrs. Jessie Moore, the Society's Treasurer made a report on the status of the Special Fund and at the close stated much of this splendid condition could be credited to Judge R. L. Williams, a former President and Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society and whose memory was being honored today.

Dr. Harbour inquired as to the status of the Gilcrease Foundation located in Tulsa, since it was in its purpose so closely related to the Oklahoma Historical Society, and she ventured to say that it would be wholly in line to associate this Gilcrease Art Center with the Oklahoma Historical Society. President Key stated he had attended a meeting with reference to this Art Center and plans were under way and being developed whereby this Art Center may be retained in the State of Oklahoma. Mr. H. Milt Phillips then presented the following Resolution:

Whereas the Gilcrease Museum of Tulsa is one of, if not the most, outstanding cultural institutions of Oklahoma, and Whereas, the University of Oklahoma and other departments of State government are attempting to provide the necessary funds for retaining this valuable cultural and historical institution in our State, Now, Therefore, Be it resolved by the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society in quarterly meeting assembled this 12th day of November, 1953, in Durant, Oklahoma, that we do hereby commend the University of Oklahoma for the effort to retain within our State, the Gilcrease Museum and the Art treasures therein, and Be It Further Resolved, that we extend to Governor Johnston Murray, the sincere request that all possible means be utilized to retain for Oklahoma, the Gilcrease Museum. This Resolution was adopted on proper motion, seconded and motion passed unanimously.

Judge Vaught called attention to the condition of the Historical Markers erected by the Society and suggested an organization by each Board Member in the Counties where these markers are erected, to investigate their condition and assist in carrying out the work of repairs, etc. Judge Vaught moved that the Secretary be instructed to write a letter to a leader in each County, which motion was seconded by Judge Taylor and carried unanimously. The Secretary at this point announced, that from the very first year after they had been set up in 1951, that he had notified County Judges, County Superintendents of Schools and road surveyors of the Counties that it was their duty to see after these markers within their County.

The Secretary then presented an excerpt from a letter from Dr. I. N. McCash, an absent member of the Board of Directors, which read as follows: " . . . . Becoming a resident of this Home (Lenoir Memorial Home in Columbia Missouri), prevents my participation in the activities of beloved Oklahoma. Retiring in my 93rd year is to spend a youth of labor with an age of ease. Old men often hold positions too long, thereby marring pleasant recollections of their career. Considering this fact and failing health justifies my relinquishment of responsibilities."

President Key requested the Secretary to write Dr. McCash, extending greetings from the Board and best wishes for his continued happiness for many years to come. Judge N. B. Johnson moved that his resignation not be acted upon at this time and if Dr. McCash was not now an honorary member of the Board, to make him one and best wishes be conveyed to Dr. McCash. Motion seconded by Judge Taylor and carried unanimously. The Secretary advised the Board of Directors that some two years ago, Dr. McCash was voted an honorary membership for life.

It should be said here that the citizens of Durant, its Chamber of Commerce, Miss Priscilla Utterback and Dr. T. T. Montgomery, distinguished citizens of that City, had arranged every detail for the meeting of the Board of Directors, securing a room for the Board meeting in the Hotel Bryan; a wonderful feast at noon in the K.C. Waffle House, and seeing that the Dedication Ceremony was advertised properly throughout the Southeastern region of Oklahoma. On this Dedication Day, Miss Utterback, daughter of Judge R. L. Williams' closest friend, Hon. William E. Utterback, most graciously gave a Coffee in her lovely home for the Directors and all friends, within and without the City, of Judge Williams, between the hours of 10 to 12 noon. All those attending the reception by Miss Utterback in her home, expressed a common view that the day could not have been complete without her gracious welcome.

The Chamber of Commerce, as it had in the preceding meeting of the Board of Directors in 1952 when it met in Durant, extended a free and cordial lunch table, where there was a large grouping of Directors, Members of the Staff and friends.

Dr. T. T. Montgomery then arose and moved for adjournment at 12:50 o'clock, motion seconded by Col. Shirk and carried unanimously. Dr. Montgomery further stated to "not fear the Autumn chill, as the good wishes of the Durant citizens would keep them warm."

DEDICATION OF MONUMENT TO JUDGE R. L. WILLIAMS, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

President Key called attention to the fact that the Oklahoma Historical Society would meet in the Durant Cemetery after lunch, promptly at 2:30 P.M. for the Dedication Ceremonies.

Before an audience of several hundred people, composed of distinguished citizens, members of the Supreme Court of the State, the Judiciary from much of the surrounding territory, and those high in schools, churches and the State, the following ceremony was carried out in the afternoon at 2:30 o'clock on Thursday, November 12, 1953, dedicated to the memory of a great citizen of Durant Oklahoma and America:
Invocation, Rev. Mueller of First Presbyterian Church; song "America" by Assembly led by the A Cappella Choir of Southeastern State College; Preliminary Remarks by Hon. Harry W. Gibson, Jr. Trustee, Robert L. Williams Estate; Remarks, "Oklahoma Historical Society and Board of Directors, meeting in Tribute to a Friend and Benefactor," by Gen. W. S. Key, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society; Hymn, "America, The Beautiful" by Assembly and Chorus, led by A. Cappella Choir; Oration, "Robert L. Williams As I Knew Him," by Hon. Baxter Taylor; the Pledge of Allegiance, a musical arrangement by the A Cappella Choir; Closing Words were given by Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

W. S. Key, *President*

Charles Evans, *Secretary*

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 26, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, etc. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the editors and the Publication Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history, and for librarians. The annual dues are $2.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* A free sample copy will be sent upon request. Life membership may be secured upon the payment of $25.00. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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